

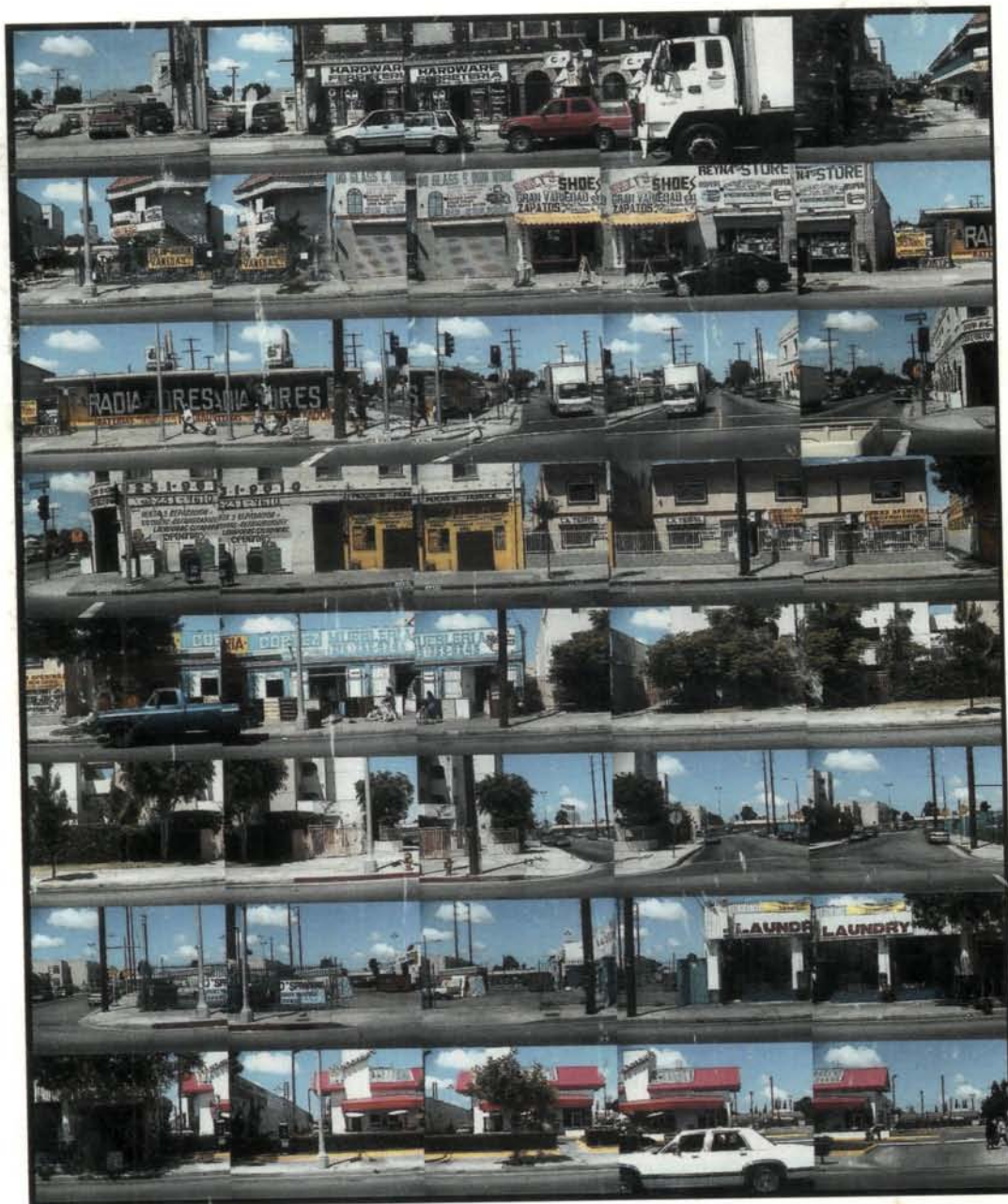
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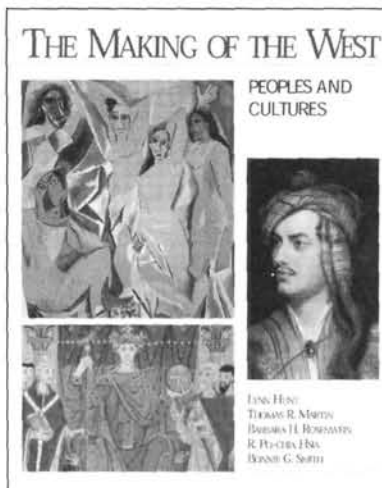
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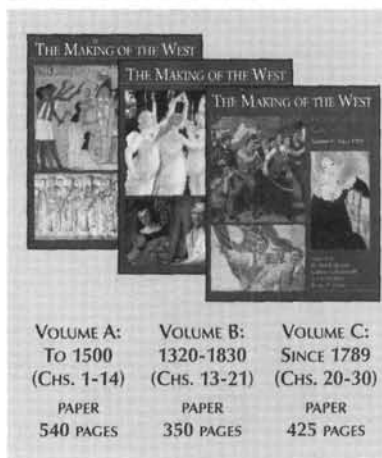
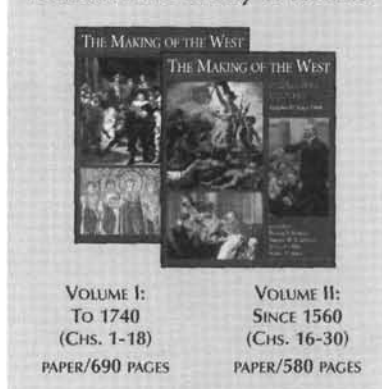


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The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Professional Communications, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

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## In This Issue

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This issue contains three articles (on medieval France, nineteenth-century Louisiana, and Mexico in the 1920s, respectively), an *AHR Forum* (on harmony and conflict among men in Chinese history), and a trio of Review Essays (that explore issues of urban theory and urban change). It also includes our usual array of book and film reviews. Although many times and places are discussed in the pages that follow, perhaps the most interesting type of diversity in this issue is methodological. The first article is an exercise in semiotics, the second employs demographic analytical methods, and the third makes use of a mixture of interpretive strategies associated with social and cultural history. The *Forum* includes an essay on Confucian ideas about masculine friendships that analyzes canonical texts in a fashion typically associated with forays into intellectual or religious history, as well as a case study that illustrates the value of applying the methods of legal history to China's long imperial era. In addition, one of the very latest additions to the historian's methodological toolkit—digital technologies that can be used to represent and make sense of the past—is showcased in a multimedia text on “Los Angeles and the Problem of Urban Historical Knowledge” that was developed to accompany the Review Essays. This electronic complement to the print essays is available on-line in the *e-AHR*, which is accessible via [www.historycooperative.org](http://www.historycooperative.org), a web site that contains full-text versions of all recent issues of this journal. The multimedia text on L.A. includes animated maps and other visual materials as well as an illustrated essay on epistemology. A hint of what is provided in this digital creation is given on the cover of the print edition, since the photographic collage that appears there is part of the multimedia text just described.

### Articles

**Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak** uses insights derived from semiotic anthropology to rescue the wax impressions produced by individualized seals in medieval Europe from their status as objects of merely antiquarian interest. She does this through a careful and sustained look at how northern French lay elites of the eleventh and twelfth centuries used insignias in their discourse with one another as symbolic representations of their identities. Sigillography (the study of seals) needs, she insists, to be seen as much more than an auxiliary science to cultural history. Seals were not peripheral by-products but objects at the very heart of understandings of and debates about the nature of the self.



**Michael Tadman** directs our attention to an important demographic puzzle, for which he has a novel answer. The puzzle is that, on the one hand, by the 1850s the natural rate of increase of North American slaves was very high—exceeding even that of members of the white population. On the other, there were almost always more slaves dying than being born in other parts of the Americas at that time. The author argues that the comparative demographic “success” of the U.S. slaves did not arise out of exceptionally favorable treatment or circumstances, but instead was the result of a demographic regime where very high death rates were offset by even higher rates of birth. Decreases in other parts of the Americas, meanwhile, need to be understood as reflective of the peculiarities of a sugar production system in which slaveowners made intense physical demands on their slaves and required a perpetual surplus of males in their work gangs. The article combines careful economic analysis with consideration of the broad implications that predominately male slave populations in specific settings may have had for familial life, the incidence of revolts, and slaveowner ideas about blacks.

**Christopher R. Boyer** delves into the conflict between rival groups of workers at a textile mill in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution. He argues that labor leaders consciously misrepresented their essentially regionalist rivalry as a question of inter-union politics and working-class mobilization. Boyer claims that this sort of misrepresentation can be a key mechanism through which one social identity becomes articulated with another, and explores the effects of this process on ideas associated with mill-owner paternalism, the legitimacy of the Mexican state, and struggles for the control of women’s sexuality. The article sheds light on a wide range of issues associated with the language of class (and how it is inflected by gender) and the role of regional tensions in limiting the activities of unions (as well as sometimes facilitating worker solidarity). It combines intriguing detail of specific individuals and events with efforts to connect the Mexican material to debates that have engaged historians working on factories and mills located in very different sorts of settings.

### ***AHR Forum: Gender and Manhood in Chinese History***

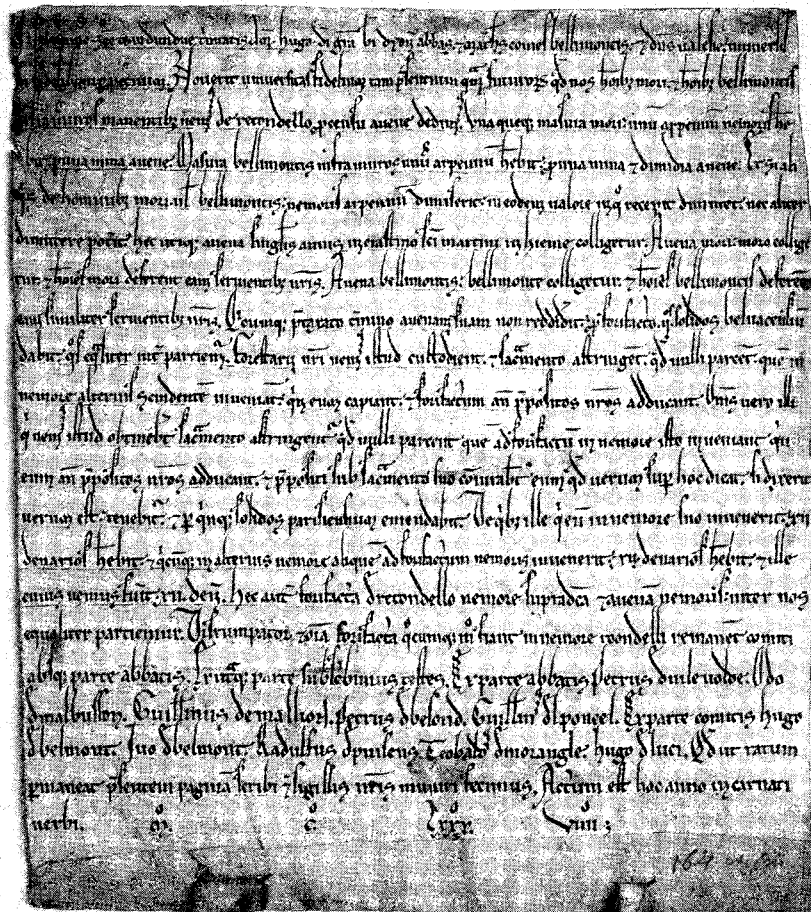
In recent decades, historians focusing on varied times and places have argued that we will not have a real understanding of the workings of gender as a historical category until more attention is paid to how men as well as women are gendered subjects. The impressive accomplishments made by women’s historians notwithstanding, these scholars have argued, it is crucial that efforts be made to problematize masculinity and explore the definition of manhood and the place of men within particular historical contexts. This *Forum* is an effort to do just that, via a look at relationships between men in China from imperial times up through the 1940s. It opens with a contextual overview by **Susan Mann**, who draws on her extensive work in women’s history to provide nonspecialists with a solid enough grounding in the historical and historiographic terrain of gender in China to make the most of the three case studies that follow. The first of these, by **Norman Kutcher**, on male friendship, makes the provocative claim that, in many ways, nonsexual affective bonds between men (which tended to be egalitarian) were more

threatening to the Confucian order than were ones of the sort we would now label homosexual (which tended to be hierarchical in nature). The second, by **Adrian Davis**, explores the curious fact that, while China is often described as a place where familial harmony was all-important and fraternal rivalries were muted due to the lack of a system of primogeniture, brothers sometimes killed one another. The third, by **Lee McIsaac**, turns from biological to fictive forms of fraternity, looking at the many meanings of sworn brotherhoods in a Chinese city in the middle of the twentieth century. The *Forum* closes with a comparative comment by **Robert A. Nye**, a Europeanist whose works have dealt with masculinity in nineteenth-century France and the history of sexuality.

### **Review Essays**

Three historians turn their attention here to a recent interdisciplinary volume devoted to Los Angeles at the end of the twentieth century. **Robert A. Schneider**, an early modern Europeanist who has written extensively on Toulouse, questions some of the assumptions made by postmodern geographers and other members of the “L.A. School” of urban studies about the novelty of the structure and workings of the contemporary metropolis. **Michael E. Engh**, a California historian, both provides background on his state’s most controversial metropolis and also draws attention to some issues—such as the activities of civic and religious groups—to which the urban theorists fascinated by the City of Angels have sometimes given short shrift. **Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch**, writing from Paris and from the perspective of an Africanist, is concerned with a mixture of methodological and comparative issues, including the similarities and differences between Los Angeles and Johannesburg, another urban center that has recently grown rapidly in size and undergone a dramatic series of changes. The articles section of the print *AHR* ends here, but the discussion of Los Angeles and urban history continues in the *e-AHR* with a multimedia text by **Philip J. Ethington**, which combines epistemological concerns with cartographic and photographic explorations of Southern California’s largest city.

A final note is in order here, which relates to a behind-the-scenes matter of which readers of an academic journal are rarely made aware. We could not have produced this issue, or, for that matter, the last 150 issues, without the wise assistance of Thomas “Mac” McDaniel at Cadmus Professional Services, who has set the *AHR* into type for literally the last thirty years. He begins a well-deserved retirement after this issue, and we will sorely miss his advice and counsel on how to make the journal look good. We wish him the very best fishing hole that Virginia has to offer.



Agreement to share revenues between Hugh, abbot of St. Denis, and Matthew, count of Beaumont. Sealed with Matthew's seal (the equestrian figure) and the seal of the abbey (St. Denis enthroned). Archives Nationales, J 168 no. 6—AD 1189 (Latin, Ile-de-France, immediately north of Paris).

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## Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept

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BRIGITTE MIRIAM BEDOS-REZAK

IN THE TWO CENTURIES following the turn of the first millennium, literate individuals in Western Europe rarely if ever resorted to mediated expression, to indirect communication by means of the written word, without expressing some sense of the absence of immediacy, that is, of personal presence. When Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux (d. 1181) could not attend a council in London, he sent a letter “so that the page might take the place of his person and the letter might faithfully bring his voice to life.”<sup>1</sup> Slightly earlier, Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) sought to reassure his correspondents about the authenticity and representativeness of two letters to which he was unable to affix his seal. In one letter, he wrote: “I do not have my seal handy, but the reader will recognize the style because I myself have dictated the letter.”<sup>2</sup> The other letter states: “May the discursive structure stand for the seal, which I do not have handy.”<sup>3</sup> Bernard expects readers to notice his personal presence, however immaterial, within the fabric of the text, through its style and diction. His secretary and biographer, Geoffrey of Clairvaux (or of Auxerre, d. after 1188), emphasized this conflation of person and text by entitling Chapter 8 of his biography: “On St. Bernard’s writings and the image of his soul expressed in them.”<sup>4</sup>

Bernard’s and Arnulf’s letters reveal two closely related assumptions, that there

Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (December 1996), at Princeton University (March 1997), at Johns Hopkins University (December 1997), and at the Stanford Meeting of the Medieval Academy (March 1998). I wish to thank these institutions’ audiences for their informative comments and challenging queries. All who read the manuscript at different stages of its elaborations, Professors Caroline Walker Bynum and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, my colleague at the University of Maryland Jeannie Rutenburg, Dr. Ira Rezak, Robert and Dimitri Milch, and the reviewers of the *AHR*, generously offered critical comments and rich suggestions that were crucial in helping this essay reach its mature version. Without the timely and generous assistance of Dr. Harry Fritts, this essay would have lacked the medium that enabled its appearance. Finally, it gives me pleasure to acknowledge my debt to the Institute for Advanced Study for the opportunity to carry forward my research for a year (1996–1997) under favorable circumstances, during which, benefiting from the learned guidance of Professor Giles Constable, I was able to advance my work on the medieval practice and theory of signs.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted and translated in John Van Engen, “Letters, Schools, and Written Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” *Dialektik und Rhetoric im früheren und hohen Mittelalter*, Johannes Fried, ed. (Munich, 1997), 114. The London council was gathered following the schism of 1160, to judge between the claims of rival popes.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 330; Bernard’s letters are quoted and discussed in Auguste Dumas, “La diplomatie et la forme des actes,” *Le moyen âge* 42 (1932): 21 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 339, Dumas, “La diplomatie et la forme des actes,” 21 n. 1. My admittedly free translation of *materies locutionis* as “discursive structure” privileges the meaning of *locutio* as style or manner of speech, and of *materies* as constituent substance.

<sup>4</sup> On Bernard’s relationship to writing and his ability to function through personal charisma, see C.



is a symbiotic relationship between human presence and representation, one in which representation matches real presence, and second that the written text is an embodiment of its author and articulates a notion of authenticity revolving around authority and identity. Additionally, Bernard indicates that there was equivalence between his discourse and his seal, in that both had the capacity to signify his personality. Written texts, to be sure, were major instruments of the literate elite's effectiveness as personalities and public figures,<sup>5</sup> but so too was the aura of their physical presence. Bernard and Arnulf lived at a time when it was still possible for them to deploy both media—body and text—equally in matters of authority, even though an irreversible movement had already commenced during the eleventh century that was to shift preeminence from personal to textual presence. Bernard, being literate, could both compose and write in Latin; his authorial identity might thus be vested just as well in his discursive style as in his seal. However, what became of such a form of personal identity if it had to be projected through texts that, produced by others in the names of non-literate individuals, necessarily lacked the authoritative imprint of authorial style and presence? The phenomenon I wish to consider in this essay involves the novel recourse to the written and sealed word by the lay aristocracy of northern France during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. At this time, French nobles were not yet literate; they lacked Latin beyond the modest requirements of liturgy, and as yet neither participated in modes of textual and iconic representation nor controlled the spheres of scribal and iconographic practice. I believe that the process of the French nobility's acculturation to such modes of representation as the sealed charter commenced in writing bureaus staffed by prescholastic clerics, who were actively involved in discussion on semiotics even as they wrestled with questions in sacramental theology.

Eleventh and twelfth-century lay elites came to be the subjects of representation in the explicit sense that, in situations requiring authority and commitment, they evolved from immediately present agents to represented actors. Persons absent in time or place were substituted by seals, which operated as alternates for those who were absent, acting in their place. It is intriguing that personal identity came to be signified just as people began to project their authority and accountability beyond their own actual, empirical presence. It is as if absence were required for the question of identity even to become conceivable.<sup>6</sup> Since seals are evidence, in my opinion, of a more general and unprecedented shift toward mediation, representation, and the formulation of personal identity in the medieval West, questions arise about the conceptual origin, form, signifying modes, and agency of this new medium, the sealed charter.

My own method in exploring this matter has been to follow not the principles but the analytical agenda of Peircean semiotic anthropology, which is critically

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Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), 272–77.

<sup>5</sup> Van Engen, "Letters, Schools, and Written Culture," 107–09, 113–14, discusses as the key characteristic of letters the intention to represent one self to another, to write as if two *personae* were speaking face to face.

<sup>6</sup> For a complex analysis of the circumstances that permit the conceptualization of identity as a political agent, see Pierre Legendre, *Le désir politique de Dieu: Etudes sur le montage de l'Etat et du droit* (Paris, 1988), 88 and following.



presented below.<sup>7</sup> By focusing on seals and on the institutions that produced them, I probe the effect of contemporary medieval theory on this sign's agency, assuming that seals' semiotic codes were dependent on a theology and an ontology that fostered their diffusion and interpretation. In this analysis, I do not seek to establish an absolute symmetry between semiotic theory and seal praxis. Rather, I examine how the seal was enabled by and how it encoded a specific set of ideas about signs and semiosis, and show how seal usage and metaphor contributed to contemporary reflection on and development of semiotic thinking.<sup>8</sup> I ask what idea of semiosis must have been operative and what the place of ideas within semiosis was that enabled ideas about sign efficacy to create and shape material signs. Lastly, wishing to elucidate the social effects of seals as agents that performed and produced cultural works, I examine the action of seals as an innovative semiotic trope that, both in theory and in social practice, re-figured the categories of person, presence, identity, and authority.

I will argue that, in projecting personal distinction, seals acted through a system of identification, designation, and recognition in which representational identity rested on an ontological principle of likeness. The medieval seal was a serial object: seal iconography utilized a limited range of distinctive types, themselves established on the basis of a limited range of stereotyped personae, and the engraved seal-die (matrix) itself repeatedly projected its owner's identity by reproducing identical impressions. This technology of replication appears to have served as a model for the formation of medieval identity. Seal users thus came to develop an awareness of themselves in relation to an object whose operational principles as a sign were categorization, replication, and verification. As the elites who used seals came to depend on representation by signs, the concepts of both social and personal identity came also to be formulated in relation to such signs. This is not to say that such representation and such concepts were completely congruous with any definition of the self-as-an-individual as might then have existed, or that the notions of individuality and subjectivity were primarily generated by, or a construct subject to, cultural codes.<sup>9</sup> I am not addressing here the entire postmillennial experience of

<sup>7</sup> Charles Sanders Peirce's (1839–1914) philosophical analysis of language and cognition constitutes the theoretical foundation of semiotic anthropology, an interpretive methodology developed at the University of Chicago in the mid-1970s. See below pp. 1516–32 for a full discussion of Peirce's semiotics and its applicability to the analysis of cultural processes.

<sup>8</sup> In his recent article, "John Duns Scotus, Charles Sanders Peirce, and Chaucer's Portrayal of the Canterbury Pilgrims," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 633–45, James I. Wimsatt argues that Chaucer's rendering of his pilgrims both as types and as individuals implies that Chaucer's art conformed to Scholastic realism. My own method is to look not for conformity but for interaction between semiotic systems and semiotic processes.

<sup>9</sup> The term "individual" is used throughout this essay in the neutral sense of a "single entity which is the subject of cognition in various modes"; Catherine McCall, *Concepts of Person: An Analysis of Concepts of Person, Self and Human Being* (Aldershot, 1990), 12. My argument concerning notions of individuality reopens, on a minor key, a topic eloquently discussed by Colin M. Morris in his classic *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (London, 1972), and ably pursued by John Benton, "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality," in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 263–95. For a challenge to some of Morris's claims, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual," in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), 82–109, who also gives a full review of the question and of its bibliography; and Timothy J. Reiss, *The Discourse of Modernism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 86–89. See John Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe," *AHR* 102 (December 1997):

selfhood or personhood, but I am exploring a new experiment in signing and signifying both person and personal identity within northern French culture and society.

In modern Western societies, while the term "identity" refers generally to those characteristics used to identify, define, and distinguish persons so that they can be individually recognized, it is also acknowledged that these characteristics as well as the very notions of identity and individuality may vary with time, place, and culture. In the medieval lexicon, the concept of identity did not address individual personality. Rather, identity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries centered on a logic of sameness and operated by assuming a model of similarity, referring to human beings as members of an identical species, or to the person as a psychosomatic whole, a social agent identical to itself with respect to number, essence, or properties. Since that particular sign, the seal, which accompanied, indeed articulated, the assertion of personal identity, participated in this same logic, conceptions of the sign and the human subject appear to be closely related. Indeed, they both operated on the basis of a newly elaborated premise of a dialogic connection between semiotics, theology, ontology, and anthropology.

CONCERN ABOUT MEDIATION, SIGNIFICATION, AND REPRESENTATION pervaded the eleventh century. The whole of Western Europe was then agitated by the Investiture Controversy, a dramatic conflict between church and state in which the pope struggled with the German emperor to establish absolute ecclesiastical control over the appointment of church officials. Less emphasized in traditional historiography but central to this conflict were questions surrounding the effectiveness of certain signs, particularly material objects. The papal party believed that the symbols of ecclesiastical office, the ring and the crozier, possessed no intrinsic capacity to cause any effect but that the valid possession and application of them effectively and irrevocably established an ecclesiastic's right to both office and its associated power. The underlying sign theory thus held that material symbols were ordinary objects whose significance derived from a value ascribed to them by common agreement, by their recognized use in a particular ceremony. At stake here was the very nature of the operation of signs, the belief that their efficacy might be based on a contract or covenant and need not depend on any value inhering in the sign-object used. After a century of heated discussions about this semiotic issue, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) was to propose a reversal of this position, arguing that signs were effective on the basis of inherent or infused virtue.<sup>10</sup>

In eleventh-century northern France, however, the semiotic debate extended

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1309–42, for a new reading of Renaissance individualism. *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*, Lawrence A. Pervin, ed. (New York, 1990), 143–45, gives anthropological and psychological approaches to the formation of social and personal identity that are intriguing even if not directly relevant for medieval society.

<sup>10</sup> See a lucid discussion of this controversy in William J. Courtenay, "Sacrament, Symbol, and Causality in Bernard of Clairvaux," *Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Presented to Dom Jean Leclercq* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1973), 111–22; and "The King and the Leaden Coin: The Economic Background of 'Sine qua non' Causality," *Traditio* 28 (1972): 185–209; both rpt. in *Covenant and Causality in Medieval Thought: Studies in Philosophy, Theology, and Economic Practice* (London, 1984).

beyond a consideration of the efficacy of the signs of ecclesiastical investiture. The signifying modes at work in language, in writing, and in such fundamental signs of divine revelation as the sacraments, the Incarnation, and the Trinity came under intense scrutiny.<sup>11</sup> The literate elites involved in this inquiry were prescholastic

<sup>11</sup> The shift from transcendence toward immanence that characterized the understanding of sign operation between the Investiture Controversy and Thomas Aquinas seems also to have animated a broader semiotic reflection, which, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, focused particularly on linguistics, sacramental theology, and authority and authenticity in scriptural and documentary writings. The bibliography on each of these areas is abundant and is here cited only selectively; see below at n. 42 for references on image and representation in prescholastic thought. On medieval signs in general, see Marie-Dominique Chenu, O.P., "The Symbolist Mentality," in Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* (Chicago, 1968), 99–161; Umberto Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* (Bloomington, Ind., 1984); Alfonso Maierù, "'Signum' dans la culture médiévale," *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 13 (1981): 51–72; Eugene Vance, *Merveilous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages* (Lincoln, Neb., 1986).

On theories of verbal signification between Augustine and Dante, see Marcia L. Colish, *The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge* (Lincoln, 1983). On medieval semiotics, see *On the Medieval Theory of Signs*, Umberto Eco and Costantino Marmo, eds. (Amsterdam, 1989). On the postmillennial questioning of intellectual attitudes forged in Late Antiquity, see Constant J. Mews, "Philosophy and Theology 1100–1150: The Search for Harmony," in *Le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Françoise Gasparri, ed. (Paris, 1994), 159–203.

On the growing centrality of written language, the rise of empiricism, and the transformation of symbolic agency, see Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J., 1983). For an alternate view, see Rosamund McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1987) (see below, n. 54). Closer to Stock in approaching the issue of literacy from the viewpoint of textuality is Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: "Grammatica" and Literary Theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge, 1994). Both Stock and Irvine show the extent to which, in a given society, the performance of literacy is bound up with theories of authority, knowledge, and signification. Brian V. Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, 1984), 19–125, gives an overview of various theories on the interpretation of literacy, including Jack Goody's.

No study explores systematically the dialectics of scriptural authority and documentary authenticity, although I discuss some aspects in Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Les juifs et l'écrit dans la mentalité eschatologique du Moyen Age chrétien occidental (France 1000–1200)," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 5 (1994): 1049–63. Michael T. Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066–1307*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1993), esp. 253–317, though primarily based on English records, provides an insightful analysis of the growth of literate practice that has helped reconceptualize the study of continental practical literacy. Synthetic treatments of authority and authenticity, particularly with respect to legal and documentary practices, include B. Bedos-Rezak, "Diplomatic Sources and Medieval Documentary Practices: An Essay in Interpretive Methodology," *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, John Van Engen, ed. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1994), 327–28; Marie-Dominique Chenu, "Auctor, Actor, Autor," *Bulletin du Cange* 3 (1927): 81–86; and "Authentica et magistralia," *Divus Thomas* 28 (1925): 257–85; Frederic Cheyette, "The Invention of the State," *Essays in Medieval Civilization: The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures*, Bede Karl Lackner and Kenneth Roy Phillip, eds. (Austin, Tex., 1979); Auguste Dumas, "La diplomatie et la forme des actes," *Le moyen âge* 42 (1932): 5–31; and "Etude sur le classement des formes des actes," *Le moyen âge* 43 (1933): 81–264, and 44 (1934): 17–41; Bernard Guenée, "Authentique et approuvé: Recherches sur les principes de la critique historique au Moyen Age," *La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du Moyen Age: Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S.*, 589 (Paris, 1981), 215–29, rpt. in *Politique et histoire au moyen âge* (Paris, 1981), 265–78; Jean Philippe Lévy, "Coup d'œil d'ensemble sur l'histoire de la preuve littéraire," *Hommages à Gérard Bouverot: Index: Quaderni camerati di studi romanistici, International Survey of Roman Law* 15 (1987): 473–501; *La Preuve, Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin*, vol. 17 (Brussels, 1965).

On postmillennial debates surrounding sacramental theology, I am indebted to Courtenay, *Covenant and Causality*, essays 2 and 7; H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum: L'eucharistie et l'église au Moyen Age, étude historique* (Paris, 1949); Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Age* (Oxford, 1984); Irène Rosier, "Signe et Sacrement," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 74 (1990): 392–436; Stock, *Social Implications of Literacy*, 241–325; Damien van den Eynde, *Les définitions des sacrements pendant la première période de la théologie scholastique (1050–1240)* (Rome, 1950).

Christian churchmen who were active both in ecclesiastical schools, where they taught and directed doctrinal debates,<sup>12</sup> and in chanceries, where they supervised the production of written documents.<sup>13</sup> School and chancery shared not only the

<sup>12</sup> Prescholastics were theologians whose intellectual efforts at unfolding problems in patristic thought were still traditionally inspired by faith and embedded within a comprehensive philosophy of man's physical and spiritual power. They, however, treated a universal range of subjects in a detailed, abstract, and systematic way, which contributed to the newer scholastic understanding of faith, an understanding that had lost its previous broader psychological setting. Studies on the activities of various types of ecclesiastical schools include Emile Lesne, *Les écoles de la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. 5, Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France* (Lille, 1940); Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'occident chrétien de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1979); Jacques Verger, "Une étape dans le renouveau scolaire du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 123–45; Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire of God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York, 1962); Louis Carolus-Barré, "Les écoles capitulaires et les collèges de Soissons au Moyen Age et au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Actes du 95<sup>e</sup> Congrès des sociétés savantes* (Reims, 1970), Vol. 1: *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IX<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1975), 123–26; Marcia Colish, "Another Look at the School of Laon," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 53 (1986): 7–22; Valérie Flint, "The 'School of Laon': A Reconsideration," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 43 (1976): 89–110, rpt. in Flint, *Ideas in the Medieval West: Texts and Their Contexts* (London, 1988), no. 1, pp. 89–110; Nikolaus M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras, a Twelfth-Century Master of the School of Chartres* (Toronto, 1965); Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*; and "Cathedral Schools and Humanist Learning, 950–1150," *Deutsches Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 61 (1987): 569–616; Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Louvain-Gembloux, 1942–1960), Vol. 5: *Problèmes d'histoire littéraire, l'école d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux* (Gembloux, 1959); Léon A. Maître, *Les écoles épiscopales et monastiques en occident avant les universités*, 2d edn. (Ligugé, 1924); B. Merlette, "Ecoles et bibliothèques à Laon, du déclin de l'antiquité au développement de l'université," *Actes du 95<sup>e</sup> Congrès des sociétés savantes* (Reims, 1970), Vol. 1: *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IX<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1975), 21–54; E. Michaud, *Guillaume de Champeaux et les écoles de Paris au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1867); Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (Oxford, 1995); and "The Schools of Paris and Chartres," in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, 113–37; John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983); John R. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century," *Speculum* 29 (1954): 661–77; and "The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118–1136," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 93–114.

Much work has been devoted to the School of St. Victor, of which the most relevant publications for this study are Fourier Bonnard, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de St.-Victor de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1904–07); Jean Châtillon, "Les écoles de Chartres et de Saint-Victor," *La Scuola*, 2: 795–840; and "De Guillaume de Champeaux à Thomas Gallus: Chronique d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de l'Ecole de Saint-Victor," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 8 (1952): 139–62 and 247–72; Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 244–68. Jean Longère, ed., *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Age* (Paris-Turnhout, 1991); Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2d edn. (Notre Dame, 1970); P. Sicard, *Hughes de Saint-Victor et son école* (Turnhout, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> The world of postmillennial chanceries, particularly as it intersects with prescholasticism, has so far received scant attention, see Robert-Henri Bautier, "Chancellerie et culture au Moyen Age," *Cancellaria e cultura nel Medio Evo: Comunicazioni presentate nelle giornate di studio della Commissione internazionale di diplomazia, Stoccarda, 1985*, Germano Gualdo, ed. (Città del Vaticano, 1990), 1–75, esp. 8–9 for the French situation, rpt. in R.-H. Bautier, *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries: Etudes de diplomatique et de sigillographie médiévales*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1990), 1: 47–121, esp. 54–55; Ghislain Brunel, "Chartes et chancelleries épiscopales du Nord de la France au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *A propos des actes d'évêques: Hommage à Lucie Fossier*, Michel Parisse, ed. (Nancy, 1991), 227–44, esp. 238–42; Françoise Gasparri, "Scriptorium et bureau d'écriture de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris," in Longère, *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor*, 119–39; Gasparri, "La chancellerie du roi Louis VII et ses rapports avec le scriptorium de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris," *Palaeographica diplomatica et archivistica: Studi in onore di Giulio Batelli* (Rome, 1979), 151–58. In his "Letters, Schools, and Written Culture," Van Engen stresses the relationships between theory acquired in school and practice employed in administrative courts (p. 105), and between instruction in rhetoric and work in chanceries (pp. 109, 123–24, 126–27, 131), concluding that, after 1200, the sites and institutions of schooling became further removed from administrative loci (p. 131). Bernard Guenée focuses on the historiographical role of chanceries in "Chancelleries et monastères," in *Les lieux de la mémoire*, Vol. 2: *La nation*, Pierre Nora, ed. (Paris, 1986), 5–30. Monographs bearing on specific chanceries tend to address the method and



same location but, significantly, the same staff, which I have come to term chancery-scholars.<sup>14</sup> In many cases, the theologically engaged scholars were themselves chancellors specifically in charge of the writing bureaus that produced charters, or else they were bishops or abbots responsible for the written output produced in their names.<sup>15</sup> A complex skein of filiation, apprenticeships and training, associations, preferments, and marginalizations bound such scholars together over time and considerable distances. Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (d. 1089), for example, was closely associated with Berengar of Tours (d. 1088) in the Loire Valley before settling in Normandy as master of the cathedral school at Avranches, founding master of the school at the abbey of Bec, and abbot of St. Etienne de Caen.<sup>16</sup> At Bec, Lanfranc trained both his successor, Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), and Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115), who became abbot of a community of Augustinian canons near Beauvais before receiving the bishopric of Chartres.<sup>17</sup> Anselm of Laon (d. 1117), who had been Anselm of Canterbury's

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scope of documentary production. See Benoît-Michel Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le cas d'Arras* (Louvain, 1991); and Tock, *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras (1093–1203)* (Paris, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> Studies devoted to the chancellors and staffs of postmillennial chanceries indicate that the chancellor was often the head of the school as well: *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae: Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines de France de 1200 à 1500*, Vol. 1: *Diocèse d'Amiens*, by Pierre Desportes and Hélène Millet (Turnhout, 1996); Dom Nicolas Huyghebaert, "Recherches sur les chanceliers des évêques de Noyon-Tournai," *Annales de la fédération historique et archéologique de Belgique 35<sup>e</sup> congrès, juillet 1953*, fasc. 5 (Courtrai, 1955): 665–80; John R. Williams, "Godfrey of Rheims: A Humanist of the Eleventh Century," *Speculum* 22 (1947): 29–45. On the careers of eleventh-century northern French chancellors, see the pioneering contribution by Brunel, "Chartes et chancelleries épiscopales du Nord de la France," 238–42; Patrick Demouy, *Actes des archevêques de Reims d'Arnoul à Renaud II, 957–1139* (Thèse pour le doctorat de III<sup>e</sup> cycle en histoire, Université de Nancy II, 1982), 210–12; Georges Lacombe, *La vie et les œuvres de Prévostin* (Le Saulchoir, 1927), 36–46; William Mendel Newman, *Le personnel de la cathédrale d'Amiens, 1066–1306* (Paris, 1972), 5–13; Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1986), 169. On the career of Berengar of Tours at the cathedral chapter of Saint-Martin of Tours, where he served as *grammaticus*, *scholasticus*, and chancellor, see A. J. Macdonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (1930; rpt. edn., Merrick, N.Y., 1977), 38. Berengar also performed scribal functions for Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou: Margaret Gibson, "Letters and Charters Relating to Berengar of Tours," *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, P. Ganz, et al., eds. (Wiesbaden, 1990), 5–23, rpt. in "Artes" and *Bible in the Medieval West* (London, 1993), no. 18, pp. 5–23, esp. 8. The comital document in which Berengar had a hand is catalogued and discussed in Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972), 2: 65–66, no. C 77 (1039). Concerned with a period slightly after that under consideration here, John Baldwin shows that those who were employed as regent masters at Paris often achieved high positions in the church including that of chancellor: "Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215, A Social Perspective," in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, 138–72.

<sup>15</sup> I am still constructing the network of chancery-scholars tentatively sketched here. This will require the reading of numerous charters so as to establish the itineraries of highly mobile scholars whose intellectual journeys have been abundantly researched but whose services to writing bureaus have remained virtually unexplored. Also, not surprisingly, little is known of the staff of early chanceries: Brunel's essay on the subject, "Chartes et chancelleries épiscopales du Nord de la France," and Demouy's research on the *Actes des archevêques de Reims* show the symbiosis between eleventh-century schools and chanceries and that scribes were recruited from the schools. Scholarly contacts and schools of thought are sketched in studies quoted above at nn. 12 and 14, and also in Robert Javelet, *Image et ressemblance au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle, de saint Anselme à Alain de Lille*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967), 1: xv–xviii. A current bibliography on the masters discussed below is available in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le moyen âge* (Paris, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> J. de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Béranger: La controverse eucharistique du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain, 1971).

<sup>17</sup> With Ivo of Chartres's episcopacy (1090–1115), the golden age of intellectual activity at Chartres commenced, particularly enhanced by three chancellors: Bernard of Chartres, Gilbert (later bishop of Poitiers), and Thierry of Chartres.



student at Bec, became chancellor to the bishop of Laon, while gathering around him, in turn, such students as his brother Ralph (later to succeed him as chancellor, d. 1133), Peter Abelard (d. 1142), William of Champeaux (d. 1121), Alberic of Rheims (later archbishop of Bourges, d. 1141), and Gilbert of Poitiers (head of the Porretain school, chancellor at Chartres, and later bishop of Poitiers, d. 1154). William of Champeaux, at the time of his death in 1121 the bishop of Châlons, had been master in the cathedral school of Paris before founding the abbey of St. Victor in Paris.<sup>18</sup> At the beginning of its existence, this abbey functioned as a virtual chancery for the production of royal diplomas while also evolving as a major doctrinal and spiritual center under the aegis of Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141).<sup>19</sup> A great admirer of the Victorines, the theologian Praepositinus of Cremona, who in his later years (1206–1210) became chancellor of the cathedral and university of Paris, is worth mention in this context, since homiletic materials he derived from his documentary and sealing functions on behalf of the bishop of Paris are the earliest of this genre to survive.<sup>20</sup> Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154) became chancellor of Chartres, succeeding Bernard of Chartres, whose student he had also been.<sup>21</sup> There was a break in scholarly activity after Gerbert d'Aurillac's tenure (later Pope Sylvester II, d. 1003) at Rheims, but the school reemerged from obscurity with master Herimann (d. ca. 1075) and his disciple Bruno (d. 1101), ultimately producing the controversial logician Roscelin of Compiègne (d. ca. 1125). Bruno also served as chancellor to the archbishop of Rheims, before himself founding the Grande Chartreuse, the mother house of the monastic Carthusian Order. Following the chancellorship of the learned humanist Godfrey (d. 1094), Alberic (d. 1141), who had trained under Anselm at Laon, became head of the cathedral school at Rheims in 1094.<sup>22</sup> Boulogne, Arras, Cambrai, Amiens, Beauvais, Soissons, Senlis, and Rouen all had chancellors and bishops who were scholars, although many schools and their masters remain to be studied in detail.<sup>23</sup> The map thus established

<sup>18</sup> William had also been the student of Roscelin; J. Jolivet, "Données sur Guillaume de Champeaux dialecticien et théologien," in Longère, *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor*, 235–52.

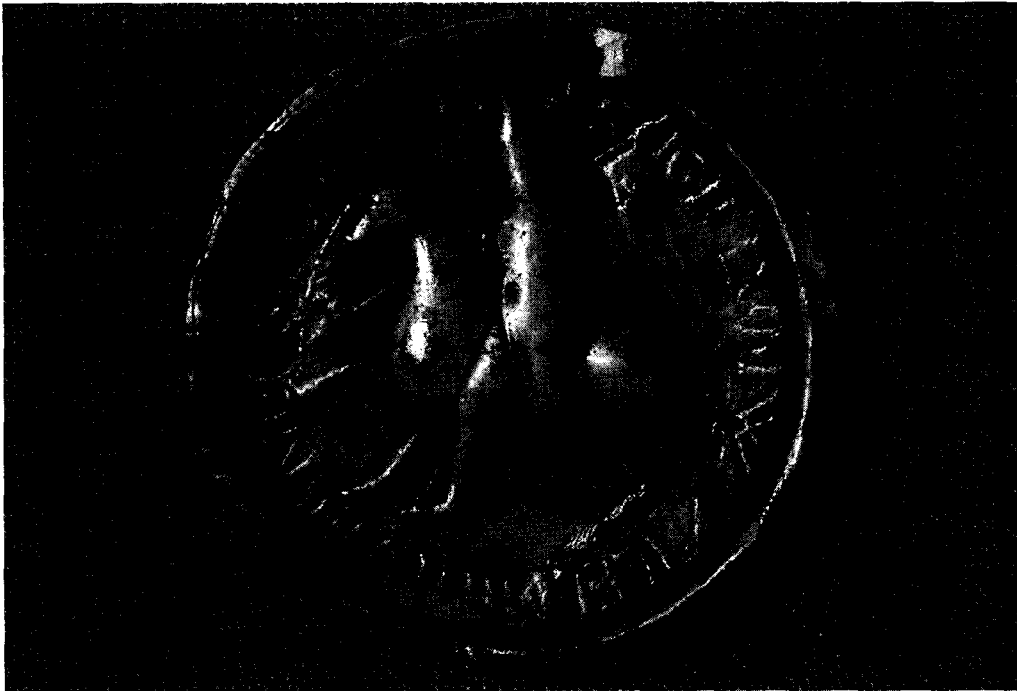
<sup>19</sup> Gasparri, "La chancellerie du roi Louis VII." See additional bibliography on the School of St. Victor above at n. 12.

<sup>20</sup> I wish to thank Professor John Baldwin and Jean-Baptiste Lebigue for bringing to my attention this extraordinary sermon in which Praepositinus weaves together theology and sigillography. I am particularly grateful that Lebigue, who recently (1999) defended his dissertation at the Ecole Nationale des Chartes (Paris) on Praepositinus's sermons, which he has edited for this purpose, kindly sent me the sermon's two extant versions, respectively in Munich (Clm. 14126, f<sup>o</sup>2 r<sup>o</sup>a), and Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 14,804, f<sup>o</sup> 108v<sup>o</sup>b). There is a brief comment on the sermon by Lacombe in *La vie et les oeuvres de Prévostin*, 38–39, who also gives the sermon's incipit (p. 186, no. 21) and textual variations between the two versions (p. 191). In addition to such explicit application of seal usages to theology, Praepositinus made ample use of the seal metaphor when discussing the creation of man in God's image in *Summa super Psalterium* and *Summa Theologica*: Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*, 1: 164, 178, 218, 221, 224–25, 260; 2: 134, 142, 150, 189, 192, 195, 197, 221; Lacombe, *La vie et les oeuvres*, 109.

<sup>21</sup> John of Salisbury was Gilbert's student. Gilbert was challenged for his teaching on the Trinity, though not condemned despite Bernard of Clairvaux's efforts toward this end.

<sup>22</sup> Herimann rejected the position of Berengar of Tours on the Eucharist: Williams, "Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century," 664–65; Williams, "Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118–36"; Williams, "Godfrey of Rheims, a Humanist of the Eleventh Century"; Lambertus M. De Rijk, "Some New Evidence on Twelfth-Century Logic: Alberic and the School of Mont Ste Geneviève (Montani)," *Vivarium* 6 (1966): 1–57. Alberic, and another student of Anselm of Laon who was master with him at Rheims, Lotulf of Novara, fiercely opposed Abelard's teachings on the Trinity.

<sup>23</sup> Lesne, *Les écoles*; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*; Brunel, "Chartes et chancelleries épiscopales



Seal of William, count of Nevers, 1140. Archives Nationales, Paris, D 859.

of cathedral schools should be extended to include monastic establishments, for there was a fluid exchange of individuals and ideas between these two institutional worlds. Reform-minded bishops or their chancellors often founded or reorganized local abbeys; masters of schools not infrequently returned to cloisters (Bruno, William of Champeaux); indeed, some scholars produced most of their work in a monastic environment (Lanfranc and Anselm of Bec).

What was novel about these chancery-scholars and deserves our attention is the heightened semiotic sensitivity of their theological debates, their pronounced tendency to ponder the issue of presence and representation. Two of their constructs were unprecedented in the medieval West. First, they came to recognize presence and representation as essential to the structure governing the generation of identity, conceiving identity as dependent on sameness (that is, identity) but necessarily involving interactions between the similar and the dissimilar. The identity they contemplated concerned both divine and human persons and sparked discussions on the very nature of personhood. Second, they objectified identity by using a new material sign: the seal. Thus the definition of identity that emerged in the eleventh century derived from specific concerns initially directed, later redirected, by the articulation of this definition within a theory of signs. In order to understand both the concept and the sign of identity, and their agency, it will be

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du Nord de la France," insisting on the actual participation of both chancellors and bishops in documentary production (pp. 240–41), discusses the chancery-scholars of Soissons and Cambrai. In Cambrai, the Schoolman Werimboldus explicitly recorded his role in the composition of episcopal charters: "Werimboldus scolasticus scripsit et recognovit" (1057), "S. Werinboldi arciscoli . . . qui hanc kartam composuit" (1089), quoted by Brunel, 242. On Arras, see Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras*; Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 189–91.

necessary to examine the domains that concerned chancery-scholars and led them to innovations in thought and social praxis. These domains included the relationships between language and reality, between the Eucharist and real presence, between the Trinity and the related subjects of person, image, and resemblance, and between writing and authority. Such issues were hardly new in the Christian culture of the West, but in their treatment as a set of related concerns they indicate a crisis in the dominant signifying system.

Discussions of linguistics pursued by prescholastics in wrestling with questions of sacramental theology involved a renewed study of the fundamental corpus of semio-linguistic theory that had been provided earlier by St. Augustine (d. 430).<sup>24</sup> A resulting interpretive shift in the understanding of Augustinian theory brought an awareness of what may be termed the Augustinian paradox. Augustine's semiotics, presented in Book 2 of *De Doctrina Christiana*, are a confusing tangle of claims and doubts.<sup>25</sup> Early church doctrine seems to have privileged the classical dualism between the sign and the thing referred to by the sign, whereby only the thing, though ideal and not of this world, has reality; the dualistic Augustine emphasized the lack of congruence between signifier (indicator) and signified (that which is indicated), privileging eternal ideal objects of reference over signs, and he deplored linguistic multiplicity and semantic obscurity as a condition of the Fall. Augustine recognized two classes of signs, *signa naturalia*, or natural signs, which he conceived as having a necessary and causal relationship with their referents (for example, "where there's smoke, there's fire"), and *signa data*, or given conventional signs (language, clothing, money), which signify by virtue of their givers' essentially arbitrary intentions.<sup>26</sup> He seems never to have considered the possibility that conventional signs may function more like natural signs, because he did not believe that causal dependence or logical implications between signs and referents were possible models for language and culture.<sup>27</sup> In Augustine's dualistic and idealistic theory, human language is an external imitation of a transcendental reality, lacking its necessarily ideal referent or object and thus fundamentally unable to express

<sup>24</sup> Of the large bibliography available on Augustinian sign theory, the following were particularly helpful: Clifford Ando, "Augustine on Language," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 40 (1994): 45-78; Colish, *Mirror of Language*, 7-54; *De Doctrina Christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*, Duane W. H. Arnold and Pamela Bright, eds. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1995); J. Engels, "La doctrine du signe chez Saint Augustin," *Studia Patristica* 6 (1962): 366-73; B. Darrell Jackson, "The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 15 (1969): 9-49; Maierù, "'Signum' dans la culture médiévale," 55-57; Giovanni Manetti, *Theories of the Sign in Classical Antiquity* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), 157-68; R. A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," *Phronesis* 2 (1957): 60-83; and "'Imago' and 'similitudo' in Augustine," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 10 (1964): 125-43, both rpt. in *Sacred and Secular: Studies on Augustine and Latin Christianity* (Aldershot, 1994).

<sup>25</sup> This apt expression is by Thomas S. Maloney, "Is the *Doctrina* the Source for Bacon's Semiotics," *Reading and Wisdom: The "De Doctrina Christiana" of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, Edward D. English, ed. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1995), 133. See a discussion of instances where Augustine's reasoning undermines his own distinction between signs and things in Eileen C. Sweeney, "Hugh of St. Victor: The Augustinian Tradition of Sacred and Secular Reading Revised," in *Reading and Wisdom*, 73. An edition and translation of the *De Doctrina* is available: Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, R. P. H. Green, ed. and trans. (Oxford, 1995).

<sup>26</sup> The two kinds of signs are distinguished in Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 2.1.2, 2.2.3, Green, 56-59; Maierù, "'Signum' dans la culture médiévale," 55-57.

<sup>27</sup> Sweeney, "Hugh of St. Victor," 65; R. A. Markus, "Signs, Communication, and Communities in Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*," in Arnold and Bright, *De Doctrina Christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*, 98-99.

God's essence, God's identity as the perfection of self-reference. Understanding language as a form of alienation, since only God is Logos—the unique extra-semiotic guarantor of the adequacy of signs who resists capture by referential language—Augustine effectively deprived human knowledge of the possibility of stable notions and impeded the reification of human understanding.

Yet Augustine also wished to bridge the abyss between sign and thing that he himself had so effectively excavated, and this presented a paradox. The Augustinian solution for connecting word and thing, for circumventing the deferral and mediation inherent in text and language, is communion with pure presence, that is, incarnation. As God incarnate, the word-become-flesh, Christ bridges the gap between signifier and signified, for in Augustine's doctrine (as in the later dogma) of the Incarnation and the Eucharist, substance and its representation are one and the same. In this view, "the word of God [the Logos] suffered no change although it became flesh in order to live in us."<sup>28</sup> Sacraments in this construction are different from other signs; they actualize the presence of that to which words merely point. In Augustinian theology, the incarnation of the Logos became a model that, while still limiting linguistic expression, promoted sacramental signification through presence.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, although Augustine reiterated the Platonic idea of a schism between sign and thing, he also left a semiotic legacy of reification, an escape from the mere referentiality of signs, a locus for unmediated presence. Worth noting here is the transition from signification to reification, from sign to thing to the silence of the word, which, made flesh, transcends the entire system of discourse.<sup>30</sup> Augustine's desire for a communion with pure presence undermined the older representative mediation of signs, but it also provided, in the interpretive hands of prescholastic theologians, the seed for a new theory of representation. Identity between sign and object came to inform a novel signifying process, during the twelfth century, when the Eucharist was firmly conceived as being, in and of itself, what it represents. It has been conventional to invoke a growing acceptance of Aristotelian thought as accounting for the appearance in prescholastic culture of the idea that a symbol partakes of the reality it expresses. However, it may well be that the Augustinian semiotic corpus was itself perfectly capable of inspiring the belief that immanence was central to the operation of symbolism.<sup>31</sup>

The governing, encompassing question was, therefore, that of the relationship between signs and the world, and the implications of this question were brought to the fore in the course of the controversy provoked by the ideas of Roscelin of Compiègne. During the second half of the eleventh century, Roscelin, the most famous teacher of dialectics in the schools of northern France, initiated what came

<sup>28</sup> Augustine, *De Doctrina*, Green, 24–25.

<sup>29</sup> Augustine, *De Doctrina*, Green, 22–25.

<sup>30</sup> Susan A. Handelman offers very insightful remarks on Augustine's semiotics and reification of signs in *The Slayers of Moses: The Emergence of Rabbinic Interpretation in Modern Literary Theory* (Albany, N.Y., 1982), 89–90, 113–20.

<sup>31</sup> Chenu, "Symbolist Mentality," 134–35, 139–40; Marie-Dominique Chenu, "The Platonisms of the Twelfth Century," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 49–98. Maierù, "'Signum' dans la culture médiévale," 69–70, discusses the many aspects of Augustinian doctrine and their differing treatment according to situated theological cultures, and he refutes a radical opposition between Aristotle and Augustine.

to be known as nominalism and thereby launched a debate about universals. Opposing nominalists to realists, this debate bloomed into a pivotal controversy in medieval philosophy. Universals, for instance “man” or “animal,” were general categories of properties shared by many particular entities. The discussion focused on the ontological status of these universal categories: what degree of reality did they possess, from what did they derive? For the nominalist Roscelin, these categories had neither objective nor subjective reality. They existed neither in the mind nor in reality, being simply spoken sounds or verbal expressions for mental constructs derived from experience with particular entities that exist in nature alone.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, following the Platonic and Augustinian tradition, the realists maintained that, although universal categories did not have corporeal existence, they nevertheless did exist outside the human mind: in God’s mind, where, eternal and immutable, they were the source of forms for spatio-temporal things.<sup>33</sup> Roscelin’s nominalist denial of ideal realities (universals) and of any linkage between word and physical property contradicted Augustine’s position on the reality of universal categories but not his distinction between words and referents. For Roscelin, however, referents were other words and not real things identical with divine ideas, as they ultimately were for the Augustinians. Supporters of Augustine’s position, such as Anselm of Bec, Alberic of Rheims, and William of Champeaux, defended it by shifting from the earlier medieval accent on Augustine’s radical dualism between word and thing to an emphasis on his theory of ontological immanence and participation.<sup>34</sup> This theory argued that things guided the properties of signs, that, inhering in the spatio-temporal realm, universals created similarities among objects. To be sure, participation in the transcendent was not a matter of identity but only of resemblance; only God, uniquely, possessed true identity.

Disagreeing with both his teacher Roscelin and with Augustine and his followers, Abelard denied the existence of anything that is not a particular. While retaining the notion that the common nature inherent in things of the same species made them similar, he argued that such similarity fell short of constituting them as universals. For Abelard, words were universals, concepts of things, not images of things. Yet words functioned by means of images deriving their meaning, not from the things themselves but from the mode of signification at work in the human mind. Abelard held that the mind creates at will images or copies for configuring

<sup>32</sup> The entire issue of *Vivarium* 30, no. 1 (1992) is devoted to nominalism. See a fuller bibliography on Roscelin and on his positions below at n. 44.

<sup>33</sup> It is traditional in medieval historiography to contrast nominalists with realists. The term realism, however, is confusing in the context of medieval studies. Realism, also called idealism, is the medieval philosophical theory derived from Plato’s formulation, which affirmed the reality of universals (that is, abstract ideas or general forms), argued that they were perceptible only by the mind, and that they existed separately from the material objects they caused. Somewhat confusingly, the term realism is also used to describe Boethius’s and Pseudo-Dionysius’s doctrine that material objects and imagery borrowed from sense-perceptible reality had value for sacred knowledge because of their symbolic capacity and their ability to incorporate the intelligible reality they expressed.

<sup>34</sup> Anselm expressed his opposition to Roscelin in three letters: “To John the Monk,” “To Fulco, Bishop of Beauvais,” and “The Incarnation of the Word,” all in *Anselm of Canterbury*, Jasper Hopkins and Herbert Richardson, ed. and trans., vol. 3 (Toronto, 1976), 3–37. William of Champeaux’s Augustinianism is most recently discussed in Mews, “Philosophy and Theology,” 168–69, with additional bibliography in nn. 69–76.



absent things. These images are the proper objects of thought and understanding, which thus operate on a likeness that the mind creates. This likeness has neither substantial reality nor the underpinning by transcendent universals that, for the Augustinians, accounted for the similarities between things. For Abelard, words apply the mind to the likeness of things, but words designate images, not their objects; words therefore signify an understanding of what they predicate rather than refer to the object itself. By pointing out that thoughts and understanding are not the same as their objects, Abelard displaced the Augustinian notion that divine realities are actually present in the human mind where they beget images of themselves. He located the act of understanding in the mind as the active inventor of universal concepts with its *modus operandi* of created images. From this initial controversy over universals, there emerged a reinforced vocabulary of “likeness,” and an attendant notion of images as signs of absent things.<sup>35</sup>

Conflict over universals also permeated the argument raised by Berengar of Tours in the eleventh century, which prompted the northern French schools to reconsider the nature of the Eucharistic sign.<sup>36</sup> For Berengar, as for Abelard, the issue was the relationship of logico-linguistic structures to the mind and to reality.<sup>37</sup> The Eucharistic debate was couched in quasi-documentary terms: was the Eucharist “dispositive,” that is, endowed with real presence and inherently potent, a belief that would equate the interpretive material supporting it (texts) with events in the real world? Or, as Berengar maintained, did the modality of the Eucharistic presence have to be consonant with a linguistic model of grammar and logic: in short, did the Eucharist have to be allegorized in order to be understood? Berengar

<sup>35</sup> Abelard's approaches to the problem of language and reality have received much attention. This essay benefited from the studies of J. Ramsay McCallum, *Abelard's Christian Theology* (1948; rpt. edn., Merrick, N.Y., 1976), 40–44; John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1997), 162–73; Mews, “Philosophy and Theology,” 168–73; Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 362–402. See below at n. 42 for a fuller bibliography on the concept of image and representation in prescholastic thought.

<sup>36</sup> In the ninth-century discussion of the Eucharist that took place in Corbie, Paschasius Radbert (d. ca. 860) asserted that the body of Christ was present in the Eucharist through the agency of consecration. This statement provoked a reaction on the part of Ratramnus (d. 868), a fellow monk who, taking Augustine's view of sacraments as visible words distinct from the thing they signify, interpreted Christ in the Eucharist as a figure, as an image of a truth that resided elsewhere. The debate continued in the next century, taken up by scholars from the bishopric of Liège, who were inclined to accept the Eucharistic physicalism of Paschasius. Heriger of Lobbes (d. 1007), in particular, while trying to reconcile the two positions and to harmonize patristic differences on the meaning of sacraments, was fundamentally a physicalist in his conception of the Eucharist. See a lucid summary of these earlier debates in Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), 14–16; Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 21–25; and Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 259–72. Significantly, Heriger of Lobbes was responsible for the production of the earliest sealed episcopal document in Liège, issued on June 19, 980, in the name of Bishop Notger (972–1008). This seal is actually the earliest extant non-royal medieval seal. The document is published with facsimile, French translation, diplomatic and historical commentaries, and bibliography in *Autour de Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil: Album de documents commentés*, Olivier Guyotjeannin and Emmanuel Pouille, eds. (Paris, 1996), no. 44, pp. 300–05.

<sup>37</sup> Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 385, 402. Berengar, in rekindling the Eucharistic controversy, also initiated an intense focus on sacramental theology, which dominated eleventh and twelfth-century prescholastic discussions. Significantly, some of these theologians extended to all sacraments the notion that the Eucharist is a sacrament because it is Christ's body. A sacrament (*sacrae rei signum*), thus, is properly sacramental when it self-identifies with its signified (*signatum*); van den Eynde, *Les définitions des sacrements*, 25–27, 138–40. For a theoretical as well as doctrinal assessment of the debate between Berengar and his opponents, see Colish, *Mirror of Language*, 65, 72–74; Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 35–53; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 13–25; Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 252–315.

refused to admit that which is denied by the evidence of the senses or by simple logic. He therefore stated that the bread and wine remain on the altar after consecration, and that it was interpretation, a getting beneath the surface senses, that gave the Eucharist genuine meaning. Though relying, as Abelard would later, on the tool of linguistic philosophy, Berengar argued from and for the older dualistic Augustinian distinction between sensible and spiritual, between symbol and reality.<sup>38</sup> The rejection of physical symbolism that Berengar and his followers advocated was opposed both by monks (for instance, John of Fecamp) and by prescholastics like Lanfranc,<sup>39</sup> Herimann of Rheims, and his student, the chancellor Bruno, whose scriptural exegesis and theories of the Eucharist exerted great influence on another chancellor, Anselm of Laon, whose teachings in turn influenced William of Champeaux and Hugh of St. Victor.<sup>40</sup>

Chancery-scholars were strong promoters of the notion of real presence, and it was indeed in defense of this concept that they engaged extensively in larger debates over sign theory, representation, and the authority and authenticity of the written word, both scripture and script. The earlier Augustinian semiotics buttressing Berengar's position had stressed the radical duality of signs as involving a negative dissimilitude: on the one hand, a mental, eternal signified, on the other, a physical, transitory signifier that refers to its object but is otherwise inessential to it. As they had done in their discussions of universals and of the referentiality of language, prescholastic theologians probed such dualism in developing their Eucharistic theology. In so doing, they scrutinized the economy by which an iconic sign might be similar to that which it denotes, and the mode involved and the extent to which it might itself partake of the object represented. As in the discussion about language and universals, attention was redirected away from Augustine's dualism toward Augustine's appreciation of a sign's tangible aspect.<sup>41</sup> The incarnation of

<sup>38</sup> I follow here Stock's analysis of Berengar's position in *Implications of Literacy*, 273–87. On the Augustinian nature of Berengar's Eucharistic doctrine, see Macdonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine*: although the purpose of this study was to authorize the Eucharistic doctrine of the Reformed Church by showing that, like Berengar's, it was faithful to Augustinian theology, the information presented on Berengar, and the debate he fostered over the meaning of the Eucharist, is abundant and useful. Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 35–43. Van den Eynde, *Les définitions des sacrements*, 4–7, discusses Berengar's Augustinianism with respect to sacraments in general, and on 24–25 with respect to his theology of the Eucharist.

<sup>39</sup> Lanfranc of Bec believed he had witnessed the miraculous transformation of bread and wine into those of the flesh and blood, as his student and fellow monk Guitmund (d. ca. 1090–95) recounted in *De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate*, in J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter, *PL*), 221 vols., 149, 1449D–1450D; see Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 87.

<sup>40</sup> On the leaders of the opposition to and tracts directed against Berengar, see Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 44–53; van den Eynde, *Les définitions des sacrements*, 25–27. Anselm of Laon's theological treatment of the Eucharist was diversely followed by the Victorines, William of Champeaux and Hugh of St. Victor: Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 74–75, 78–86, 103–05. This Laon-Victorine Eucharistic theology described the *res* of the Eucharist as the true body and blood of Christ, and insisted on the substantial (real) presence of Christ in the sacrament. It considered this physical presence of Christ to be itself a sign of another reality, the mystical union between Christ and the believer. Gilbert de la Porrée and Abelard retained this interpretation, only substituting the church for the believer in the mystical union: Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 105, 108, 110, 115, 131. As the sensual reality of the sacrament is held to signify a spiritual reality, symbolism is maintained. This conception bypasses the conflation of signifier and signified implied in the physicalist theology of the Eucharist, but its recuperation of the dualism in Augustine's sign theory occurs through acceptance of a sign (the Eucharistic host), which is itself the embodiment of its object.

<sup>41</sup> Maierù, “‘Signum’ dans la culture médiévale,” 69–70, discusses early theologians' tendency to rely

God was no longer to be elucidated by an image, as had happened when the notion of God as the original and of Christ as living image made it possible to see them as one and the same God, though not the same person. Rather, the image was now held to be the realization of form in matter and came to be understood as an actual incarnation. Images were promoted to quasi-personal beings.<sup>42</sup> The language of analogy seeped into the language of ontology: "to be like" became "to be part of." The cultural content of the analogy, that is, the relationship between the object and its image, was altered so that an iconic representation might be seen as more real than the empirical experience. This is what occurs according to the doctrine of transubstantiation, where the consecrated bread and wine are the true body and blood of Christ. The Eucharistic debate produced the idea that reality was capable of being perceived through an iconic convention. In such a cultural crucible, the sign became representative less because of its relationship to a conceptual ideal than for its capacity to embody its referent's ontological characteristics. In semiotic terms, the represented object (the signified) became a constitutive part of the sign (the signifier), because for the sign to stand for its object, the sign had to incorporate a representation of that object; it was the expression of that incorporated representation that came to be seen as the sign's meaning. This newly elaborated semiotic doctrine—though it maintained a distinction between objects, the signifying functions of iconic signs, and their representative capacity—in fact sanctioned a conflation of signifier and signified so that immanence rather than transcendence came to govern the rapport between signifier and signified.

The discussion of the identity, whether divine, historical, or allegorical, of the Christic person present in the Eucharist had broached the question of the nature of personhood. This question received growing consideration as the relationship between universals and individuals, destabilized in the above-described debate over universals, was explored in a quest to understand, first, the persons comprising the

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on Augustine's depreciation of the signifier vis-à-vis the signified and to avoid his own attention to the sign's sensuous character.

<sup>42</sup> Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, 1994), 153. Helpful in guiding me through the concept of image and representation in prescholastic thought were D. N. Bell, *The Image and Likeness: The Augustinian Spirituality of William of Saint-Thierry* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1984); Belting, *Likeness and Presence*; François Boespflug and Nicolas Lossky, eds., *Nicée II, 787–1987: Douze siècles d'images religieuses* (Paris, 1987); Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. 179–217; Carlo Ginzburg, "Representation: Le mot, l'idée, la chose," *Annales: E.S.C.* 46 (1991): 1219–34; *Iconicity: Essays on the Nature of Culture; Festschrift for Thomas A. Sebeok on his 65th Birthday*, Paul Bouissac, Michael Herzfeld, and Roland Posner, eds. (Tübingen, 1986); *L'image: Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval; Actes du 6<sup>e</sup> "International Workshop on Medieval Societies," Centre Ettore Majorana (Erice, Sicile, 17–23 octobre 1992)*, Jérôme Baschet and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds. (Paris, 1996), particularly J. Baschet, "Introduction: L'image objet," 7–26, J.-Cl. Schmitt, "Imago: de l'image à l'imaginaire," 29–37, Jean Wirth, "Structure et fonctions de l'image chez saint Thomas d'Aquin," 39–57, and Georges Didi-Huberman, "Imitation, représentation, fonction, remarques sur un mythe épistémologique," 59–86; *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation*, Susanne Küchler and Walter Melion, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1991); Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*; Gerhart B. Ladner, *Ad Imaginem Dei: The Image of Man in Medieval Art* (Latrobe, 1965); and *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages* (Rome, 1983); Legendre, *Le désir politique de Dieu*; Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis, 1988); W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago, 1986); Stephen G. Nichols, *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, Conn., 1983); Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Les images classificatrices," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 147 (1989): 311–41; John E. Sullivan, *The Image of God: The Doctrine of St. Augustine and Its Influence* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1963).

Trinity and later the human person. Nominalism, by insisting on individuality, tended to fracture the divine unity of the Trinity into three separate entities. The nominalist Roscelin, wanting to address the problem of how the three Trinitarian persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit might be of one substance yet not all incarnate in Christ, analyzed the terms Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in a logical sense, as names humanly imposed. Although nowhere did Roscelin actually state that these names signified separate things, his theology of the Trinity provoked attacks by Anselm of Bec, who accused Roscelin of being a dialectical heretic, one who thought universal substances to be nothing but the puff of an utterance. In *The Incarnation of the Word*, Anselm asserts that proper names designate different persons, indicating that, while persons bearing such names share a common nature, they are irreducibly distinct one from the other with respect to distinguishing properties: in his person, the Son assumed two natures so that the person of God and the person of man was the same, and that made the person of the Son different from that of the Father and of the Spirit, since different persons cannot be the same man.<sup>43</sup> Roscelin was forced to defend his views on the Trinity at a council held in Soissons in 1092, where he evaded the accusation that he preached division in divine essence by affirming that his argument related only to names and nomenclature, not to God himself.<sup>44</sup>

Abelard pursued this debate in a treatise on the Unity and Trinity of God, and he argued that divine attributes were not fixed things but names predicated of God to signify certain properties of his being. The relationships between Son and Father, or Holy Spirit and Father, could be understood in terms of the relationships between these properties.<sup>45</sup> Thus Abelard introduced the notion that members of a same species, such as men, may yet differ in their properties, or even by definition, when such properties remain intermixed. The example repeatedly used by Abelard to clarify this instance is that of the seal's waxen image. Both the waxen image made from the material and the material (wax) from which it is made are the same in essence and number, but they differ, not only by definition but by property, because the waxen image must be wax, and it comes from the wax and not from itself (the waxen image was not generated by the waxen image), but the wax may be joined as an image or as anything else, in the same way that if a man is a man, he must be an

<sup>43</sup> "The Incarnation of the Word" (*Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi*), in Hopkins and Richardson, *Anselm of Canterbury*, 3: 9–37, esp. 27–31.

<sup>44</sup> On the debate, see J. Jolivet, "Trois variations médiévales sur l'universel et l'individu: Roscelin, Abélard, Gilbert de la Porrée," *Revue de métaphysique et de morale* 97 (1992): 111–55; Mews, "Philosophy and Theology," 164–68; and Constant J. Mews, "Nominalism and Theology before Abaelard: New Light on Roscelin of Compiègne," *Vivarium* 30 (1992): 4–33; F. Picavet, *Roscelin philosophe et théologien d'après la légende et l'histoire* (Paris, 1911), 50–52.

<sup>45</sup> Mews, "Philosophy and Theology," 168–73: Abelard's treatise "On the Unity and Trinity of God" is also known as the *Theologia "Summi Boni"* (first composed c. 1120), revised as the *Theologia Christiana* c. 1122–1126, and again as the *Theologia* (or *Theologia "Scholarum"*). The *Theologia "Summi Boni"* and *Theologia "Scholarum"* are edited by E. M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica III, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* (hereafter, *CCCM*) 13 (Brepols-Turnhout, 1987); the *Theologia Christiana* is edited by E. M. Buytaert, *CCCM* 12 (Brepols-Turnhout, 1969). Roscelin taught Abelard, who came to oppose him vigorously even though Abelard may have learned from Roscelin the method of interpreting ancient logical texts as discussions about words rather than things; see Marenbon, *Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, 9.



animal, but the species animal can be a man or any other animal.<sup>46</sup> Abelard's reasoning illustrates how contemporary discussions of the persons of the Trinity were never far removed from inquiry into human personhood. Indeed, such debates fostered the creation and dissemination of the very term "person" (*persona*).<sup>47</sup> Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), a twelfth-century theologian who himself contributed greatly to the definition and acceptance of the term "persona" in the course of his work on the Trinity, commented that the noun "person" is regularly found "in the mouths of all, even of peasants."<sup>48</sup>

The prescholastic milieu of schools and chanceries had to consider human personhood in yet another context, the establishment of documentary authority. The authority of written documents, in a fundamental shift, moved away from immediate dependency on God and the supernatural, coming increasingly to derive from and depend on human persons.<sup>49</sup> At issue in this shift was a need to project the authority and accountability of human beings beyond their actual, empirical presence, so as to impart to charters a level of permanence previously expected only of God. The solution achieved centered on the seal, a sign-object standing in, substituting, for its owner or user, and conceived and created so as to produce a duplicate presence, a presence not actual but nonetheless real.

In the decades following the year 1000, the number of charters produced and preserved in northern France increased by several orders of magnitude, setting off a trend toward written documentation that was never reversed.<sup>50</sup> These charters

<sup>46</sup> The full text of Abelard's seal metaphor is given and further discussed below, at pp. 1522–24 and nn. 89–90, where the seal metaphor in general receives a systematic examination.

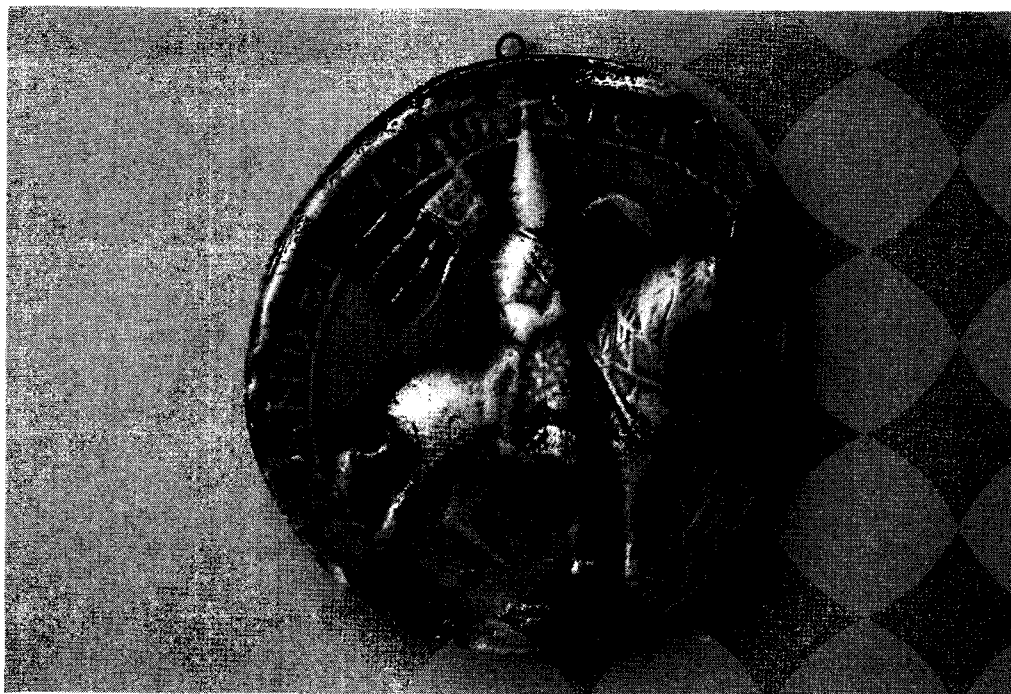
<sup>47</sup> M. Bergeron, O.P., "La structure du concept latin de personne," *Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* 2 (1952): 121–61; Marie-Dominique Chenu, "Tradition and Progress," in *Nature, Man, and Society*, 325–26, makes a strict connection between twelfth-century work in the field of trinitarian theology and the creation of new terms such as *persona*; Mary L. O'Hara, *The Logic of Human Personality: An Onto-Logical Account* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1997), 54–56, discusses Richard of St. Victor's (d. 1173) analysis of the notion of the human person to establish the doctrine of the Trinity. Richard of St. Victor's trinitarian theology receives full treatment in Nico den Bok, *Communicating the Most High: A Systematic Study of Person and Trinity in the Theology of Richard of St. Victor* ([d]. 1173) (Paris, 1996), where an entire chapter (9) is devoted to "Human Person and the Trinity." Marcel Mauss, "A Category of the Human Mind: The Notion of Person; The Notion of Self," in *The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History*, Michael Carrithers, et al., eds. (Cambridge, 1985), 1–25, analyzes the notion of person beyond its connection with trinitarian doctrine.

<sup>48</sup> Richard of St. Victor, *De Trinitate*, PL., 196: col. 933, quoted in Chenu, "Tradition and Progress," 326; and in O'Hara, *Logic of Human Personality*, 54, with further comments on Richard's theological, ontological, and logical approaches to "person."

<sup>49</sup> Guenée, "Authentique et approuvé," reviews a sample of excerpts from charters and canon law that testify to the semantic overlap between authority and authenticity: in order to be authentic, a seal or a written document had to be accredited by or to emanate from an authority such as the pope, a bishop, or a lay magnate. As, from a practical viewpoint, this worldly accrediting authority was in the process of replacing divine authority, the reasoning of canonists in dealing with documentary authenticity became circular, thus revealing their difficulty in conceptualizing the nature of the authority to be invested in human signs; see further remarks on documentary authority and authenticity above at n. 11 and below at n. 69. In his elegant and pithy essay *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), Lionel Trilling remarked on the connection between sincerity, taken as an element of personal autonomy, and "the intensified sense of personal identity that developed along with the growth of the idea of society." Placed within the context of Hegel's historical anthropology, sincerity thus becomes a negative virtue "standing between the self and the disintegration which is essential if it is to develop its true, its entire, freedom" (p. 47). It is an argument of the present article that new and related concerns for identity, authority, and authenticity seem linked to an evolution toward social regimentation.

<sup>50</sup> A recent issue of the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 155 (1997), contains the proceedings of





Seal of Raoul, count of Vermandois, circa 1146. Archives Nationales, Paris, D 1010.

a roundtable held on *Pratiques de l'écrit documentaire au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. See below at n. 54 an annotated bibliography on the documentary decline that may or may not have followed the Carolingian reliance on the written word.

In reviewing lay charters in Flanders, Ponthieu, Picardie, Ile-de-France, Normandy, and Champagne between 900 and 1050, I found that 10 percent are of the tenth century, while 90 percent are of the first half of the eleventh century. Sources consulted for this project include: cartularies and archival holdings cited in my dissertation. *La châtellenie de Montmorency des origines à 1368: Aspects féodaux, sociaux et économiques* (Pontoise, 1980), 349–60, which bear principally on the Ile-de-France; the electronic database of the ARTEM in Nancy, which gathers all original French charters prior to 1121 (see a partial publication by Michèle Courtois, *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées dans le département du Nord* [Nancy, 1981]); the northern French charters catalogued in the “Nouveau Wauters,” the electronic database managed by the CETEDOC of the Catholic University of Louvain-La-Neuve, which includes all published and unpublished charters produced in historical Belgium prior to 1200; the cartularies of religious establishments located in the bishoprics of Paris, Senlis, Laon, Beauvais, Amiens, Soissons, Arras, Cambrai, Reims, and Rouen, which are catalogued, critically described, and available for consultation on microfilms at the I.R.H.T. (Paris); episcopal acts from Amiens, Arras, Beauvais, Cambrai, Laon, Noyon, Reims, and Soissons. (See, on the availability of these episcopal materials, Michel Parisse, “Importance et richesse des chartes épiscopales: Les exemples de Metz et de Toul, des origines à 1200,” in Parisse, *A propos des actes d'évêques*, 19–43, esp. 41–43; and Parisse, “La recherche française sur les actes des évêques: Les travaux d'un groupe de recherche,” *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250 / La diplomatie épiscopale avant 1250: Referate zum VIII. Internationalen Kongress für Diplomatie*, Innsbruck, 1993 [Innsbruck, 1995], 203–08); princely acts, which have in only a few cases been published under the heading of their princely authors: *Actes des comtes de Flandre/Oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen: 1071–1128* by Fernand Vercauteren (Brussels, 1938), 1128–1168 by Thérèse de Hemptinne (Brussels, 1989), 1191–1206 by Walter Prevenier (3 vols., Brussels, 1964); Clovis Brunel, *Recueil des actes des comtes de Pontieu, 1026–1279* (Paris, 1930) (hereafter, *Pontieu*); Marie Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie, 911–1066* (Caen, 1961); E. de Lépinos, *Recherches historiques et critiques sur l'ancien comté et les comtes de Clermont en Beauvaisis du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Beauvais, 1877); William Mendel Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesles en Picardie (XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle): Leurs chartes et leur histoire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1971), 2: 27–161. In *France in the Making, 843–1180* (Oxford, 1985), Jean Dunbabin gives an insightful account of princely charters produced between 987 and 1108 (pp. 130–32) and between 1108 and 1180 (253–55).

were issued in the names of the aristocrats responsible for the transactions being recorded in writing, such transactions typically involving gifts of land made to religious houses and to their saints for the salvation of the donors' souls. However, the actual production and subsequent control of such written records remained a monopoly of the ecclesiastical beneficiaries who drafted them and maintained them archivally.

Both donors and benefactors were interested in ensuring textual and transactional permanence; the most reliable traditional agency for this purpose was God. Documentary writing derived much of its power from a visible affinity with Holy Scripture, an affinity established both by graphic logic and by liturgical manipulation. Graphic logic involved such methods as the inscription of a Chrismon, a trinitarian invocation, the use of Latin, biblical preambles (*arenga*), and divine maledictions and threats of excommunication against anyone who might challenge the gift being recorded.<sup>51</sup> Liturgical manipulations included the charters' production by priestly scribes and their placement on altars or in Gospels.<sup>52</sup> A manuscript charter was kindred to Scripture and, as such, was a space of sacred and secure inscription.

The charter's text, however, was formulated in the first-person voice of the individual who was making the donation, and it conveyed the will, the intention, of an individual donor. The religiously designed charter located the *ego*, the "I" of diplomatic discourse, within the rationale of Christian ethics and salvific eschatology. Therefore, with respect to those charters given in his own name, and to which he was entrusting the fate of his soul and of his kin, the donor remained a problematic author. First, he had not himself created the manuscript document,

<sup>51</sup> The best analysis, with current bibliography, of the textual, graphic, and linguistic components of diplomatic discourse is provided by Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît-Michel Tock, *Diplomatique médiévale* (Turnhout, 1993), 71–102. On the use of spiritual maledictions in charters, see Jeffrey Bowman, "Do Neo-Romans Curse," *Viator* 28 (1997): 1–32; and Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), who, however, tends to focus on English and southern European charters; Emily Zack Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 219–22, with a questionable discussion of the role of signatures in charters.

Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, p. 148, no. 43 (1015–1026), donation of Duke Richard II to the abbey of St. Ouen: "per signum crucis cum excommunicatione hanc cartam firmavit." See further examples of maledictions and threats of excommunication in C. Brunel, *Pontieu*, p. 23 (charter no. 11), 1100: sealed act of Gui, count of Ponthieu, in favor of the monastery of St. Sauveur of Montreuil-sur-Mer, "infraactores autem hujus traditionis, nisi digna satisfactione respuerint, a Deo et omnibus sanctis ejus anathematizati, eterne dampnationi subiaceant. Amen." Similar formulas are in use in charters no. 4 (1067) at p. 6, no. 8 (1100) at p. 14, no. 10 (1100) at p. 21, no. 12 (1100) at p. 25, no. 25 (1136–37) at p. 42, no. 27 (1143) at p. 46, and no. 62 (1159–60) at p. 95.

Two dictionary entries provide the best discussion of chrismon and trinitarian invocation: Alfred Gawlik in the *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, 2: col. 1905; and the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 3–1: cols. 1481–1534. On the use of the cross within charters, see a state of the question by Michel Parisse, "Croix autographes de souscription dans l'Ouest de la France au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden*, Peter Rück, ed. (Sigmaringen, 1996), 143–55. The standard work on preambles (*arengae*) in which is given a catalogue and a survey of thematic evolution is by Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln* (Graz-Cologne, 1957).

<sup>52</sup> Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, for instance, p. 334, no. 149 (1040–50): confirmation by Duke William of a donation in favor of the abbey of St. Léger, "pro sua suorumque salute, donationem supra altare posuit, de his omnibus que Hunfridus dederat." See further examples in C. Brunel, *Pontieu*, 21, 30, 120, 129, 225. See also a discussion of placing charters on altars in A. de Bouïard, *Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale*, Vol. 2: *L'acte privé* (Paris, 1948), 112–14.

which was rendered in Latin, a language he hardly knew. Second, the written text itself was fundamentally impersonal because its actual scribe, who remained anonymous, wrote in an official or a technical capacity, as a fictive person, *persona fictiva*, in the name of someone else. Writing in the name of a donor, representing him as author, the scribe introduced motivations, decisions, and gifts, repeatedly using the word *ego*. Utilizing this first-person form, the scribe, though semiotically entering the subjectivity of the donor, in fact maintained the reference of third person. Hence the locus of subjectivity transcended the individual, and what presented itself as individual subjective discourse was actually suffused with multiple voices.<sup>53</sup>

Diplomatic discourse thus incorporated a cultural “self” that was quite distinct from an individual body. Yet the postmillennial charter required a first-person-singular pronominal category, an *ego* to function as index, to indicate the originator of the utterance. It may be helpful to point out here that this method of written documentation developed in mid-eleventh-century northern France at the end of a period of a century and a half (900–1050) during which transactions had normally been accomplished by the oral statements of principals and witnesses, usually made under oath and publicized by symbolic gestures and rituals.<sup>54</sup> Set within such oral and visual modes, the empirical presence of the subject, of *ego*, had of course been immediate and undoubted.

With the growing importance of writing in the ceremony that sanctioned land transactions, the *ego* of written diplomatic discourse—a linguistic category differing from the person uttering the words—could not provide referentiality through actual contiguity with the charter’s author. The issue became how to reconcile *ego*, the linguistic category, and *ego*, the physical individual, the actual subject of the enunciation. It is because the postmillennial charter long remained part of a

<sup>53</sup> *Semiotics, Self, and Society*, Benjamin Lee and Greg Urban, eds. (Berlin, N.Y., 1989), esp. intro., p. 4, and Greg Urban, “The ‘I’ of Discourse,” 27–51.

<sup>54</sup> On the spoken word as the foundation of social and economic relations between the tenth and the early twelfth century, see Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 17; L. Stouff, “Etude sur la formation des contrats par l’écriture dans le droit des formules du V<sup>ème</sup> au XII<sup>ème</sup> siècle,” *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 11 (1887): 274–75. On Norman transactions between lay persons being executed without charters during the eleventh century, see Tabuteau’s remarks in *Transfers of Property*, 7–8, 213–14, 218–19. Current scholarship on the Carolingian period (ca. 750–950) emphasizes the centrality of the written word during that period: McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*; Janet L. Nelson, “Dispute Settlement in Carolingian West Francia,” in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, eds. (Cambridge, 1986), 45–64; Nelson, “Literacy in Carolingian Government,” in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, Rosamond McKitterick, ed. (Cambridge, 1990), 258–96. See also Karl Ferdinand Werner, “‘Missus, marchio, comes: Entre l’administration centrale et l’administration locale de l’empire carolingien,” in Werner Paravicini and Karl Ferdinand Werner, eds., *Histoire comparée de l’administration (IV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Munich, 1980), 191–239. On the assumption that the written word would not have been aimed at officials unable to handle it, a case has been made for the practical literacy of Carolingian lay elites and for presenting the development of literacy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a continuation of the Carolingian achievement (McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*). Yet Nelson, “Dispute Settlement in Carolingian West Francia,” 55, concludes that disputes between laymen were settled through feud, mediation, or arbitration, and went unrecorded. Whatever the level of Carolingian literate skills and the prescriptive power of the Carolingian written word, it seems that their legacy, if any, did not affect the realm of landed transactions, for even during the Carolingian period property matters between lay elites were settled without recourse to the written word. In post-Carolingian northern France, legal and administrative dependency on the written word was not maintained, and only ecclesiastical establishments have left traces of documentary practices.

ceremonial format, in which the charter's operations hinged less on its legibility (as text) than on its visibility (as scripture), that the charter's contextual apparatus long continued to derive from and to parallel the ambient oral modes. The oral and the written did not stand in opposition, then, but operated jointly within a single framework of intelligibility.

This framework rested on the primacy of empirical presence in the assertion of authority; it construed power to emanate from character, to be the effluence of personality. Thus, when gifts of land were contested and resolved by charter, as often happened, such disputes were not settled by considering the parties as donors and recipients, and by applying legal rules appropriate to these categories, but rather by an agreement through which the status and self-esteem of both parties as particular individuals might be saved and a social relationship between them created or renewed. Behavior was remembered and inscribed in the form of statements about particular persons and their actions.<sup>55</sup> The attention was to individual will and responsibility, to a personal examination of the implications of one's actions, which were understood as involving, beside terrestrial and social consequences, merits capable of saving (or losing) one's soul in the afterlife. In short, the legal realm conjured up by the charters was equated with the realms of ethics and theology. The "subjective" and "personal" in the law, far from diminishing legal authority, in fact constituted it.<sup>56</sup>

The individual person encountered in prescholastic charters is, pace Jacob Burckhardt,<sup>57</sup> an autonomous, voluntary, and empirically present agent, situated within a set of social relationships arising out of consent and contract. The sources of empirical presence within the charter were, necessarily, the event recorded and its author. Thus the focus on the individual coalesced around two related requirements—the need to anchor the written charter within the concrete ceremony of gift giving, and the need to embody the determinant elements of this context: the transaction itself and the actual speakers (empirical, physical persons who had performed and witnessed the transaction). How to achieve this incarnation? The answer was a system of signs. Thus the evolution of the charter's format from sacred inscription to sealed deed occurred as an attempt to incorporate within

<sup>55</sup> Cheyette, "Invention of the State," 161–62, 167–69. A good treatment of the mechanisms for the settlement of disputes is Stephen D. White, "Feuding and Peace-Making in the Touraine around the Year 1100," *Traditio* 42 (1986): 195–263. In Bedos-Rezak, "Diplomatic Sources and Medieval Documentary Practices," 318, 323–24, I show that, in the case of contested land gifts, churchmen rarely referred to the relevant granting charters in trying to prove their rights, and that these were in any case often too vague about the property transferred to be of use. Rather, expert memory was assembled continuously in numerous settings where the working intelligence of daily life—possession and use of land, social relations—was repeatedly reshaped and maintained through such recurrent negotiations concerning titles to land. This argument, that charters were not invoked even when land transfers were challenged, has been taken up by Laurent Morelle, who further examined the role of the written word in the settlement of land disputes: "Les chartes dans la gestion des conflits (France du Nord, XI<sup>e</sup>–début XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)," in *Pratiques de l'écrit documentaire au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 267–98.

<sup>56</sup> Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 274.

<sup>57</sup> Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence," 1309–11, quotes and discusses Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien: Ein Versuch* (Basel, 1860), analyzing the influence of Burckhardt's elegantly argued notion that humanistic and individualistic ideals originated in Renaissance Italy, while in the Middle Ages, a veil "of faith, illusion and childish prepossession" made man "conscious of himself only as member of a race, people, party, family, or corporation—only through some general category" (p. 1309).



the charter the actual nature of personal authority rooted in being, soon to be obsolescent.

At first, transactions and their authors loomed equally large. Evidence of the transaction, such as a symbolic rod or knife, was initially either manipulated together with or even affixed to the charter.<sup>58</sup> By the late eleventh century, however, only donors' and witnesses' names appear in the charters, preceded by an inscribed cross, a sign not necessarily autograph, although it might be.<sup>59</sup> The signatory who marked a cross on a charter, or had it inscribed, would also have made a ceremonial sign of the cross across his or her body, an act usually described in the charter's text.<sup>60</sup> The manual and manuscript crosses were signs both of identity and commitment, typically accompanied only by the name received at baptism. Such crosses indicated individual filiation as son, or daughter, of God, and hence individual commitment as God's child; they recorded Christian filiation and the subscription of a solemn oath made in the presence and in the name of Christ crucified. Thus the person engaged by the charter was responsible both for the content of the charter, the gift of land, and for his or her soul, since the land had been given, on oath, to enter the economy of salvation.

The initially tangible symbols of rod and knife gave way to the scripted cross on charters. From signs of conveyance to signs of the authors and the witnesses to conveyance, the focus moved from the action and its object to the actors. This shift occurred in conjunction with the increased concern for salvation characteristic of postmillennial aristocratic spirituality.<sup>61</sup> The nascent hermeneutics of personal identity tended to merge with the theology of the soul, but this fusion did not last long. For all its potentially powerful symbolism, the cross functioning as a

<sup>58</sup> For an excellent discussion, with current bibliography, of the symbols and ceremonials deployed to foster and memorialize transactions, see Guyotjeannin, *Diplomatique médiévale*, 86–88, which does not, however, entirely supersede Bouard, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 2: 112–19. In 1069, William of Normandy, king of England, pretended to jab the symbolic knife of the transaction into the beneficiary abbot's hand as an "obvious sign" (*evidenti signo*) of the perpetual rooting of his donation within the abbey's inalienable patrimony: A. Deville, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen*, appendice à Benjamin Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin* (Paris, 1840), no. 67, p. 455. In some cases, the charter was evidently only symbolic of the transaction, because the parchment itself remained entirely blank, an unequivocal case of the medium being the message: on the *cartae sine litteris* (blank charters), see Aaron Gurevic, "Représentations et attitudes à l'égard de la propriété pendant le Haut-Moyen Âge," *Annales: E.S.C.* 27 (1972): 533 n. 43; Paul Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix de la littérature médiévale* (Paris, 1987), 97.

<sup>59</sup> Parisse, "Croix autographes de souscription." It gives me pleasure to acknowledge here how much I was inspired by Béatrice Fraenkel, *La signature: Genèse d'un signe* (Paris, 1992); see her analysis of the cross on documents at 63–65, 176–77 (Fr. *signer* and *se signer*, a parallelism, "to sign" and "to cross oneself," not rendered in English).

<sup>60</sup> Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 295, and 313, where he quotes an Anglo-Norman charter given in 1109 by Hugh of Chester for Chester Abbey in the presence of Anselm of Bec, archbishop of Canterbury: "Earl Hugh and my barons have confirmed all these things by the seal of Almighty God, that is the sign of the holy cross, so that each of us makes a sign of the cross with his own hand as evidence for posterity." Similar formulas are in use in C. Brunel, *Pontieu*, charter no. 14 (1053) at p. 27, charter no. 22bis (1119–29) at pp. 661–62, charter no. 21 (1103–29) at p. 36.

<sup>61</sup> On the centrality of salvation in eleventh and twelfth-century French aristocratic spirituality as evidenced in charters, see the works by Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church, 980–1198* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint-Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, 1989); Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine* (Chicago, 1981); Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*; Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The "Laudatio Parentum" in Western France, 1050–1150* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988).



sign-signature on a charter marked identity only in the broadest possible terms: membership in a Christian society. Although the cross might emanate directly from the author of the charter, from the “I” of diplomatic discourse, it more often was actually traced by the scribe. In either case, the cross denoted that the authority for the enforcement of the charter, its ultimate warrantor, was God; indeed, the cross both signed and signified God.

When seals began to be affixed to documents during the course of the eleventh century, the manuscript textual cross was still a standard appurtenance of charters. The charter by which Robert, son of the count of Flanders, made a donation for the salvation of his soul to the abbey of Wheaten in 1093 reads: “In order that these dispositions may remain firm and untouched through eternity, I have had this charter confirmed and signed with the victorious symbol of the holy cross, and with the sign of my authority and the seal of my highness.”<sup>62</sup> While both cross and seal signified a sacred undertaking, and both have rhetorical presence within the charter, there are two major distinctions between them as documentary signs. First, the cross remains a written sign, and in this case non-autograph, whereas the seal is both a material object and a figural presence that emanated directly from the author of the charter. Second, as the fairly standard clause within the document makes clear, the cross symbolizes Christ victorious, while the seal signifies the authority, as it is the image, of its owner. The cross signaled Christian kinship and invoked God’s authority; the seal marked and invoked personal identity and authority.

SEALS HAVE A LONG HISTORY.<sup>63</sup> Originating alongside if not actually preceding the invention of writing, sealing remained, in most civilizations, a valuable mechanism for marking and protecting ownership, signing commitment, designating identity, representing authority, and authenticating documents. In parallel to their roles in the sphere of practice, seals also served as a metaphoric focus. Mesopotamian and biblical texts, Platonic and Aristotelian treatises, patristic and early medieval commentaries all incorporate the imagery of seals as a conceptual tool.<sup>64</sup> Such historical longevity, however, does not necessarily imply congruence between the cultural and modal significance of the seals. Most historian-sigillographers have simply assumed continuity of seal usage between very different societies as a category of historical explanation, thereby promoting interpretation of the seal as a single “historical,” and thus ahistorical, object. In addressing the new appearance of seals on charters issued in the name of French non-royal elites between 1000 and 1200, my earlier work grounds this diffusion laterally, within the very circumstances of its occurrence, rather than approaching it vertically, as an event somehow predicated or determined by historical continuity.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandres*, 40–41.

<sup>63</sup> The comprehensive history of seals, from its beginning in 3000 BCE Mesopotamia to the modern period, is given in Erich Kittel, *Siegel* (Braunschweig, 1970).

<sup>64</sup> On ancient and biblical seal metaphors, see below at n. 87.

<sup>65</sup> Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *Form and Order in Medieval France: Studies in Social and Quantitative Sigillography* (London, 1993).

Seals were not entirely novel in eleventh-century France.<sup>66</sup> From the seventh century onward, seal impressions had been affixed to royal documents exclusively, by a chancellor who had custody of the royal seal and was responsible for the production and validation of royal diplomas. In early Frankish times, under the Merovingian kings (sixth to mid-eighth centuries), the royal seal affixed to diplomas did not function as a means of documentary validation. Its use imitated the usage of the Byzantine imperial chancery; to seal a document was, for the Merovingian kings, to behave as a ruler. The seal was a sign of the king, the only person who could issue documents thus marked. This linkage between documentary seal usage and royal status was maintained upon the ascension of the Carolingians (751); royal seals came to operate as an apparatus of the *office* of kingship. They spread in parallel to the Carolingian multiplication of kingships. Each Carolingian offspring used a seal upon his assumption of a royal office, but as soon as a king was functionally replaced by a non-royal official, such as a duke, the use of seals disappeared, although the political entity might still be called a kingdom (Lat. *regnum*), and the overall administrative structure remained otherwise intact. Seal usage thus related to kingship and not to the territoriality of power, a characteristic further emphasized on Carolingian seal legends, that is, the inscriptions surrounding the images, which included only the name and title of the ruler; territorial designation was absent. The same seal might be, and was, affixed if and when a ruler changed kingdoms, as happened during the tumultuous partitions of Charlemagne's empire from the mid-ninth century onward. A particular seal might and often did serve for different rulers so long as the names and titles matched. The accent was on the function and on the nature and degree of ruling authority (king, emperor) as defined by the title. It was specifically along titular lines that seal matrices were systematically engraved afresh, such as when a king became emperor. More official than personal, Carolingian royal seals projected an order of reality grounded in permanence, obscuring the contingency inherent in any individual ruler by reference to the continuing symbolic activity of statehood. By early Capetian times (early eleventh century), however, the royal seal was used only sporadically and had lost some of its standing as a formula and prerogative of kingship.<sup>67</sup> During the second half of the eleventh century, the royal chancery resumed the systematic sealing of diplomas, while French non-royal elites began, for the first time in the medieval West, to seal charters issued in their own names. Non-royal sealing demonstrated and articulated the loss of a royal prerogative. This may indicate the establishment of competing comital, episcopal claims to authority,

<sup>66</sup> Factual accounts of seal diffusion are given by R.-H. Bautier, "Le cheminement de la bulle et du sceau et de la bulle des origines mésopotamiennes au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle occidental," *Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie* 54–59 (1984–1989): 41–84, rpt. in Bautier, *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries*, 1: 123–66; Bautier, "Apparition, diffusion et évolution typologique du sceau épiscopal au Moyen Âge," *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250 / La diplomatie épiscopale avant 1250*, 225–41; Jean-Luc Chassel, "L'essor du sceau au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle" [deals with a few seals from Burgundy], in *Pratiques de l'écrit documentaire au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 221–34; and Chassel, "L'usage du sceau au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in Gasparri, *Le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 61–102. In both *Form and Order* and "Diplomatic Sources," 327–32, I have considered the social implications of seal diffusion and sealing practices.

<sup>67</sup> B. Bedos-Rezak, "Ritual in the Royal Chancery: Text, Image, and the Representation of Kingship in Medieval French Diplomas (700–1200)," in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, Heinz Duchhardt, Richard A. Jackson, and David Sturdy, eds. (Stuttgart, 1992), 27–40.



Seal of Pierre de Courtenai, count of Nevers, 1184. Archives Nationales, Paris, D 863.

a desire to share the aura of royal status by the emulation of royal chancery practices, or both. However, since the appearance of non-royal sealing and the revival of royal sealing are contemporaneous, it is worth considering the possibility that eleventh-century usage of royal seals was a part of, rather than the model for, the new spread of sealing to non-royal elites.

In analyzing the diffusion of seals along the axes of regionalism, politics, and gender, I have come to rethink four previous assumptions that have long, almost axiomatically, dominated the field of medieval sigillography, or sphragistics, that is, the study of seals,<sup>68</sup> and have in my view obscured the actual historical significance of medieval seals, relegating them to the world of antiquarianism and connoisseurship.

The first assumption is that the seal's function, between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, was to authenticate documents. This notion, which was first articulated at the end of the twelfth century and received its prescriptive formulation in the thirteenth, cannot account for the early pattern of non-royal seal usage. In fact, when late twelfth-century canon lawyers began to reflect on documentary valida-

<sup>68</sup> The best general treatises on medieval seals include Wilhelm Ewald, *Siegelkunde* (1914; rpt. edn., Munich, 1969); Michel Pastoureaux, *Les sceaux* (Turnhout, 1981); and Paul D. A. Harvey and Andrew McGuiness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (London, 1996). The method of these excellent volumes is to introduce seals by describing their features, their users, and their value as sources for modern medievalists. In all three works, however, seal function is axiomatically assumed to be documentary validation. For a series of essays charting the nature of seal agency within the very social processes seals exposed as media for discourse on rulership, authority, authenticity, kindred, and gender, see Bedos-Rezak, *Form and Order in Medieval France*.

tion, they assigned the power of authentication only to the *sigillum authenticum*, the authentic seal. The meaning of authentic here does not derive from a concern about counterfeits but from the desire to establish the capacity for authentic seals to confer full validity on documents devoid of witnesses. However, if from its very inception the concept of the authentic seal involved a precise understanding of the seal's effect, this effect was specifically understood to emanate from the public authority of popes and rulers. Thus the authenticating power of seals was conditional on the status, conceived as public, of their owners. By the late thirteenth century, when jurists attempted to provide the authentic seal with a broader sociopolitical conception, they insisted that for a seal to function as an authenticating device it must be well known. Even when finally producing such imprecise and relative definitions, jurists did not conceal the fact that viewpoints in the matter of seal validation differed widely; they recognized that the meanings and agency of seals depended on local custom.<sup>69</sup> In short, medieval legal discussions of seals, not to mention actual sealing practices, far from displaying consensus about the seal as a validating device, testify to the difficulty legal scholars had in articulating the values and beliefs implied both by the authenticating and by the sealing processes. The question for these scholars was the very nature of the authority underlying the seal's efficacy, since non-royal seals did not base their owners' authority on royal grant and affiliation, nor did seals invoke the political hierarchy as party to the act they witnessed.

A second hypothesis holds that seals spread because of the concurrent revival, in the twelfth century, of trade and urbanization, the growth of bureaucracies, the reintroduction of Roman Law, and the spread of literacy. Enabling conditions should not be mistaken for explanations, nor do the circumstances lend themselves readily to a chronology indicating the precedence of one phenomenon over the others. There had been a moderate continuum of unsealed charters given in the name of lay authors since early medieval times, but only when they came to be sealed did such texts lead to that generalized and irreversible social dependence on the written word that has continued up to the present day. Thus it seems that seals furthered rather than resulted from literate modes. This suggests that seals played a unique role in fostering, to borrow M. T. Clanchy's expression, medieval trust in writing. Basing his argument on English records (1066–1307), Clanchy gives the most satisfactory account to date of the seal's ability both to encompass and to translate the meanings of the symbolic objects and gestures that had previously validated written deeds, or indeed had entirely substituted for them.<sup>70</sup> This scenario elegantly situates the seal as a bridge between the literate and the non-literate, deftly bypassing a polarized historiography that had either associated seals with the growth of literacy or labeled them a technique for illiterates. However, these

<sup>69</sup> The best discussions of the medieval concept of authentic seals and documentary validation are found in A. Dumas, "Étude sur le classement des formes des actes," *Le moyen âge* 43 (1934): 146–66; and Mariano Welber, *Sigillografia: Il sigillo nella diplomazia, nel diritto, nella storia, nell'arte*, Vol. 3: *I sigilli nella storia del diritto medievale italiano* (Milan, 1934), 181–228; see also studies quoted above at nn. 11 and 49. "A charter's full credibility depends upon an authentic seal, that is, a seal which is well known and famous." Conrad of Mure, *Summa de arte prosandi*, cited in Dumas, "Étude sur le classement des formes des actes," *Le moyen âge* 43 (1934): 155, who gives additional citations of and references to relevant medieval texts on 156.

<sup>70</sup> Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 308–17.

theories did not adequately confront the fact that there is no systematic or even necessary relationship between seals and the growth of literacy. Charlemagne (d. 814), for example, reinforced the dependence of his administration on the written word by turning to a system of notaries to impart authority to non-royal documents even though his own chancery was sealing the royal diplomas.<sup>71</sup> Then, too, areas of Southern Europe that had retained a higher rate of documentary practice throughout the early Middle Ages also used the notariate, adopting sealed charters comparatively late.<sup>72</sup> Thus there clearly were successful medieval literate practices independent of sealing.

A third presumption maintains that seals were icons of power. Interpretations of seals as evidence both for and of social and political processes assume a causal relation between the function and meaning of seals and the status and authority of their owners. I have reconsidered this putative causal relationship in the light of the documentary practices discussed above. To repeat: there is no extant evidence of literate intercourse between lay individuals for the purpose of transacting land in eleventh and twelfth-century France. Such operations of lay society not involving churchmen appear to have been accomplished primarily by means of oral and gestural modes. In this period, as before, churchmen held a scribal monopoly and were responsible for both the production and the conservation of charters. The ecclesiastically scripted but lay-sealed charter thus indicates secular participation in and acculturation to documentary modes, which were fostered as much by the preexisting churchmen's scribal and scriptural culture as by sealing. The new category of sealed charters must therefore be analyzed within the contextual framework of their originating scriptoria. The sealed charter, heretofore interpreted solely as an act of individual or familial will, must now be reconsidered as a text and artifact articulating cultural and ideological models ambient in specific scriptoria.

A fourth prejudice, indeed a paramount force that has focused seal scholarship on artistic considerations and legal functionality, and has, more generally, shaped traditional sigillography as an antiquarian discipline, is its heuristics, based on casts. Archival collections usually consist of casts made from molds directly taken from single originals, the best impression of a given seal type. Seal catalogs typically describe such casts, thus discounting information inherent in original seal impressions and subsuming such variants into a single archetype. The use of casts as standard objects of study tends to transform the seal into a fixed type, undermining its most fundamental signifying and operative principle, reiteration, by which medieval seals produced identity through identical devices. Aftercasting denatures seals by altering their locus (from documents) and their status (as signs), abstractly recasting them as separate objects of knowledge, removed from their original cultural sphere of discourse and practice.

<sup>71</sup> See a discussion of Carolingian literacy above at n. 54. For a discussion of the Carolingian notariate, see R.-H. Bautier, "L'authentification des actes privés dans la France médiévale: Notariat public et juridiction gracieuse," in *Notariado público y documento privado, de los orígenes al siglo XIV: Actas del VII Congreso internacional de diplomática*, Valencia, 1986 (Valencia, 1989), 2: 707–09, rpt. in *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries*, 1: 275–77.

<sup>72</sup> Bautier, "L'authentification des actes privés," 713–36, and 281–304 in *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries*.



Restoring seals to their historicity, as agents within the culture that produced and used them, extends our understanding of the instrumentality of seals well beyond their long-recognized documentary function. A semiotic approach to seals enables them to be reexamined as signs and symbols, and redirects the analysis toward their modes and areas of signification (rhetoric, sign theory, authority, personification, identity), toward the assumptions encoded by seals about the nature of their operation, and toward the effect of seals in and on the society that manipulated them.

It is noteworthy that medieval authors themselves explicitly defined seals as signs. This might earlier have suggested a semiotically informed study of them to historian-sigillographers, yet it was not the sigillographic literature that first proposed a semiotic analysis of seals.<sup>73</sup> Rather, broader works on modern semiotics and anthropology have helped bring to my attention both the nature and implications of seals as semiotic agents and processes and the extreme sensitivity to semioticity during the period in which seal usage spread. Of particular relevance for the conceptualization of such an approach is semiotic anthropology, and it is at this point useful to review the extent and limits of this discipline, which arose at the University of Chicago in the mid-1970s.<sup>74</sup> Building on insights of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914), semiotic anthropology encourages considerable attention to language without confining culture to the single reductionist model of a linguistic code. This approach holds that cultures are particularized by semiotic processes and semiotic systems specific to them. Semiotic processes involve mediation, reification, naturalization, metaphorization, and emblemization; these are the means by which material features of the sensible world (color, stone, bone, blood, flesh) are made to perform as vehicles of signification. Semiotic systems incorporate the various ideologies that organize these processes and enable their signification by providing interpretive codes and principles (interpretants). Encased both in social action and in theoretical discourse, the ideologies of semiosis are themselves cultural phenomena subject to textual forms, pragmatic rules, and semiotic processes. Stipulating ways to interpret, such ideologies also suggest how the signs themselves signal the way they are to be interpreted. Thus signification is always dialogic, at once representative and interpretive of the practices and conventions of a culture. Semiotic anthropology insists that signs are historical, since both their actualization and their performance are matters of contextual appropriateness.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> The traditional discipline of diplomatics, devoted to the study of documentary format and discourse, is beginning to incorporate semiotic theory and analysis according to Peter Rück, "Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik," in Rück, *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden*, 13–47; and Hermann Jung, "Zeichen und Symbol: Bestandsaufnahme und interdisziplinäre Perspektiven," in *Graphische Symbole*, 49–66.

<sup>74</sup> The term "semiotic anthropology" was coined by Milton Singer at the University of Chicago in the mid-1970s, and became a methodological program actively taught and pursued there by Michael Silverstein.

<sup>75</sup> Semiotic anthropology, as advocated by Milton Singer, Michael Silverstein, and more recently Richard Parmentier, offers, in Singer's words, a "theory of how systems of signs are related to their meanings, as well as to the objects designated and to the experience and behavior of the sign users"; cited in Parmentier, "The Pragmatic Semiotics of Culture," *Semiotica* 116 (1997): 14. Parmentier, trained at Chicago by Silverstein, and himself a leading practitioner and eloquent theoretician of semiotic anthropology, has recently presented a remarkably thorough and comprehensive analysis of

Current trends in semiotic anthropology are more indebted to Peirce than to Saussure. Saussure's structuralist theory of language assumed fixed abstract codes that underlie the utterances of a language. Such codes, shared by the members of a given culture, depend on a correspondence between the word (the signifier), not so much with the existence of its object in the real world but with its constructed cultural equivalent (the signified). Meaning is seen as intentional and definite, independent both of the presence of a "real object" and from any particular interpretive human subject. Saussure posited an equal exchange between the univocally corresponding signifier and the signified, which bracketed both the external world and the interpreting self. His approach has little interest in the historical causes behind meaning.<sup>76</sup>

Peirce, on the other hand, proposed the necessity of an equivalence between representation and reality, which was suggested to him by the workings of scientific rationality. Far from assuming the preeminence, abstraction, arbitrariness, and permanence of a linguistic code at any given point, Peirce argued that signification occurs through a sign's real relation with its object. A sign exists as vehicle (or representamen) in relation to another sign that acts as interpretant (or meaning), so that both signs represent the same object (or referent). Peirce thus posited a triadic relation between sign, object, and meaning. These three elements may pertain equally to such diverse classes of phenomena as single objects, human actions, or natural laws. A sign relation, that is, the unique semiotic bond linking a particular triad together, is made of two reciprocal vectors: determination, which points from the object toward both the sign and the interpretant, and representation, which points from the sign and the interpretant toward the object. The dynamic between determination and representation implies that each element in the sign relation modifies its roles as further determinations and representations are accomplished. While semiosis is a limitless process of interpretation, representation remains guided by determination, for "the object of a sign must resist in some measure any tendency it may have to be as the thinker thinks it is."<sup>77</sup> This real relation between sign, object, and meaning is itself predicated on Peirce's metaphysical notion that the signs used to represent mental and external realities also share substantial identity with these realities, and on his ontological view that all knowledge at a given historical moment must to some degree relate to something

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this discipline in "The Pragmatic Semiotics of Culture." This essay, with its historiographical and theoretical concerns, and its specific examples illustrating the applications of semiotics as a methodological tool for sociocultural research, holds a special interest for historians in general. It is of particular value for medievalists, as Parmentier assesses critically attempts at a semiotic typology of cultures by considering the work of three prominent semiotic typologists (Ernst Cassirer, Yuri Lotman, and Jean Baudrillard), and by testing this typology against the case of the European Middle Ages.

<sup>76</sup> See an elaborate denunciation of Saussure's linguistics as "semiotics of identification or of equal exchange" by Augusto Ponzio, *Signs, Dialogues, and Ideology*, Susan Petrilli, ed. and trans. (Amsterdam, 1993), xii–xiii, 11–18. Clear exposition and concise criticism of Saussurean linguistics with additional bibliography are given in Richard J. Parmentier, *Signs in Society: Studies in Semiotic Anthropology* (Bloomington, Ind., 1994), xiii–xv; and Parmentier, "Pragmatic Semiotics of Culture," 14.

<sup>77</sup> Peirce manuscripts in the collection of Harvard University, 499, quoted in Parmentier, *Signs in Society*, 26. Among the abundant studies devoted to Peirce's semiotics, Parmentier's two chapters in *Signs in Society* were particularly illuminating and provide the material with which I construe the brief synthesis presented here: "Peirce Divested for Non Intimates" (3–22), and "Peirce's Concept of Semiotic Mediation" (23–44).

with which the knower is already acquainted. Peirce thus produced a relationship of dialogic adequacy between signs and objects, between meaning and experience, and between thought and reality.<sup>78</sup>

This insight is not popular with social scientists, most of whom dismiss it as a vestigial Western attachment to the Renaissance theory of signatures,<sup>79</sup> but it is precisely what recommended Peircean semiotics to semiotic anthropologists, and what should make such semiotics valuable to historians, for it locates meaning within history by suggesting that it is only in social practice that the sign is used and its sense determined: semiosis as enacted social practice. Meaning, therefore, is not disembodied but acts and is enacted within sign systems (linguistic and nonlinguistic alike), which, embedded in context-specific purposive behavior, are at once socially grounded and socially creative. Contextual parameters are concrete realities—time, space, matter, and sign operations all require physically manifested sign vehicles, experienceable over time. Complementary to this concrete contextualization is the tracking of a given culture's meta-semiotic understanding through theoretical discourses, ideological assumptions, and social actions. The material aspect of semiosis does not deprive contextually grounded signs of meta-level correlates regulating a further range of acceptable meanings. Thus semiosis, as a multidimensional process sensitive alike to the formal properties of signs, the material circumstances of context, and the influence of meta-semiotic anchors, opens up ways to study social action seen both as emergent in real time and projected from meta-semiotic representation.<sup>80</sup>

The European Middle Ages, the twelfth century in particular, have recently been examined through the lenses of semiotic anthropology by Richard Parmentier, a distinguished practitioner of this methodology. Parmentier considers the twelfth century to have been primarily governed by Platonic Realism, which affirmed the reality and transcendent referentiality of abstract ideas or universals.<sup>81</sup> However, he also comments on the diversity of twelfth-century symbolic discourses, though without specifically identifying such discourses, as earlier in this essay where I

<sup>78</sup> Discussion of the relationship between sign, object, and thinking subject may be found in Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*, 45; Ponzio, *Signs, Dialogues, and Ideology*, 3, 12, 39, 42–44; James Hoopes, "Objectivity and Relativism Affirmed: Historical Knowledge and the Philosophy of Charles S. Peirce," *AHR* 98 (December 1993): 1548.

<sup>79</sup> In Renaissance hermeneutics, to search for meaning is to identify resemblance. In this approach, the world offers itself to human cognition through signs (signatures) indicating invisible analogies that must be deciphered. On the Renaissance theory of signs, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, 1973), 17–45; Reiss, *Discourse of Modernism*, 32. Parmentier, "Pragmatic Semiotics of Cultures," 31–32, reports that contemporary semiotic approaches to cultural analysis are attacked as "a Western holdover from the Renaissance belief in correspondences or signatures," and dismisses such attacks as reductionist logics that seek to locate the "mechanisms of semiosis in the hard-wiring of the brain or in the universal constraints of communicative competence."

<sup>80</sup> Good discussions of the methodological orientation provided by Peirce's semiotics, together with an analytical review of their applicability to the humanities and to the social sciences, are offered by Parmentier, *Signs in Society*, esp. xiii–xvii and 125–28; Parmentier, "Pragmatic Semiotics of Culture," 7–8, 15–17.

<sup>81</sup> Parmentier, "Pragmatic Semiotics of Culture," 78–89. Parmentier's discussion of the Middle Ages aims in part at testing a novel offshoot of semiotic anthropology—the construction of an evolutionary and comparative typology of cultures diachronically based on fundamental semiotic processes. See "Pragmatic Semiotics of Culture," 63–65, 78–79. Also see above at n. 33 for further discussion of the term realism in medieval philosophy.

analyzed the conflicts that erupted over the reality of universals, about the Christic presence in the Eucharist, over the nature of the persons in the triune God, and over the expression of authorial presence in script. Based on his perception that twelfth-century semiosis had multiple, often contrasting, operative mechanisms, Parmentier draws the general conclusion that specific semiotic structural elements, such as Realism, do not necessarily correspond to particular types of societies but are widespread phenomena acting cross-culturally. For instance, since universals are conceived as templates of the spatio-temporal realm, social regimentation and political permanence can be ascribed to any society that proclaims the transcendent immutability of universals.<sup>82</sup> Realism, in this conclusion, has been essentialized, that is, assumed to have systematic effects independent of context.

Parmentier's conclusion involves a radical epistemological shift, as several aspects of semiosis are decontextualized and universalized, while the explanatory power of semiotic anthropology is directed away from categories of cultural order and toward types of cross-cultural experience. Such an approach raises several problems. First, it denies a particular semiotic theory, in this case Realism, its own power as sign and as engine rather than as mere determinant of semiosis. Second, although synchronic but conflicting semiotic systems are recognized, those medieval sign operations not accounted for by contemporaneous theoretical discourses are subordinated, identified by reference to anachronistic modern interpretive norms, or conceived as having been so pervasive and axiomatic as not to have been recorded in texts. Third, medieval semiotic processes themselves are translated directly into analytical tools of modern research, when, in fact, such processes were constitutive of twelfth-century culture and operated in a vastly different interpretive context than the tools of current social studies. Consequently, actual medieval semiotic processes, though initially contextually anchored and/or meta-semiotically correlated, become, once reinscribed (and reified) within modern epistemologies, nonfunctional, since the ways in which they originally enabled specific and new signifying forms, new meanings, new forms of meaning, and new chains of interpretations remain unretrieved. When semiotic practices are seen simply as presupposed habits, objective discourses, or analytical tools, the interpretive creativity of signs within historical societies cannot become a proper subject of historical inquiry. Parmentier's comprehensive review of semiotically informed studies on the twelfth century reports interactions between different media (images/texts, heraldic emblems/agnatic discourse), different discourses (monastic/prescholastic), and different esthetics (romanesque/gothic). All of these media, discourses, and esthetics, however, are analyzed only from the viewpoint of their engagement with *explicit* medieval semiotic systems. Such analyses tend to impute a meta-semiotic, superstructural dimension to those medieval systems, whereby they are conceived to be external to the very reality they constitute. The actual semiotic nature of the heraldic emblem or the gothic cathedral, both new forms in the twelfth century, their signifying modes and locations within processual chains of interpretation, and their force in producing specific cognitive and external realities

<sup>82</sup> Parmentier, "Pragmatic Semiotics of Culture," 86.

remain unaddressed in this treatment. Semiotics of this sort, from the viewpoint of the historian, merely serves to reinforce the well-known chronicle of innovations.

Thus charting the zones left in shadow as the spotlight of semiotic anthropology sweeps across the field of medieval history reveals the paradox at the very heart of semiotic anthropology. On the one hand, Peirce insists on the necessity of context for semiosis to take shape and to make sense, and semiotic anthropologists advocate careful examination of the particular sociohistorical setting within which signs, as contextually informed material instances, operate. On the other hand, the anthropologists have abstracted Peirce's sign theory into an analytical tool held to be applicable to *any* sign system, on the explicit assumption that his theory is, like calculus, "the indispensable mathematical tool for modern scientific research, [which] makes no claims in itself about the laws which govern the physical universe."<sup>83</sup> It is somewhat inconsistent for semiotic anthropology to claim contextualization for semiosis even while essentializing its working definition of the sign. Implicit in the projection of Peircean sign theory onto all times and cultures is a universalization, a hard-wiring, of signification. Do signs signify independently? Is semiotics a new form of historical determinism, on a par with, say, materialism? Such theoretical essentialism is especially problematic for medievalists who, at least in some cases, feel prompted by Peirce's own knowledge of and reliance on medieval sign theory to make medieval systems "fit" Peircean semiotic trichotomies.<sup>84</sup> In my view, the systematic application of Peirce's theory runs contrary to his own notion of the contingency of signification on context, and to his own implication that all knowledge is relative; for, while knowledge is tested by objective reality (and thus is not merely subjective), reality itself remains dependent on thought (that is, on signs and representation, in other words, on culture) in order to acquire knowable meanings and qualities. Peirce's semiotics ought to inspire historians with a sense of the historicity of both sign theory and sign agency, and of their dialogic ability to encode and articulate specific ontological and metaphysical views.

The tendency of semiotic anthropology to universalize Peircean sign theory only partially undermines the utility of its insights for historians. Semiotic anthropology is particularly valuable in exploring material objects as signs because it eschews the systematic application of a logocentric model of meaning, and thus does not reduce culture to the single model of a linguistic code. It calls for the study of material culture beyond technical reductionism or linguistic symbolism and for an understanding of material culture's functions beyond the instrumental or the practical, providing, among other things, a useful agenda for research by which to explore the nature of the signifying material, the agents and purposes of its interpretation, and

<sup>83</sup> Parmentier, *Signs in Society*, xiv.

<sup>84</sup> See parallels drawn between Peirce's semiotics and medieval logic in John F. Boler, *Charles Peirce and Scholastic Realism* (Seattle, 1963); Susan Petrilli and Augusto Ponzio, "Peirce and Medieval Semiotics," in *Peirce's Doctrine of Signs: Theory, Applications, and Connections*, Vincent M. Colapietro and Thomas M. Olschewsky, eds. (Berlin, 1996), 351–64; Ponzio, *Signs, Dialogue, and Ideology*, 70–82. Arguing for the coincidence between Augustine and Peirce's sign theories is Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," 60–83.



the status of the relationship between this material and surrounding cultural traditions, social organizations, and cosmological powers.<sup>85</sup>

IT IS BECAUSE I HAVE FOUND politics, law, orality, and literacy inadequate as contexts to account for the diffusion of seals and the newer formulation of personal identity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that, inspired by semiotic anthropology and its programmatic directions, I have come to consider sealed charters from the viewpoint of the writing bureaus that originated them, situating the conception and production of these charters within the scholarly world described at the beginning of this essay as being in the throes of a semiotic crisis.<sup>86</sup> The scriptoria and writing bureaus that initiated the sustained production of sealed charters appear to have been located in abbeys or cathedrals that either currently had in residence or had trained those Schoolmen who were active participants in debates about signs and signification in relation to three theological concerns. To reiterate, these were the Eucharist and the related subjects of presence and representation; the Trinity and the related issues of person, identity, image, and resemblance; and the authority of script(ure) and the issue of the referentiality of language. Since the maps tracing seal diffusion and prescholastic theological reflections on sign theory are largely coterminous, it may be the case that the seal derived its new means of signification, especially its capacity to present and represent, from the discourses of semiotics and theology. I propose to interpret the extension of sealing as a manifestation of a new semiotics in which, as already discussed, immanence rather than transcendence governed the rapport between signifier and signified, thereby making possible new forms for the representation of reality. This new semiotics emerged from the context of an increasing, though initially contested, acceptance of God's incarnation as a hermeneutic axial point. The Eucharistic motif had now become the foundation of a representational model articulated around the theme of "real presence." While the extent to which seals became effective in representing their owners owed much to this Eucharistic debate, the principles and modes of their operation as a sign of identity may also be situated in prescholastic ideas about the nature of personhood, since it was part of the new semiotic conception that a sign be representative through its capacity to embody the ontological characteristics of its referent.

Among the conceptual tools chancery scholars used to address the issue of personhood was the seal as metaphor. I find it suggestive that the same prescho-

<sup>85</sup> Parmentier, "Pragmatic Semiotics of Culture," 43–63; the agenda of questions is set up on 51.

<sup>86</sup> See above at pp. 1498–1505 for a full discussion of prescholastic debates on sign theory in relation to language, the Eucharist, the Trinity, and sacramental theology in general. A review of the corpus of eleventh and twelfth-century aristocratic charters permits three striking conclusions: these charters, produced by ecclesiastical beneficiaries, originated from a variety of chanceries and scriptoria; they were not systematically sealed; and the diversity of practice seems to correlate with the differing cultures of the specific issuing writing bureaus. Thus, for example, 61 charters issued in the name of Ivo of Nesles, count of Soissons (d. 1178) are still extant and have been published by Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesles en Picardie*, 2: 27–161. In the early phases of this documentary production, Count Ivo sealed sporadically (see unsealed charters, no. 7, p. 34, ca. 1141; no. 15, p. 44, 1146), but he began to seal regularly in charters involving Joscelin, bishop of Soissons (no. 12, p. 40, 1145; no. 13, p. 42, 1145). Prior to becoming a bishop, Joscelin (d. 1152) had taught theology in Paris; Léon Maitre, *Les écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe Auguste, 768–1180* (Paris, 1866), 153.

lastic milieus that promoted changes in semiotic thinking, that entertained concerns about representation, authority, and personal identity, and that produced the novel medium of the sealed charter as a solution to these concerns are the very ones that resorted to the seal metaphor to clarify these concerns. There apparently was no precedence of the metaphorical seal over the documentary seal, and there may be little advantage in trying to explicate one by reference to the other, but it is undeniable that both cover the same semantic territory, organizing and thereby elucidating contemporary views of identity. In the spheres of both discourse and practice, the seal, linking the divine and the human, was centered precisely on persons, their agency and representation, and their personal relationships to others, to God, and to script.

The seal metaphor was not new in Christian discourse and liturgy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,<sup>87</sup> but its semantic range was now extended. Seal metaphors facilitated discussions on the relational presence of the divine persons—Father, Son, Holy Spirit—within the Trinity, of the Son in Man, and of the Son in God the Father. Such metaphors were used particularly in discussing image and resemblance, first between the Creator and his Son, who was engendered and not created, and second between the Creator and his creature, the human being. As the body of seal metaphors is vast, I will present and discuss here only a few representative examples.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>87</sup> The seal metaphor precedes Christian discourse. On its occurrence in late ancient philosophy, see Stephen Gersh, *From Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition* (Leiden, 1978), 236; Manetti, *Theories of the Sign*, 6, gives the example of the seal as a Mesopotamian divinatory sign: “If a man dreams that someone gives him a seal—he will have a son.” The seal metaphor is also found in Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, serving as model for the process of making and storing the memorial phantasm; see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. 16–32, 33, 49, 62, 72, and 291 n. 5; and Manetti, *Theories of the Sign*, 54. Another ancient use of the sealing metaphor is in the field of anatomy to explain the physiological mechanism of conception; it articulated the Aristotelian contrast between form and matter; see Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 37. The seal metaphor appears in both the Old and the New Testaments (the Apocalypse comes preeminently to mind), and in patristic texts, where it principally concerns the baptismal rite: Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, 1956), chap. 3, is entirely devoted to “Sphragis” (Greek: seal); G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers*, 2d edn. (London, 1967). The seal metaphor was also used in Byzantine theology, by Theodore the Studite (or of Studion, ninth century) for instance, to explain that an icon derives power from its representational identity with its archetype, but is otherwise an unsubstantial image “existing between, and independent of, the sealing die and malleable medium into which the die is pressed.” Gary Vikan, “Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium,” *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 50–52. I wish to thank Dr. James Trilling for bringing Vikan’s article to my attention. See below n. 92 for a discussion of the relationship between seal and coin metaphors.

<sup>88</sup> In order to establish a typology of the seal metaphor in prescholastic texts, I began with the numerous instances gathered and analyzed by Javelet in his monumental *Image et ressemblance*. I also searched the CD-ROM of the CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts (CLCLT-2, Paul Tombeur, ed., Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve), and the *Patrologia Latina Database* (PLD, Chadwick-Healy), a CD-ROM containing the electronic version of the entire contents of the 221 volumes of J.-P. Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*. Several articles in the *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* (34 [1992]: 39–53; 35 [1993]: 220–28; 36 [1994]: 206–14) address the advantages and disadvantages of PLD. There is as yet no general synthesis of the medieval use of the seal metaphor, although this usage has been noted by several scholars: Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 16, 17, 97–98, 194, 210; Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 55–57, 71, 180, 304 n. 49, 307 n. 119; Giles Constable, “Renewal and Reform in Religious Life,” in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, 46; and Constable, *Three Studies*, 189, 192, 214–15, 217; Michael Goodich, *From Birth to Old Age: The Human Life Cycle in Medieval Thought* (Lanham, Md., 1989),

When Abelard wished to demonstrate that the Trinity can be discussed in logical terms, he identified as a principal conundrum the question of unity (the Godhead) in diversity (the three persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), and in proceeding to address this question articulated the main thrust of his theological argument through a seal metaphor:

Identity and diversity may be described in five, and perhaps more, ways. There is identity if a thing exists entirely with another thing, that is, by essence and number. There is identity secondly, in property; thirdly, by definition; fourthly, by likeness; and fifthly, by incommunicability, when a thing never changes into anything else. We can say things are identical in these five ways, and by contrary we can say that they are diverse in these five ways; that is, if the conditions of identity are not fulfilled then the things are diverse . . . Things may be identical in essence and number, but not identical in property or proper character. This may be the case even when their substance is the same, their proper functions alone making a fundamental distinction between them. A wax image, for instance, may be identical in essence and number with the wax of which it is made. But there is no interrelation between the proper character of wax which is one thing, and the proper character of an image, which is another thing.<sup>89</sup>

Building on his demonstration that the wax and the waxen image are essentially the same but not the same by property and definition, and reusing the same metaphor, Abelard demonstrates the simultaneity of the identity of the triune God and of the difference between the persons of the Father and his begotten Son.

Look at a waxen image. Consider that in it is the mixture of wax: that is, the wax itself as substance. From this wax, the image becomes, in philosophical language, materialized out of material. The same essence is both the wax itself and the wax image. We can predicate of the wax that it is the image, and of the image that it is the wax. Nonetheless, it is also true to say that the waxen image is from the wax. But the wax is not from the waxen image. The wax itself is, however, the material of the image. The waxen image is not the material either of the wax or of itself. Again, we can assert that the image was realized out of the wax of which it is composed. Yet neither the wax itself nor the image itself were composed simply out of the image. Now if we take these names of wax and waxen image absolutely, not relatively to one another, we can assert anything of them that will be true of both because the substance is identical. I mean, for instance, if the wax is yellow and the image an upright figure, then the thing is yellow and upright throughout. If, however, we take the names relatively, in respect, that is, of the generation or composition of the waxen image, thinking of them as the material and the thing materialized from this material, as cause and effect, or the begetter and the begotten, then we cannot link them in respect of their particular functions by a predicating adjective. We cannot say that the material is the same as the thing materialized from it. Apply this comparison to the divine generation and my position is clear. God, the

93–94; Jean Jolivet, “Sur quelques critiques de la théologie d’Abélard,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 38 (1963): 29–31; Marenbon, *Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, 152, 178–79. Seal imagery was first extended to the obligation of keeping secret that which has been revealed in sacramental confession by Nicolas of Clairvaux, a pupil and contemporary of St. Bernard, in *Sermo II de Beato Andrea* (PL, 144, 833 C. *signaculum confessionis*). Peter the Chanter introduced the term *sigillum*: *munitissimum est sigillum confessionis* (*De sacramentis*, fol. 200r: BNF, Ms. Lat. 14,445). Léon Honoré, *Le secret de la confession: Etude historico-canonique* (Bruges, 1924), 45–47; Bertrand Kurtscheid, *A History of the Seal of Confession* (St. Louis, Mo., 1927), 111.

<sup>89</sup> English translation from McCallum, *Abelard’s Christian Theology*, 75 (Latin text is in PL, 178: col. 1247 D and 1248 B).

Father, is the divine Power; God, the son, is divine Wisdom. Now divine Wisdom is a kind of power, since it is the ability to discern and foresee and deliberate aright against anything that may deceive God. Hence divine Wisdom coming from divine Power is a sort of waxen image out of wax. Philosophically, it is a species of genus. The species is the same as the genus, as a man is the same as an "animal," or a waxen image the same as wax. The wax image is from wax as man is from animal. I mean that, in so far as it is a wax image it must be wax, just as in so far as a man is a man, he must be an animal. But the contrary is not true. Power, therefore of discernment and doing all kinds of things may be considered like wax which has potentially either to be a wax image or anything else: or, as the animal species, which may be a man or any other animal. This is my illustration to show that, when the son is begotten of the Father, I mean that divine Wisdom is from divine Power as I have explained.<sup>90</sup>

Both these passages clearly articulate a concept of identity as a principle of sameness and also a product of the polarization between similar and dissimilar, a concept of property (that is, definition, or proper character) as that which both characterizes and distinguishes the person. The seal metaphor in these passages specifically addresses two points. First, there is priority of the material (or substance or essence) over the image. Second, there may be diversity by virtue of definition (or property) when things are identical in essence and number. The prescholastic semiotic of mimetism afforded not only an economy of signification but also a differential principle of being. It defined a human person as existing by virtue of relationships of origin, as identical in the sense of its similarity to humanity (species) but distinct with respect to properties in relationship to others. Yet it was neither perfect identity nor absolute distinctiveness but rather comparative likeness—difference in essence, number, and properties—that was emphasized. Human personhood and identity were thus formulated both in relation to God (essence) *and* to other human beings (number and properties). As such, the concept of the person that developed in the twelfth century, modulating likeness to reveal heterogeneity, was of a unique psychosomatic unit expressing a distinct identity as both flesh and spirit, capable of representation for the purpose of activity in the world.<sup>91</sup>

Prescholastics, in their ontological exploration, privileged an exegetical approach that, borrowing from Neo-Platonic readings of Genesis, presented the human being as created in the image of God so as ultimately to be transformed into his resemblance.<sup>92</sup> In this sense, identity consisted of a God-like image within the

<sup>90</sup> English translation from McCallum, *Abelard's Christian Theology*, 85–86 (Latin text is in *PL*, 178: col. 1288 C, D, 1289 A). I am indebted to Marenbon, *Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, 151–52, for a lucid discussion of Abelard's use of the seal metaphor. Also useful were Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*, 1: 142; 2: 115; McCallum, *Abelard's Christian Theology*, 75–77.

<sup>91</sup> While in the early twelfth century, such theologians as Hugh of St. Victor and Robert of Melun held that the person is a soul using a body, Hugh actually treated the human being as an entity composed of body and soul, and by the middle of the century Schoolmen understood a person to be a psychosomatic entity; Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), pt. 2, esp. 127–28, 135, 166, 225, and 256; this study systematically tracks the medieval ideas of person, self, and individual by analyzing the theological arguments about bodily resurrection. On the changing connotations of the term and concept of "person" from antiquity to the modern period, see the recent survey by O'Hara, *Logic of Human Personality*. See above nn. 1–5 for letters expected by their authors to represent, and to act in place of, their *persona*. See below n. 101 for studies on the relationship between the concept of person and personal intention.

<sup>92</sup> The classical study, based on a wide array of theological texts, many of which contain seal

human fabric. Here, the metaphor of sealing was recurrently used to evoke the imprint of the divine archetype on the human raw material. Commentaries on Genesis 1: 26 (God made man in his image and likeness) from the School of Laon, from Abelard, and from the canons of St. Victor contemplated just how human beings might be said to be “in the image and likeness of God” when they have no common property with God. Using the seal metaphor, the commentators determined that the human soul in God’s image is different from the Son who is in God’s image, in proportion to the difference between the king’s image on a seal and the king’s generated image in his son.<sup>93</sup> Only the engendered image (the Son), which shares properties and is consubstantial with its model, may be equal to it: only the Son *is* the image of God. The created image (Man), on the other hand, bears only an analogy to its model: the human being is *in* the image of God. Abelard and the School of Laon were concerned, however, to reconcile transcendence and immanence, and so insisted on the presence of God within the begotten Son and, through the Son, within the created human being as well. Here again, Abelard and the Laon scholars resorted to another seal metaphor, this time involving the die, its image, and its imprint. God is the seal’s inherent material (the substance of its die or matrix); the Son is the figure of God’s substance, the image of God engraved in the matrix, which in turn imprints itself on the human soul (reason, heart, memory),<sup>94</sup> enabling that soul to be configured as the Son. In this sense, the human being is created as an image, imprinted through the medium of divine substance but sharing no substantial affinity with it, unlike the Son, whose image is consubstantially figured of divine substance. The human creature, conceived as sealed and therefore as replicated image, is ontologically constituted to participate in its informing

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metaphors, is Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*. When discussing man’s likeness to God, Augustine used the metaphor of the coin; Jean Wirth, “Structure et fonctions de l’image chez saint Thomas d’Aquin,” in Baschet and Schmitt, *L’image*, 41. In the writings of eleventh and twelfth-century chancery-scholars, the metaphor of the seal governs discussions of resemblance, generation, and creation. Thirteenth-century theologians, such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, seem to reintroduce the numismatic metaphor in handling these questions; Courtenay, “King and the Lead Coin.” See a demonstration of the assimilation of medieval economics to a general theory of signs in R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1983), 164–74.

<sup>93</sup> In the words of the Victorine Robert of Melun: “quae tamen distat ab imagine Dei quae Deus est quantum imago regis quae in sigillo ejus est ab imagine quae in ejus filio est.” who adds: “thus, although the human soul shares no common property with God, it is not inappropriate to say that the human soul has been created in the image and resemblance of God.” Bruges, Bibliothèque de la Ville (City Library), Cod. lat. 191, 186 v<sup>o</sup>–187 r<sup>o</sup>; see Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*, 2: 41. I wish to thank the anonymous reader who provided the superb English translation used here as part of his or her review of this essay.

<sup>94</sup> The text of the School of Laon is given by Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*, 2: 46–47 n. 61. Abelard’s text is discussed in Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*, 1: 82–83, and given in 2: 46–47 (from *Introductio ad Theologiam* II. 13 in *PL.*, 178, col. 1068 D). Peter Lombard (d. 1160), who attended the School of St. Victor before becoming chancellor and master at Notre-Dame of Paris, and ultimately bishop of Paris, wrote in his commentaries on the Psalms (*In Psalmis* 4, *PL.*, 191: col. 88 A): “The radiance of your face, that is, the radiance of your grace through which your image is formed in us, thanks to which we are similar to you, this radiance is signed upon us, it is impressed on our reason, which animates the soul with a superior force by which we resemble God, upon reason this radiance is imprinted, like a seal to wax.” Quoted in Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*, 2: 142–43 n. 32, and discussed in 1: 173, together with texts from Anselm’s School of Laon, which also emphasize the imprint of God’s image within human fabric. See also the commentaries by Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1169) on the Psalms in *In Psalmis* II, 30 (*PL.*, 193, col. 1306 D–1307 A).



prototype, capable of tending toward the prototype's realization. In terms of seal metaphors, human identity is about creation, impression, oppression, and reformation. Creation is the process by which Man is made in the image and likeness of God (Genesis 1: 26). Impression, that is, the soul formed and signed by the seal of God, expresses the human capacity for good. Oppression, that is, an opposition to or the breaking of God's seal through Man's sinfulness, involves dissimilarity and alienation.<sup>95</sup> Reformation presents the hope that likeness to God is an end capable of human accomplishment. Personal formation and reformation are fundamental processes of human identity that Hugh of St. Victor, among others, discussed, resorting frequently to the seal metaphor, as in this striking passage from the *De institutione*:

In good men the form of the likeness of God is engraved, and when through the process of imitation we are pressed against that likeness, we too are molded according to the image of that likeness. But you must know that unless the wax is first softened, it cannot receive the form, and this also, a man can not be kneaded to the form of virtue through the hand of another's actions, unless he is softened and all pride and stiff-necked contrariness removed . . . Why do you think we are enjoined to imitate the life and conduct of good men, unless it be that by imitating them we are reformed to the likeness of a new life? For in them the form of the likeness of God is expressed, and when we impress ourselves on them through imitation, then we too are reshaped according to the image of that same likeness.<sup>96</sup>

Paralleling their seal metaphors, the prescholastics who were fostering the new semiotics displayed in their own chanceries a predilection for visibility centered on the concept of an imprinted image at once generated by the principles of likeness and linked to a model. In non-royal charters, the motif of visibility had previously engaged only a single modality of representation, the symbolic, constructed by linguistic signs arranged as a discourse. With seals, a second, iconic modality was introduced, where representation was achieved by lines and figures arranged as images. In fact, the linguistic and iconic modes were both present on the seal itself—the legend (text) and the type (image)—but the essence of their representative power came from their being produced as imprints. That a seal represents by being an object whose marked matter has become graven form is crucial in terms of prescholastic semiotics. The seal metaphors previously discussed suggest that an

<sup>95</sup> On the image of the broken seal used by Abelard, Achard of St. Victor, Thomas of Cîteaux, and Bernard of Clairvaux to signify alienation and dissimilarity from God, see Javelet, *Image et ressemblance*, 1: 249, 259, 300–01, 312–13; 2: 214, 218, 220, 256. Abelard framed his discussion of the destruction and reformation of God's image in Man in terms of the seal metaphor: *Theologia Scholarium* II, 14, *PL*, 178: col. 1073 CD; and in *Corpus christianorum* [continuatio mediaevalis], 11–13: *Petri Abaelardi opera theologia* (Turnhout, 1969–87).

<sup>96</sup> Jaeger's translation in *Envy of Angels*, 258–59; *De institutione novitiorum*, prol. and chap. 7, *PL*, 176: col. 925B–C, 932D–933A. See Bynum's pioneering analysis of Hugh's seal metaphor addressing the education of novices in *Jesus as Mother*, 97–98; the remarks by Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 71 and 307 n. 119; and Constable, "Renewal and Reform," 46. According to his biographer Eadmer, Anselm of Bec also used the seal metaphor for moral education; Eadmer, *Life of Saint Anselm*, R. Southern, ed. and trans. (London, 1962), 20–21. In *De similitudinibus*, *PL*, 159: col. 695, Anselm stated that youth is like a piece of wax, which must be the right consistency, between hardness and softness, in order to receive a perfect impression; see Goodich, *From Birth to Old Age*, 93. Anselm also resorted to this trope for the expression of passionate friendship in addressing one of his correspondents: "He who is imprinted in my heart like a seal on wax, how could he be removed from my memory?" *Epistola* 1.4, *PL*, 158: col. 1068–69, quoted by John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago, 1980), 218.

imprint, by virtue of containing the trace of an origin in its very matter, is a sign forever indicating a radical presence, for instance, that of God in human beings. The very act of seal imprinting both articulated and dramatized these principles of marking origin and materializing presence. Sealers sometimes went so far as to impress parts of their own bodies on the waxen seal: toothmarks, fingerprints, bits of hair or beard.<sup>97</sup> In the very act of impressing die on wax, the seal blended with its referent (the sealer), the written text with its enunciating subject (again, the sealer). In terms of prescholastic ontology, both seals and sealers were imprints carrying within their very matter the mark of an original. The seal, thereby participating in an existential relation with the sealer it represented, became an efficacious sign, a power. Thus was the seal enabled to confer on the document its own authority, transforming the document into a monument, which is the name by which sealed charters came to be known during the twelfth century.<sup>98</sup> In a manner analogous to Hosts imprinted with a cross, the letters IHS, and, from the twelfth century onward, a crucifixion scene or the lamb of God, seals not only mediated but embodied the real presence of the individuals who affixed them. Seals allowed simultaneous presence and representation. Their mode of signification was through incarnation. The ritual process of sealing also involved a transformation of substance: it fused two quite different spaces, the locus on the parchment where the affixed seal affirms that *ego* was there and the physical location where the documentary sealing took place in the presence of witnesses. Above all, sealing changed a written leaf of parchment into a monument. This occurred by authorizing writing, that is, by incorporating the author into the text. Seals were the incarnation of the *ego* of diplomatic discourse, marking the charter so that it acquired substance and body. However, although seals and the Eucharist participated in a common semiotic logic, seals fell short of sacrality. Their relationship to script occurred at the lower margin of the page: the *ego* of the author-donor-sealer and his mark are not so much within the text but in consubstantial relationship to it.

<sup>97</sup> There are no extant sources describing the eleventh and twelfth-century ceremonials of seal imprinting. The only evidence of such imprinting comes from the seal impressions themselves and from clauses within the texts of the charters that announce the affixation of seals, as for instance in a charter by Guy of Garlande confirming the sale of a wood to the abbey of St. Victor in 1170: "Quod ut ratum atque firmissimum habeatur, ego Guido presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione corroborari feci"; Archives Nationales, Paris, S 2142 no. 16, published in Robert de Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire général de Paris*, Vol. 1: 528–1180 (Paris, 1887), no. 478, pp. 402–03. The corpus of charters given in the name of the counts of Ponthieu between 1026 and 1279 indicates a preference in early charters for announcing the application of the seal by the formula *sigilli impressione*, which insists on the imprinting process. This formula came to be replaced in later charters by such expressions as *sigilli appensione* or *sigilli appositione*, which focus on the affixation of the seal to the charter; C. Brunel, *Pontieu*, LI n. 13, where Brunel gives a typology of the various documentary clauses announcing the seal. Few seals still retain traces of fingerprints, teeth, and beard; see examples in Alph. Chassant and P.-J. Delbarre, *Dictionnaire de sigillographie pratique* (Paris, 1860), 19–20, 147–49, esp. 20, where is given the final clause of a charter of 1121 that reads: "In order for this [agreement] to remain ratified, I have affixed the force of my seal with three hairs from my beard."

<sup>98</sup> Documents came to be seen as monument and as "ammunition." Fraenkel, *La signature*, 17–18, specifically discusses the semantic kinship and ultimate fusion between *monimentum/monumentum* (monument or memorial) and *munimentum/munitio* (ammunition, fortification), which I noted in B. Bedos-Rezak, "Secular Administration," *Medieval Latin Studies: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, Frank Mantello and A. G. Rigg, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1997), 201; and see O. Guyotjeannin, "Le vocabulaire de la diplomatique en latin médiéval," *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge* (Turnhout, 1989), 123.

Seals represented individuals and, by personifying their owners, personalized the written word. From a graphic viewpoint, however, there is a tension in seals between individualization and categorization. The text of a seal's legend contains the individual's baptismal name but also both a title (king, count, bishop) and the entity or group ruled, underscoring the fact that identity was articulated primarily around function and its territorial or ethnic circumscription. The legend is obviously the part of the seal that individualized its owner. The image of the sealer placed on seals was anthropomorphic, though not a realistic portrait. I described earlier how the ritual of sealing, of imprinting, was itself significant in achieving presence and representation and was often enhanced by bodily marks as part of the imprinting process. Yet it was also true that a donor might utilize another person's seal to seal a charter given in his own name; the text in such cases would duly record the act of borrowing the seal, whereupon the document produced was considered properly sealed and authorized.<sup>99</sup> This specific manipulation indicates, in my opinion, that the generic gesture of sealing was also effective in committing and representing an individual, as might be expected of a bodily participation within a ceremonial culture. It also points to the importance of the spirit, that is, of the intention to seal, the *animus signandi*; for intention was the seal's intellectual and spiritual element, an important part of both seal and sealing. Intention was made explicit in a clause within the document's text announcing the affixation of the seal, as well as through the personal gesture of sealing.<sup>100</sup> The referential category engaged by seals and sealing is, therefore, a physical person who is ethical and accountable, and endowed with personal intentionality.<sup>101</sup>

Depictions of the body on seals are, as I have noted, nonrealistic, which is not to say that they did not function as a form of portrait within the medieval rules of figuration. Realism is, after all, simply a convention, and one that the Middle Ages did not equate or associate with physiognomic likeness.<sup>102</sup> In the charters themselves, authors refer to their seals as their own image, *imago noster*, which reveals

<sup>99</sup> See, for instance, this Norman charter of 1215: "Let it be known to all that I, William of Bruyères, gave as eternal alms four *setiers* of wheat to be received annually on my land of Bruyères to God and to Notre-Dame de L'Etrée . . . And since I did not have a seal I strengthened the present writing with the seal of John, then vice-dean." Archives Départementales, Eure, fonds de l'Etrée, quoted in Chassant and Delbarre, *Dictionnaire de sigillographie*, 177–78.

<sup>100</sup> Guillaume, count of Ponthieu (d. 1129), sealed an agreement with the prior of St. Peter of Abbeville, pointing out that he had committed himself by speech as he had signed with his seal, and with his name and the names of his wife and children. The crosses accompanying the names were probably autograph, although the fact cannot be established with certainty since the charter is extant only as a fifteenth-century copy; C. Brunel, *Pontieu*, no. 21, pp. 35–37.

<sup>101</sup> For different though complementary approaches to the relationship between person, personal intention, and concrete worldview, see Léopold Génicot, "Valeur de la personne ou sens du concret," in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia in memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer* (Groningen, 1967), 1–8; and O. Guillot, "La liberté des nobles et des roturiers dans la France du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: L'exemple de leur soumission à la justice," in *La notion de liberté au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident* (Paris, 1985), 155–67. See above n. 91 for the changing connotations of the term and concept of "person."

<sup>102</sup> Medieval art is traditionally associated with the devaluation of individual likeness, a product of nature, and with a preference for symbolizing an individual being in terms of the "truth" of a general type of image; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 132. The realism or naturalism associated with classical art has, however, been questioned by Erich S. Gruen, "The Roman Oligarchy: Image and Perception," *Imperium sine fine: T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic*, Jerzy Linderski, ed. (Stuttgart, 1996), 215–34, who proposes (220–22) that while Roman portraits are veristic, their purpose was not to reproduce a particular face but to convey a stylistic image. I wish to thank my friend and colleague Arthur Eckstein for acquainting me with this essay.

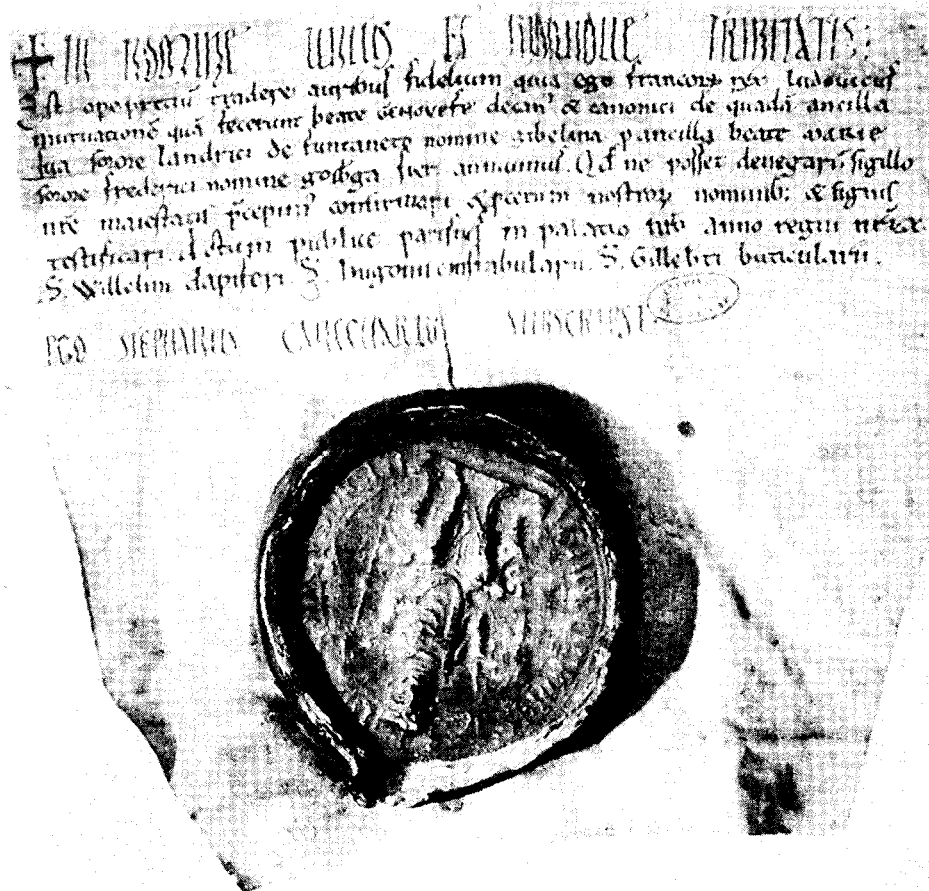
that seals and their depictions incorporated elements meaningful to self-representation.<sup>103</sup> Realistic physiognomy was not privileged; emblems of function and symbols of kinship were. Kings were shown in royal garb and posture, nobles as warriors, and bishops in episcopal array. Heraldry, from the mid-twelfth century onward, served as an iconographic rhetoric that expressed the identity of a kindred in relation to other groups, to its own land, and to its separate sub-branches. From an iconographic viewpoint, seals may be said to display abstracted figures and iconic types. Abstracted figures on seals refer to a conception of the individual as exoteric, someone who must be seen and decoded. As iconic types, seals display a severely limited, barely differentiated repertoire. Seal iconography thus affected the formulation of personal identity in that, through modulated differences of posture, costume, and emblems, it established and published a lexicon of images that classified and limited the contingencies of individual identity. By linking each individual to a formulaic icon, seals tended less to designate singularity than generic conformity to a group; indeed, they functioned as an index of shared membership in specific groups.

Formulaic icons thus suspended individual referentiality, conferring on seals the status of a system. The text of the legend particularized a given seal, giving it the status of instance. Thus seal graphism generated personal identity through a grammar that articulated the organizing principles of society. In this way, personal identity was defined and produced as an instance of social order, and thus produced itself as the verifier of the system it substantiated. The medieval sense of identity was about resemblance: the person as sign signaled that signs of representation were in conformity with social reality. This sense of identity parallels what is conveyed by the seal metaphor: the self as seal impression. The seal was the form, and the resultant personalized individual was a likeness.

Seal metaphors and seal graphism were not alone in projecting this concept of identity. The element of likeness was intensified by the technique of sealing, which involves duplication. Every seal impression in wax from a specific matrix was identical. The seal's competence and significance was, indeed, predicated on replication. Seals, bearing conventional images and acting through replication, did not emphasize distinction so much as likeness. The element of likeness was also heightened through the very modes by which seals presented themselves as

<sup>103</sup> Many examples may be cited from the episcopal charters of Rheims, Cambrai, and Laon, and from royal and aristocratic charters produced in episcopal chanceries; see Jean Dufour, *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108–1137)*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1992), 1: no. 180, pp. 373–75; Laon, 1121, King Louis VI confirms an exchange of properties between Barthelemy, bishop of Laon, and the Cistercian abbey of Foigny, and ordered that his confirmation be strengthened with the impression of his royal image (“nostre regie imaginis impressione confirmari precepimus”). This diploma was most probably composed and written in the episcopal chancery of Laon. Annie Dufour-Malbezin, *Catalogue des actes des évêques de Laon antérieurs à 1151* (thèse Ecole Nationale des Chartes, Archives Nationales, Paris, AB 28 133), 101, 103, 114, 121, 131, 132, 135, 145, 271, 264, 406; and especially charter no. 45, p. 74 (1103), produced by the episcopal chancery in the name of the bishop of Laon while Anselm was chancellor: “We have ordered that this arrangement be confirmed by this charter affixed with our image” (“hoc privilegio nostre imagine munito”); C. Brunel, *Ponthieu*, 165, 187–88, 194, 200, 204, 229; see, for instance, charter no. 56, p. 85 (1155): Jean, count of Ponthieu, and his brother Gui confirm the gifts made to the church of St. John at Amiens by various local lords and begged Thierry, bishop of Amiens, that he deign to attach the image of his seal (“imaginem sui sigilli”) to their charter. J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976), 510, lists “seal” as a primary meaning of *imago* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.





King Louis VI confirms an exchange of slaves between the abbeys of St. Geneviève and Notre Dame cathedral of Paris, 1118. Archives Nationales, Paris, AN K 21 n° 13<sup>4</sup>-AE II 132.

representative of their owners: the seal bore and was his owner's image, his *imago*. And the seal owner, as the object of representation, himself became an image of sameness, a warranted replica.

The identities of the individual and his seal depended on their capacity to resemble a model. In its operating and metaphoric principles, the seal was associated with transcendency (God) and at the same time also partook of the properties of its referent, an individual. The seal—operating through the medium of its progeny (the impressions), through its creative capacity, through its power of becoming (the impression), as well as simply of being (the matrix)—was experienced in analogy to the life process. On the mechanism of seal operation, the individual could project the autonomy of his conscience (we have seen the importance of intention), his ability to control the idea of his person. Mechanization and personalization are not contradictory. Individuals and seals became reciprocal models. Seals, conforming to and informing the logic of prescholastic semiotics, derived their capacity for signifying from their perceived affinity to, and



agency within, human biography. Thus seals were successful as objects denoting both identity and authority. They produced identity as a foundation for documentary authorship, authority, and, ultimately, authentication. The notion of identity as likeness and replicable resemblance, as it came to be conceptualized and realized through seals, was to affect more generally the fabric of social life.

WITH THE DIFFUSION OF SEALED CHARTERS in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, human beings bounded by flesh and consciousness were now engaging in strategies of deferred representation so that, where they had previously operated as their own empirical self-representing agents, they now came to coexist with, indeed relate to, a “double,” their representative image (*imago*). This double, which functioned as if the other (the human absentee) were both present and identical, was an object, the seal; reciprocally, the seal signified the individual, who thus came to be newly mobilized as a locus for imparting permanence and authority to the written word. Such mobilization was therefore achieved by means of representation conceived both as replicate presence and as objectification. These two processes had radical effects on the notion of the individual.<sup>104</sup>

In the course of embodying the linguistic *ego* of a charter together with the physical presence of its individual referent, seal and *imago* veered away from personal expression and toward stylization. Seals empowered not the individual as particular being but the person as category, the person as representative. The graphic logic of seals established a crucial distinction between the individual of flesh and character and the individual as an impersonation of social roles specified by codes. The particular living individual of earlier oral ceremonies came to be increasingly abstracted as an incarnation of a particular social group. Formulas of identity on seals predicate the notion of individuals as archetypes. The socialization of signs of recognition prompted a consideration, and an allocation, of emblematic qualities that came to substitute for individual character. Sigillographic representation, constituting its subject by exhibiting qualifications and titles, produced personal legitimacy as a functional effect of the social framework. Through seals, therefore, the power of authorization passed from the individual to the representational framework of titles and qualifications that enabled, permitted, and authorized his or her authority. The emergence of the person as a category repositioned authority itself as an impersonal and atemporal structure capable of generating itself as state, and duties as law. In producing impersonal identity as the foundation for authority and authenticity, seals assume an epiphanic concept of authority that lays claim to function in its own name, that is, in the name of . . . nobody.<sup>105</sup>

Individual empowerment by means of seals implied that, as a represented subject, the medieval human being was reinvented as an object, becoming a symbolic form wherein the immediate particulars of personal presence were synthesized and

<sup>104</sup> See above n. 9 the definition of “individual” used in this essay and the debate surrounding the “discovery of the individual” in the twelfth century.

<sup>105</sup> In the *Odyssey* (9, 1, verse 366), Ulysses introduced himself to Cyclops in those terms: “C’est personne; c’est mon nom”; quoted, translated, and discussed in Legendre, *Le désir politique de Dieu*, 20.

vested in tangible objects, seals. To be recognized and to be functional as a person, the individual had to become something else, a sign. Through signs, the individual acquired definition and was constituted as an effective site for the production of symbolic activity. Ultimately, individual identity was subordinated to signs because, in terms of the prescholastic dialectics, which were used to consider the very possibility of a personal identity, signs had greater and more stable powers of representation, their modes of representation involving less personality than typology. What arose in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, therefore, was less “the individual” than a semiotic system, a practice of sign interpretation, that fostered representation of the person as a category. The individual was a representational device, a point of reference. The individual consequently appears to have been a casualty of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, reduced to rule-referential roles, and retreating behind representation and representational signs whose operational principles lay not in individualization but classification, not in differentiation but replication, not in identification but verification.

Seals did not construct social relationships, but they did catalog them as a hierarchical set, serving as a formal system for the indication of social status. The aristocracy, for the period under consideration, came to recognize itself in terms of its sign-objects, and it was in terms of these objects that the morality and the standards of the group—eschatological concerns, warfare, penitential needs, spiritual intentions, accountability, kindred—came to be expressed. Seals, by establishing social and moral roles as intrinsic constituents of each person’s identity, fostered an integration of the medieval ethical order. Sealing practices were developed within the polemical world of prescholastic schools and chanceries, where debates on semiotics were also doctrinal and fueled by an awareness that alternative modes of theological interpretation might well lead to the characterization of opponents as alien, if not heretical. Seen in this light, the objective formulation of identity through signs may be situated within a larger strategy concerned with identifying, controlling, and ultimately destroying otherness. Certainly, the diffusion of sealing and the preoccupation with heresy and doctrinal deviance were contemporaneous.<sup>106</sup> May not the formulation of a sign of identity have been stimulated by the struggle for dogmatic authority and by the related need to oppose those perceived as “other” and threatening? Such speculative considerations stimulate interest in the actual role of identity and of its signs in the regimentation of social life, though for the moment we must leave this unresolved.

Prescholastic sign theory informed and enabled the representational capacity of seals, so that seals could embody the identity and operate as the *imago* of their owners through their very modes of signification. These modes included semantic

<sup>106</sup> In the reforming council held at Rheims in 1049, its convener, Pope Leo IX, denounced many heresies and illicit practices, probably targeting Berengar’s followers among others (Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 146–47; Macdonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine*, 56–57). In Cambrai, the anti-Berengar position of Bishop Gerard (d. 1051) was recorded in the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, a much revised and expanded version of his confrontation with a group of dissenters at the synod of Arras in 1025 (Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, 120–39). Roscelin had to defend his views on the Trinity at a Council held in Soissons in 1092 (Picavet, *Roscelin*, 50–52). Abelard’s work was condemned by the Council of Soissons in 1121, the proceedings of which had been instigated by two pupils of Anselm of Laon, Alberic of Rheims and Lotulf of Novara, and at the Council of Sens in 1140 (Marenbon, *Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, 17, 31–32).

components (text and image), semiotic operations (stereotypy, resemblance, replication, and mechanization), and a metaphorical dimension. Seals were signs that encoded the concept of medieval identity as replicable resemblance. The mode of identification that seals promoted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries favored distinction by category. The greater their ability to classify, the less the seals' capacity to particularize identity. But of course, in prescholastic culture, true identity, that is, a perfect correspondence between an original and its image, as conceived for the Trinity or the Eucharist, could only be a divine attribute.

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## The Demographic Cost of Sugar: Debates on Slave Societies and Natural Increase in the Americas

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MICHAEL TADMAN

When 18 months complete their growth,  
Then the tall canes' rich juices fill;  
And we, to bring their liquor forth,  
Convey them to the bruising-mill.  
That mill, our labour, every hour,  
Must with fresh loads of canes supply;  
And if we faint, the cart-whip's power,  
Gives force which *nature's* powers *deny*.

A. Opie, *The Black Man's Lament* (1826), an antislavery tract for children.

THIS STUDY IS CONCERNED WITH explaining some remarkable population patterns and with examining the very extensive implications of these patterns. Among North American slaves, births greatly exceeded deaths, so that the slave population expanded rapidly. In sharp contrast, across the slave societies of the Caribbean and Latin America, the persistent experience was one not of natural increase but of dramatic natural decrease. Indeed, the North American pattern was probably, with a few local and sometimes short-term exceptions, unique in the history of slavery. As C. Vann Woodward wrote: "So far as history reveals, no other slave society, whether of antiquity or modern times, has so much as sustained, much less greatly multiplied, its slave population by relying on natural increase."<sup>1</sup> Why, then, did North American slaves experience such rapid natural increase (excess of births over deaths), and why did slaves in the rest of the Americas fail to increase naturally?

The contrast between North America and the rest of the Americas is a fundamental one. For example, over the many years of the African slave trade, Jamaica imported some 750,000 slaves, but at the time of emancipation in 1838 its black population numbered only just over 300,000: North America, in contrast, imported only about 427,000 Africans, but at the time of emancipation in 1865 the U.S. black population had grown to more than ten times that number.<sup>2</sup> In the antebellum period, U.S. slaves showed a natural population growth of some 25 percent per decade (and indeed, North American slaves had established a pattern

<sup>1</sup> C. Vann Woodward, *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North/South Dialogue* (Oxford, 1983), 91.

<sup>2</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1968), 71.

of natural growth by about 1710). In sharp contrast, Caribbean and Brazilian slaves commonly suffered rates of natural *decrease* of 20 percent per decade.<sup>3</sup>

The North American slave experience is perhaps even more remarkable when compared with free white populations. From the later eighteenth century, and possibly before that even, and until the Civil War, the rate of natural growth of North American slaves was much greater than for the population of any nation in Europe, and was nearly twice as rapid as that of England. By the 1850s, the rate of natural increase was higher even than that of the white population of the United States. This was a remarkable outcome because, as Thomas Malthus suggested as early as 1798, white Americans expanded with a rapidity “probable without parallel in history.”<sup>4</sup>

Anthropometric studies (which use the average height of a population to infer the quality and abundance of its diet) have led some researchers to underline the U.S. slave pattern even more boldly. Writers such as Robert Fogel have asserted that adult U.S. slaves were remarkably tall (and therefore well fed). Supposedly, they were taller than contemporary Africans and taller than Caribbean slaves. Not only this, anthropometricians have claimed that they were taller than European workers of the period and that they were almost as tall as white Americans, the latter apparently being the tallest population of the era. If these anthropometric findings are reliable, it might begin to seem that, in important material aspects of their lives, the experience of North American slaves was better than that of Africans, better than that of Caribbean slaves, and better even than that of the mass of free workers of Europe. It might also begin to look as though diet had a significant role in explaining the natural increase patterns of the Americas.

The significance of the contrasting experiences of natural increase and decrease in the Americas is far from being limited to the concerns of specialist demographers. These contrasts both grew out of special structures and attitudes in the regimes concerned and in turn set up special features in those regimes. Not surprisingly, then, these demographic patterns have been, for scholars, the starting point for fundamental assumptions about the nature of these slave societies, about relations between owners and slaves, and about relations within the slave communities. Later in this essay, much more will be said about these attitudes and experiences, but for the time being let us simply note some of the broad outlines.

As we shall see, evidence on positive increase and on the stature of its slaves has led some, like Fogel, to conclude that the North American slave system, though morally indefensible, was materially strong and progressive. Indeed, it seemed to Fogel to represent a pioneering model of modern efficient capitalism, where the material conditions of life were good for the free population but also surprisingly favorable for slaves, too.<sup>5</sup> Positive natural increase was also crucial in Eugene Genovese’s formulation of nineteenth-century U.S. slavery as a historically unique society, based on pre-bourgeois values and on a web of paternalistic relationships

<sup>3</sup> For valuable evidence on natural increase rates in various populations, see Robert W. Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York, 1989), 123–26.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas R. Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), quoted in Woodward, *American Counterpoint*, 90.

<sup>5</sup> Fogel, *Without Consent*. This was also the emphasis of Robert Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman’s *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974).



that connected slave and master. Genovese wrote: "The paternalism encouraged by the close living of masters and slaves was enormously reinforced by the closing of the African slave trade, which compelled masters to pay greater attention to the reproduction of their labor force. Of all the slave societies in the New World, that of the Old South alone maintained a slave force that reproduced itself."<sup>6</sup>

The literature on British Caribbean slavery has, compared with that for North America, generally placed far less emphasis on paternalism, and the supposedly greater commercial ruthlessness of West Indian owners is seen as having been closely linked to the demographics of slavery. Often, for the British Caribbean, the claim is made that owners were uninterested in natural increase, indeed, that they vigorously discouraged slave women from bearing and bringing up babies. Curiously, in the case of the literature on Latin American slavery, the significance of similar natural decrease patterns to those of the British West Indies has, until quite recent years, tended to be ignored. The traditional disinclination to link natural decrease to the broader interpretation of Latin American slavery has stemmed from a longstanding attachment to the myth that Latin America was, even under slavery, a "racial democracy," especially tolerant of color difference.<sup>7</sup>

The influence of the demographic experiences with which we are concerned also reached far into the lives of the slaves and into the nature of their families and communities. In order to expand its slave population, North America relied far less than the rest of the Americas on African slave importations, and this meant that the Creole (local-born) proportion of the slave population was far greater in North America than elsewhere. In 1800 and even later, Africans made up a majority of the slave populations of the British and French Caribbean and of Brazil. In North America, by contrast, there was a Creole majority by 1740, and by the last years of U.S. slavery less than 1 percent was African-born.<sup>8</sup> This situation was of great importance for the nature of religion and slave cultures in different regimes. The demographics of slave regimes also had important implications for slave families and for the possibility of finding spouses, intensive African importation being associated with male-dominated populations and with special problems in finding marriage partners. Intensive importation of young-adult African males also had implications for white conceptions of slaves and for the nature of resistance by enslaved blacks.

This essay is concerned with the wider patterns and experiences associated with slave demography, but the core of the article is an attempt to establish what caused the fundamental contrast between the North American demographic experience and that of the rest of the Americas. As the next section will show, many factors influenced natural increase patterns. The central argument, however, is that plantation crop was the essential influence in determining patterns of natural increase and decrease. More specifically, I shall argue that sugar planting systematically brought together a lethal combination of factors that persistently and almost inevitably produced natural decrease among slaves. Significantly, sugar

<sup>6</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), 5.

<sup>7</sup> The traditional "racial democracy" argument is briefly commented on in a later section of this essay.

<sup>8</sup> Fogel, *Without Consent*, 31–32.

planting, while dominant in the rest of the Americas, was always of very minor significance in North America.

In North America, the commercial planting of sugar only began in the 1790s; it never employed more than about 6 percent slaves; and it was almost entirely confined to a group of parishes in southern Louisiana. My study will show that the demographic experience of Louisiana's sugar slaves was unique by U.S. standards. The sugar parishes stood out as a miserable island of natural decrease in the midst of the otherwise consistent pattern of natural increase that stretched across the cotton, tobacco, and rice plantations of the United States. In the Americas as a whole, however, sugar was the great plantation crop, with at least some 60 to 70 percent of all Africans who survived the Atlantic voyage to the Americas ending up on sugar plantations.<sup>9</sup> And across the Americas, as we shall see, the demographic impact of sugar was even more severe than in the Louisiana parishes.

It should be noted that although this article focuses on the demographic role of sugar plantations, sugar was not the only crop associated with poor demographic results. Even so, no other crop or economic activity had the potential to create natural decrease on the scale that sugar did. After sugar, coffee was the plantation crop that seems to have produced the worst demographic rates, but its labor regime was significantly less demanding than sugar. More important still, it accounted for only a fraction of the number of slaves that sugar did. Rice, too, has been associated with poor demographic rates. Still, with rice, the pattern was one of low but positive natural increase, not natural decrease. Moreover, rice was quite a significant crop in parts of North America, and across the rest of the Americas it only accounted for a tiny percentage of slaves. Mining, mainly for gold and silver, has also been associated with poor demographic performance, indeed with natural decrease, but it was mostly a very localized activity. For instance, it was not a significant employer of black slaves in the British Caribbean, so it cannot explain natural decrease in that region.<sup>10</sup>

As far as the creation of natural decrease is concerned, then, this study points to the dominant role of sugar plantations and sugar planters. When turning to another part of the demographic puzzle—North America's outstandingly high rates of natural increase—this article does not support Fogel's optimistic claim that good diet was a significant factor. Instead, I shall argue that natural increase in North America was the product of circumstances equivalent in important ways to those associated with modern "Third World" populations—that is, populations where very high death rates are compensated for by even higher birth rates. North American natural increase came about despite an experience of bitter exploitation and suffering.

While this study acknowledges that many factors were at work in producing the demographic contrasts of the Americas, the argument is monocausal in that it

<sup>9</sup> Fogel, *Without Consent*, 18.

<sup>10</sup> On coffee, see Barry Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1834* (Cambridge, 1976), 102, 121–25; J. R. Ward, *British West Indian Slavery, 1750–1834: The Process of Amelioration* (Oxford, 1988), 179–80; Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820–1920* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 59. On rice, see William Dusbiberre, *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps* (Oxford, 1996), 48–83, 410–16. For some comments on mining, see A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (New York, 1982), 29–33.

maintains that only sugar is a sufficient explanation of these contrasts. The search for a sharply focused explanation seems, moreover, to be important because knowledge of the particular pattern of causation has an impact on the interpretation of many aspects of slavery—for example, on slaveowner motivation, on slave morale and culture, and on the slave family. The argument focuses on sugar, but it is not intended to amount to geographic determinism or to what might be called crop determinism. It was the setting of sugar within specific contexts that was crucial, and the particular approach taken in this article—combining quantification with a critical case study (the Louisiana sugar enclave)—seems to provide an analytical breakthrough that shows the specific nature of the sugar process.

What was necessary to set up the long-run pattern of natural decrease was the combination of sugar, slavery, and access to a slave trade. Slavery on its own would not have produced vast regional patterns of natural decrease, and sugar without slavery was not enough,<sup>11</sup> nor was the combination of sugar and slavery without a slave trade.<sup>12</sup> Although labor on sugar plantations could take a heavy toll on health and on fertility, what was lethal was the combination of sugar with the slaveowners' ability to buy slaves and to choose a male-dominated labor force, rather than being content with family labor. In other words, the demographic problem stemmed from the priorities of the sugar planter. Sugar planters, unlike the great majority of owners, calculated that they could maximize profits by continually skewing their labor force toward men, and far-reaching demographic and social consequences and costs stemmed from this. Of course, owners who farmed other crops suited their own economic interests in the way they worked and recruited slaves, but their interests were not so demographically destructive. This article, then, focuses specifically on sugar planting but is intended more broadly as an interpretation of slaveholders, economic self-interest, and the consequences of profit-based decisions for life and labor under slavery.

IN REVIEWING RESEARCH ON THE PROBLEM of slave natural increase, John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard commented: "The task is important . . . Moreover, the explanation for this growth is intrinsically difficult, demanding the examination of numerous factors affecting natural increase . . . Data are sparse and intractable, especially for the pre-Revolutionary era. Nevertheless, some progress has been made, and given the intensity of work on the issue, more can be expected in the near future."<sup>13</sup> C. Vann Woodward, in an earlier but still valuable review of the field, pointed to the

difficult . . . problems of locating and weighing the almost unlimited number of influences that played a part in determining population growth. The mention of a few such problems will serve to suggest the complexities and difficulties involved. Without regard to priority or

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Jamaican patterns of post-slavery natural increase in George W. Roberts, *The Population of Jamaica* (Cambridge, 1957), 42–45.

<sup>12</sup> See the discussion of natural increase in Barbados between 1817 and 1833 in Appendix 1 and elsewhere in the present study.

<sup>13</sup> John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 231.

relative importance, there come to mind the equations of man-land ratios and man-woman ratios, land fertility and human fertility, rates of mortality and natality, the incidence of disease and famine, the relative advance of medicine and hygiene, comparative health conditions in tropical and temperate zones, tribal origins and mating customs of slave populations, and religious and legal traditions of masters. Complicating all these influences would be comparative stages of economic and technical development . . . On top of these would be added the imponderables of master-slave relations, the patriarchal ethic in tradition and practice . . . Beyond these determinants lies the whole range of cultural limits to security of family [and so on].<sup>14</sup>

McCusker and Menard added a further complication to the debate: "In a sense the West Indies-mainland divergences are deceptive, however dramatic they might seem. Slave populations in all of the chief plantation areas of British America [and they could have added of the Americas more widely] exhibited a similar growth process." The process was one of long periods, sometimes centuries, of substantial slave importation and natural decrease, but of a movement into natural increase, with the transition to natural increase occurring in Maryland and Virginia by about 1710 (and probably somewhat later in South Carolina), in Barbados not until 1810 (after the ending of the slave trade), and in Jamaica only by about 1840 (after the ending of slavery itself). As McCusker and Menard suggested,

The distinction between the continental [North American] plantation districts and the West Indies was not a function of the ways that change occurred, which seems to have been everywhere similar, for whites as well as for blacks. Rather the differences depended on timing, on how long it took for a reproducing creole majority to emerge and to reverse the net natural decline . . . Recognition of this shared experience changes the issues to be resolved: the need is not only to account for the differences between the West Indies [together with the rest of the Americas] and the mainland but also to explain why a similar course took longer to complete in some regions than others.<sup>15</sup>

When trying to resolve the problem of slave demography in the Americas, the factors to be considered are therefore numerous, and the issues are complicated. Partly, the question is, why was the demographic experience of Caribbean and Latin American slaves so bad? Partly, the question is, why was slave natural increase in North America not just positive but spectacularly positive? But partly, too, we need to consider why, despite fundamentally different outcomes, the North American demographic pattern actually seemed, for long periods, to run in parallel with that of the rest of the Americas.

Although a great many factors have been cited by researchers, we can conveniently group interpretations into three basic lines of argument. First, there is the argument that natural increase was strongly influenced by factors largely extraneous to slavery, including the nature of disease environments and patterns of natural abundance. Second, there is the argument, or set of sometimes conflicting arguments, that increase patterns were determined by factors much more directly under the control of slaveowners. Here, we might include the attitudes of owners

<sup>14</sup> Woodward, *American Counterpoint*, 94–95. For another valuable review of the debate, see Kenneth F. Kiple, ed., *The African Exchange: Towards a Biological History of Black People* (Durham, N.C., 1987), 7–35.

<sup>15</sup> McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British America*, 232–33.

toward slave buying, toward families and children, toward welfare and profit, and owners' decisions about which crop to grow. A third type of argument, and one that has grown in influence in recent years, emphasizes the behavior of slaves, especially their attitudes toward family and toward traditions that might limit fertility. Although, in practice, historians have often combined elements from more than one of these broad classifications, the three-type division of arguments still provides a useful framework for developing the present analysis.<sup>16</sup>

Indispensable research by Philip D. Curtin focused significantly but not exclusively on the role of disease environments, one of the forces extraneous to slavery.<sup>17</sup> Curtin argued that the problem with migration was not the climate that one encountered but the disease environment. He noted that an unfamiliar disease environment, in whatever climate, is potentially lethal since natural resistance will not have had the chance to build. Curtin argued that, because slaves could be bought cheaply in Africa, slaveholders in the Americas bought extensively (buying mainly males), but he added that this pattern of slave recruitment set up a train of interactions. Slaves imported into a new disease environment suffered enormously high mortality (perhaps one third dying within the "seasoning" period of the first year or so).<sup>18</sup> Moreover, birth rates were low for those who survived, because ill health would inhibit fertility and because there were relatively few women to bear children.

As a result of the interconnections he outlined, Curtin argued that the "South Atlantic System" tended to develop a two-stage pattern. First, in periods of rapid economic development, there would be intensive importation of new Africans—but there would also be very marked natural decrease (because of the encounter with an unfamiliar disease environment and because of the other factors just mentioned). Theoretically, a second stage might develop, when a period of slower economic expansion brought a reduced rate of African importation and brought lower mortality, more women, a higher birth rate, and a movement toward natural increase.

Curtin's model is of great importance in highlighting many of the processes at work in plantation demography. We should, however, not minimize the fundamental differences between the demographic experiences of the Americas. There was in fact no inevitability about the process of moving from reliance on the slave trade. Sugar planters would always demand a male-dominated labor force and would always try to import slaves whenever a supply was open to them. In Louisiana, even when the importation was internal (from the Upper South and not from Africa), the sugar plantations still experienced persistent natural decrease.

Disease environment, especially following Curtin's work, forms a part of many academic explanations of slave demography, but especially in the British West Indies there has been a long tradition of emphasizing the direct and negative role of slaveholders. For example, Orlando Patterson, in his classic study of Jamaica,

<sup>16</sup> This basic three-part division is borrowed from McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British America*, 233–34.

<sup>17</sup> Philip D. Curtin, "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly* 83 (June 1968): 190–216. See also Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 29–30. A later section of this essay will comment on local variations in disease environment.

<sup>18</sup> On the "seasoning" period, see, for example, Curtin, "Epidemiology."



argued that Jamaican owners drove so hard for profit that the slave experience was close to the Hobbesian state of nature, with life being “nasty, brutish, and short.” Patterson, like many other writers, argued that owners preferred to buy, not breed. Owners, supposedly, were not interested in slave families, and found child-rearing a wasteful distraction from the woman’s role as worker. Consequently, Jamaican planters adopted an “anti-natalist” attitude, often punishing women who became pregnant and discouraging women from spending time rearing children. Furthermore, he argued, the rigors of the regime meant that the slaves were so demoralized that they, too, were uninterested in family and in looking after children.<sup>19</sup>

In the case of the United States, some historians, for example Richard Sutch, have argued that owners interfered with fertility, but in this case it has been claimed that they did so in order to promote rather than to discourage the rearing of children. Indeed, a long abolitionist tradition maintained that U.S. natural increase was so high because slaveholders, on the supposedly worn-out lands of the Upper South, made their profits by “breeding” slaves for the Lower South market.<sup>20</sup> These and other arguments will be reviewed later in this essay.

In a series of publications stretching over many years, Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman have not only rejected the idea of U.S. slaveholders as manipulative slave breeders, but they have seen owners in the United States as providing a rather benign material environment for their slaves. Indeed, the cumulative effect of Fogel and Engerman’s work has been to suggest that the great demographic contrasts of the Americas (or more specifically in much of their work, the contrast between the United States and the British Caribbean) did not come about because of the negative or manipulative influence of the slaveowners of the United States and elsewhere. Instead, the contrasts are said to have been produced partly by the supposedly benign material environment that was provided in U.S. slaveholdings and partly by the influence, in the West Indies, of African cultural traditions (concerning breastfeeding), which are supposed to have greatly reduced fertility.

In North America, then, Fogel and Engerman argue, slaveowners encouraged families and welcomed the natural increase of their slaves.<sup>21</sup> The diet of their adult slaves, supposedly, was abundant, and this, Fogel and Engerman argue, was reflected in the exceptional average height of U.S. slaves.<sup>22</sup> They argue, too, that the West Indian problem was not one of exceptionally high slave mortality. Indeed, they suggest that slave mortality was only slightly higher in the Caribbean than in the

<sup>19</sup> Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development, and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (New York, 1972), esp. 103–12. See also Roberts, *Population of Jamaica*, 225–26; Michael Craton, *Sinews of Empire: A Short History of British Slavery* (London, 1974), 197–98; Curtin, “Epidemiology,” 213–15.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Theodore Dwight Weld, *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (New York, 1939), 15, 182; John Elliott Cairnes, *The Slave Power* (London, 1862), 127–28, 134–35. Historians who have argued that U.S. owners deliberately bred slaves for the market include Dwight Lowell Dumond and Richard Sutch. See Dumond, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), 68; Sutch, “The Breeding of Slaves for Sale and the Westward Expansion of Slavery, 1850–1860,” in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 173–210.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*, esp. 107–57; Fogel, *Without Consent*.

<sup>22</sup> See Fogel, *Without Consent*, 138–47; Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, “Recent Findings in the Study of Slave Demography and Family Structure,” *Sociology and Social Research* 63 (April 1979): 573.

United States.<sup>23</sup> What they see as making the great difference was not mortality but fertility. West Indian slave fertility was low, and they attribute this to a great extent to the cultural traditions of imported Africans. Africans, they suggest, brought over traditions of long periods of breastfeeding (usually breastfeeding for at least two years). They suggest that this practice inhibited fertility and was to a great extent responsible for natural decrease in the West Indies.<sup>24</sup> A later section of this essay will critically review this argument. My own interpretation differs very much from Fogel and Engerman's: it points to slaveowners, the profit motive, and to the different crop regimes of the Americas.

THE LOUISIANA SUGAR PARISHES provide a very special opportunity to interpret the demographics of slavery. In slave regimes outside the United States, it is nearly always impossible to gain access to detailed and essentially reliable census data on slave populations. The Louisiana sugar parishes, however, are closely documented, decade by decade, by excellent census data. This evidence allows us to calculate crude population growth rates, ratios of children to women, and (with other evidence) numbers of slaves imported.<sup>25</sup> From this sort of evidence, we can then establish the approximate rate of natural decrease of the sugar parishes. (For the location of the thirteen Louisiana sugar parishes that accounted for the vast majority of U.S. cane sugar production, see Figure 1.) In fact, the Louisiana case study allows us not just to establish the broad conclusion that sugar planting produced persistent natural decrease, but it also makes it possible to show how that decrease came about—with evidence on the relative contributions made by excess adult mortality, a sex imbalance, and the shortage of children.

Later sections of this essay will demonstrate in more detail the Louisiana sugar parishes' specialized and highly significant pattern of slave importation, but two essential elements should be noted at this stage. First, throughout the antebellum period, these parishes imported massively, but, unusually for the sugar regimes of the Americas, the slaves were not from Africa and the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>26</sup> Instead, these were American slaves, bought from long-established slaveholding states such as Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. The second key feature of the sugar parishes' importations is that two-thirds of the slaves were males. Such a pattern, though routine in the Atlantic slave trade, will be shown to be unique in the interregional slave trade of the United States. All other parts of the Lower South,

<sup>23</sup> Fogel and Engerman, "Recent Findings," 567–68; Stanley L. Engerman, "Some Economic and Demographic Comparisons of Slavery in the United States and the British West Indies," *Economic History Review* 29 (May 1976): 272; Fogel, *Without Consent*, 123–32.

<sup>24</sup> Engerman, "Some Economic and Demographic Comparisons," 272–74; Herbert S. Klein and Stanley L. Engerman, "Fertility Differentials between Slaves in the United States and the British West Indies: A Note on Lactation Practices and Their Possible Implications," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 35 (April 1978): 357–74; Fogel, *Without Consent*, 123–32, 147–53.

<sup>25</sup> Even the U.S. Census was not totally accurate, and a significant undercounting of young children is apparent. The calculations in this study do not, however, rely on total census accuracy. For the ratios used here, it is sufficient that any census undercountings and errors were spread roughly evenly across the slaveholding areas. On these issues, see Michael Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* (Madison, Wis., 1989), 237–38.

<sup>26</sup> On the very minor importance of smuggling Africans into the United States after 1807, see Tadman, *Speculators*, 238–39.



FIGURE 1: The shaded area indicates the thirteen leading sugar parishes. In 1850 and 1860 respectively, these parishes produced about 80 and 70 percent of Louisiana's sugar: Ascension, Assumption, Baton Rouge West, Iberville, Lafourche, Plaquemines, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, St. John Baptist, St. Mary, Terrebonne, and Jefferson.

including the neighboring cotton parishes of Louisiana, bought roughly equal numbers of males and females.

The sugar planters of Louisiana, unlike those who grew cotton, tobacco, or rice—the dominant U.S. staples—persistently imported far more males than females, and they did this because they wanted a male-dominated labor force. Such an unbalanced force could not be achieved naturally but only by importation. These labor requirements meant that there was a routine pattern across the Americas: everywhere, sugar planters demanded a male-dominated work force, so wherever a trade in slaves was available, they would seek to tap into that trade. The insistence on a mainly male work force came about because of the extreme physical demands that sugar planters imposed on their workers, demands that will be documented in the next section. And the combination of severe labor demands with a male-dominated population was demographically lethal. In the Louisiana sugar parishes,



FIGURE 2: Grinding sugar cane in a windmill. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, reference number 1786 C.9.PLV.

excessive labor meant that “net nutrition” was far from adequate.<sup>27</sup> It also meant “excess” (above average) adult mortality, and that women were often not fit enough to produce healthy children. Of course, the regime also meant that the population had few women, so there were few potential mothers. We shall see, then, that the labor regime in the Louisiana sugar parishes meant a persistent pattern of deaths exceeding births.

Local agricultural societies routinely reported intensive slave importation combined with natural decrease among slaves. Indeed, evidence later in this essay suggests that slaves on the region’s plantations suffered natural decrease of about 13 percent per decade.<sup>28</sup> We know, however, that even this experience would have

<sup>27</sup> Calorie requirements depend to an important extent on energy expended. The severe physical demands of the sugar crop would call for very high calorie intake, otherwise net nutrition (nutrition after labor expended) would be dangerously low.

<sup>28</sup> The Agricultural Society of Baton Rouge suggested in 1829 that a 2.5 percent annual rate of natural decrease was typical for sugar slaves, and a letter to the U.S. Treasury suggested 2.8 percent. In 1830, the Committee Appointed by the Inhabitants of St. Martin’s Parish (Louisiana) suggested, even more dramatically, that in setting up a new sugar plantation one would have to allow for a 7.5 percent annual loss of slaves through natural decrease and running away. In 1844, E. J. Forstall, a New Orleans merchant linked to the sugar trade, suggested an annual natural decrease amounting to

been better than that of typical sugar plantations of the Caribbean and South America. In those areas, the problems that Louisiana experienced would have been greatly compounded by the fact that the imported slaves nearly always came from Africa, and so suffered the dreadfully high mortality levels of the “seasoning” period.

It is not new to point to the connection between sugar and natural decrease, but previous work has not been able to establish that it was essentially sugar that made the difference in the demography of slaves across the Americas. It has also not been at all clear how far the problem was sugar planting—and how far it was, for example, the African slave trade or the tropical environment in which sugar cane was usually grown. In addition, if sugar planting was to blame for natural decrease, it has not been clear why slaves in Barbados, an important sugar island, managed to achieve positive natural increase by about 1810.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, much quite recent work, especially by Fogel and Engerman, has tended to take the focus off sugar and the severities of labor and to put it instead on African traditions and the special circumstances of the United States.

Barry Higman has conducted detailed and important work on slavery and demography in the British Caribbean but has pointed only very cautiously to the major role that sugar might have played in producing natural decrease. Some brief comments on his primary source base will show the problems of drawing decisive conclusions from the published primary sources of the British Caribbean. Higman’s source base was the great mass of slave statistics that, in the last few years of slavery in those colonies (after the closure of the African slave trade in 1807), the British Parliament demanded. These “Registration” records, however, by covering the period after the African slave trade had been ended, represent an exceptional phase of Caribbean slavery. With the “seasoning” of new Africans no longer a factor, mortality levels would have been far lower than usual, and, with the African slave trade closed, male-female ratios would have been much more balanced (which would have tended to raise the birth rate). Higman therefore found various anomalies in the British Caribbean evidence after 1807. He observed, “Wherever slaves were not engaged in the production of sugar their chances of survival were greater.” But his overall conclusion was cautious: “The complexity of the interactions involved in the strongly contrasting patterns of fertility, mortality, and natural increase found in the British Caribbean after 1807 suggests that any attempt at monocausal explanation is doomed to failure. The most that can be expected is a

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something like 1 percent. The 1829 and 1830 estimates just cited were designed to make the case for increased tariff protection for sugar, and as a result might have exaggerated planters’ expenses (and therefore slave losses). Data in the present article are, however, consistent with Forstall’s 1844 estimate (which amounts to some 10 percent per decade). See the Agricultural Society report reproduced in *Niles’ Register*, November 20, 1830; J. S. Johnston, *Letter of Mr. Johnston, of Louisiana, to the Secretary of the Treasury, in Reply to his Circular of the 1st July, 1830, Relating to the Culture of Sugar* (Washington, D.C., 1831); St. Martin’s report reproduced in *Niles’ Register*, December 11, 1830; E. J. Forstall, *Agricultural Productions of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1845), cited in J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753–1950* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1953), 161–62.

<sup>29</sup> On the anomaly of a brief late flowering of natural increase in Barbados, see Appendix 1, below.



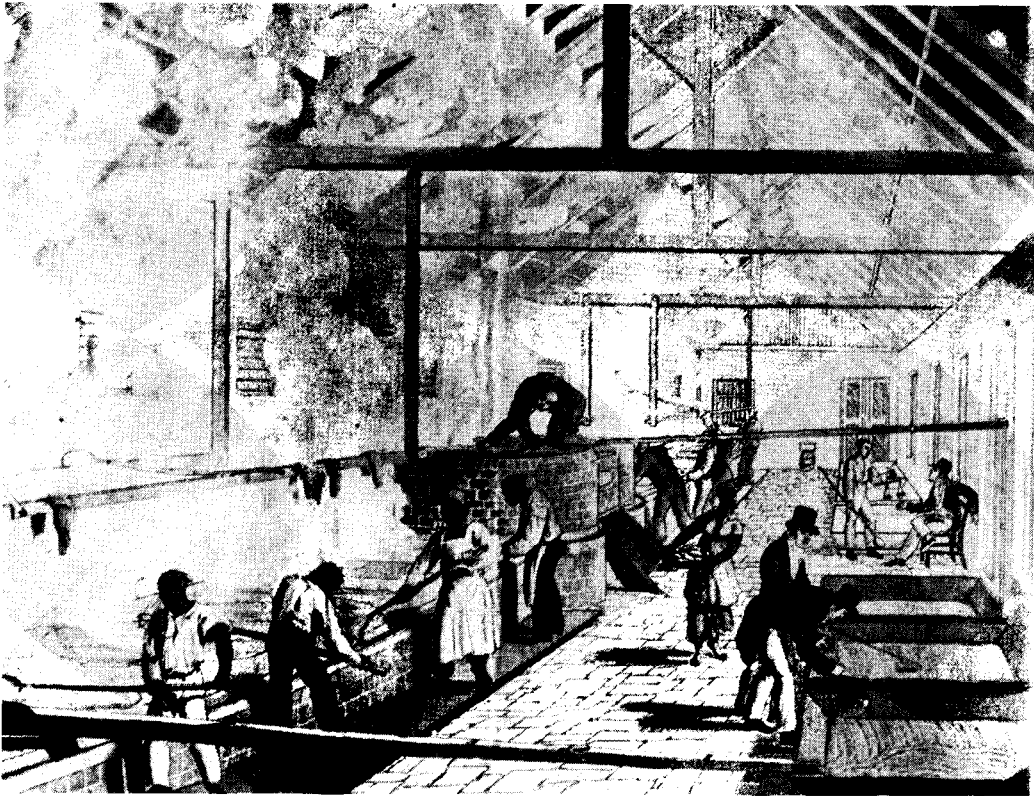


FIGURE 3: Slaves working in a sugar-boiling house. From an eighteenth-century print.

more precise ordering of the variables, only some of them quantifiable, and a clearer understanding of the differentials.”<sup>30</sup>

The evidence that can be developed for the Louisiana sugar parishes has major advantages over the West Indian “Registration” evidence, and allows me to be much more certain that it was sugar that set up the great demographic contrasts between North America and the rest of the Americas. This case study allows control of the influence of factors like the African slave trade, disease environments, sex imbalance, African lactation (breastfeeding) traditions, and slaveowners’ attitudes. A detailed examination of the Louisiana sugar enclave will be developed, first by examining the nature of the labor regime on sugar plantations and the overall composition of their slave populations, and then by exploring the character and scale of slave importation. By calculating the extent of its importation (and scaling down the population of the area accordingly), it will be possible to estimate the sugar parishes’ rate of natural decrease. After these calculations, the final sections of this essay will return to the wider framework of the Americas, and will reflect on the overall demographic and social impact that the sugar regime had on slave societies.

<sup>30</sup> Higman, *Slave Population and Economy*, 138; Barry Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Baltimore, 1984), 378. Important studies by John Ward (emphasizing nutrition problems and the tendency to neglect provision crops), and A. Meredith John (emphasizing low fertility and, especially for males, high mortality) have also found sugar to be linked to severe demographic problems. See Ward, *British West Indian Slavery*; John, *The Plantation Slaves of Trinidad, 1783–1816: A Mathematical and Demographic Enquiry* (Cambridge, 1988).

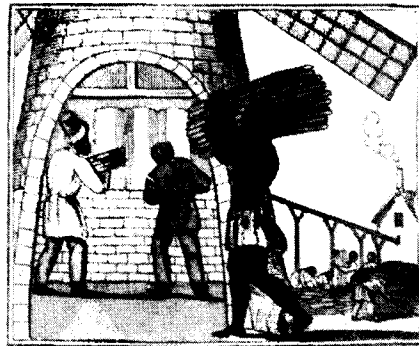
16 THE BLACK MAN'S LAMENT.



CUTTING DOWN THE SUGAR-CANE.

But when the crops are ripen'd quite,  
 'Tis then begun our saddest pains;  
 For then we toil both day and night,  
 Though fever burns within our veins.

THE BLACK MAN'S LAMENT. 17



THE BRUISING-MILL.

When 18 months complete their growth,  
 Then the tall canes rich juices fill;  
 And we, to bring their liquor forth,  
 Convey them to the bruising-mill.

That mill, our labour, every hour,  
 Must with fresh loads of canes supply;  
 And if we faint, the cart-whip's power,  
 Gives force which nature's powers deny.

FIGURE 4: Images of the sugar plantation from an antislavery tract. Amelia A. Opie, *The Black Man's Lament* (1826).

VISITORS TO LOUISIANA often commented on the severities of the sugar plantations, and, among slaves, the cane fields were places of dread. Throughout the year, the crop involved much exhausting work in such tasks as ditching and draining, digging out old cane and making holes for new ones, spreading manure, and chopping and hauling wood for the sugar house. But the "grinding season," usually from October to January, was by far the cruelest time for sugar workers. Then, the cane cutting and hauling had to be synchronized so that grinding and boiling at the sugar mill could go around the clock. Unlike cotton, the sugar crop would not keep: it could not be stored until a neighbor might lend labor or equipment to prepare it for market. A sugar planter had to invest heavily in the machinery of the sugar mill and, to generate good profits, had to use that machinery to the optimum. In this way, the crop, when cut, would not be wasted, and the canes still standing could be milled before severe frosts destroyed them. These extreme labor demands meant that sugar planters wanted strong workers, especially adult males. As U. B. Phillips noted, "All the characteristic work in the sugar plantation called mainly for able-bodied laborers. Children were less used than in tobacco and cotton production, and the men and women, like the mules, tended to be of sturdier physique."<sup>31</sup>

In 1833, Thomas Hamilton, a British visitor to Louisiana, recorded his impressions of the sugar plantations. He noted that the sugar cane, when ripe, was not considered safe "till it is in the mill, and the consequence is that when

<sup>31</sup> Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918), 245.

cutting cane begins, the slaves are taxed beyond their strength, and are goaded to labour until nature absolutely sinks under the effort." Similarly, R. W. Harris and other expert witnesses testified in evidence to the U.S. Treasury in 1846, "The cultivation of sugar requires more indefatigable labor than any other production . . . not a moment must be lost; [it] requir[es], also, about seventy days' labor, of eighteen hours each, during the boiling season." Slaves across the South had also heard of Louisiana and its sugar plantations. A slave song noted down by Edward S. Abdy, a British traveler, reflected the infamy of the sugar plantations:

I born in Sout' Ca'lina,  
Fines' country eber seen.  
I gwine f'om Sout' Ca'lina,  
I gwine to New Orleans.

Ole boss he discontentum,  
He take de mare, Black Fanny,  
He buy er peddler wagon,  
He bound fer Lousy Anna.

*Chorus:*  
Ole debble Lousy Anna,  
Dat scarecrow fer po' nigger,  
Where de sugar cane grow to pine trees,  
An' de pine tree turn to sugar.<sup>32</sup>

The antebellum period saw a dramatic expansion in Louisiana's sugar production and in its slave population. Table 1 plots the rise in the area's slave population from about 20,000 in 1820 to about 90,000 in 1860. The advance of the sugar kingdom was especially dramatic between 1818 and 1830, with contemporaries estimating that for much of this period sugar planters bought new slaves (from the eastern states) at the rate of 5,000 per year.<sup>33</sup> The 1830s saw some slackening in pace, but in the 1840s there was a massive increase in the volume of the sugar crop (and a leap of 200 to 250 percent in its value). This latter growth could only have been achieved by a very high level of slave importation. The 1850s saw great annual fluctuations in sugar

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1833), 2: 229–30, quoted in Adrian Paul Mercer, "Medicine and Slavery: The Health of Slaves in the Louisiana Sugar and Rice Regions 1795–1860" (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 1985), 124. Letter of R. W. Harris and others reproduced in Treasury Department, *Report from the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of Finances* (29th Congress, December 1845), 708, 715; Edward Strutt Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America from April, 1833, to October, 1834*, quoted in John Smith Kendall, "New Orleans' 'Peculiar Institution,'" *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 23 (July 1940): 875.

<sup>33</sup> In a *Report to the Secretary of the [U.S.] Treasury* (1845), 717, Edmund J. Forstall gave expert witness testimony and suggested a massive rate of slave buying. He wrote: "From 1827 to 1830, 383 new sugar estates were established [in Louisiana]; steam power replaced that of the horse on more than 200 estates, at a cost of at least \$6,000 for each engine and mill; the number of slaves was increased [by] about 15,000 [in three or four years], all of which required a further outlay of \$16,000,000; and to achieve all this, and in so short a time, capital had to be borrowed, and at that epoch it was easily done, for sugar planters were then enjoying the highest credit in the State." An open letter sent in 1831 to the U.S. Treasury anticipated that the sugar production of 1835 would require 26,000 new slaves, and expected these to come by the slave trade (mainly from the states of Virginia and Maryland). Johnston, *Letter*, 9.

**TABLE 1**  
**Natural Growth Rate of the U.S. Slave Population Compared with Total Growth Rate (Including Imported Slaves) of Louisiana's 13 Leading Sugar Parishes**

Decade	Typical % Natural Growth Rate for U.S. Slaves	13 Leading Louisiana Sugar Parishes		
		Slaves at Start of Decade	Slaves at End of Decade	Total Growth Rate %
1820s	31.2	19,599	42,632	117.5
1830s	23.8	42,632	51,792	21.5
1840s	27.8	51,792	73,829	42.5
1850s	23.4	73,829	87,340	18.3

SOURCE: Derived from U.S. Census.

production, but overall there was a further doubling of output (and a 150 to 200 percent increase in value).<sup>34</sup> Again, massive slave importation was required.

Behind these production trends lie highly significant demographic patterns. First, in the booming 1820s and 1840s (see Table 1), the sheer number of importations into the leading sugar parishes was so great as to create crude growth rates something like twice or four times the natural increase rate of the U.S. slave population as a whole. In aggregate statistics, sugar's underlying natural decrease problems were buried by massive importation. But in the 1830s and 1850s, despite extensive slave buying, the area was not even able to achieve the growth rate expected for a population that had no importations.

Table 2 allows us to investigate this situation further and focuses on birth-rate problems. This table points to three key contrasts between sugar slaves and slaves in the United States as a whole. What stand out in this birth-rate evidence for the sugar parishes are a significant shortage of women, an extreme shortage of children, and very low fertility rates. All of these are intimately linked to the area's highly selective interstate importation of slaves. The shortage of women for childbearing would have restricted population growth, and the low fertility of the women who were present would have exacerbated the problem.<sup>35</sup>

We can gain a preliminary indication of the significance of these factors by taking a snapshot of the area's population in 1860 and comparing it with the typical pattern for the South's slaves. Compared with what might have been expected in a typical

<sup>34</sup> For crop values, see *De Bow's Review* 29 (1860): 522–25.

<sup>35</sup> The proportion of children (slaves ages 0–9 years) in the sugar area's population varied from only about 57 percent of the U.S. norm in 1830 (after very heavy slave importation) to 65 to 75 percent of the norm in periods of somewhat less hectic importation. The fertility ratio (ratio of children to women) of the sugar area averaged only about 65 percent of the norm for U.S. slaves, and again was at its lowest when the per capita rate of slave importation was at its highest. Fertility ratios for all importing areas were consistently lower than the U.S. norm for slaves. This arose partly because women brought to the importing states would often have been forced to leave children behind in their state of origin, and partly because of the "lag" in births caused by finding a new partner in their new location. But the sugar area's statistics are clearly the worst of all. In 1860, the ratio of children ages 0–9 years per 1,000 women ages 15–49 years was for U.S. slaves in general 1,320, for the importing states' slaves 1,104, and for Louisiana's thirteen leading sugar parishes 922. Part of the sugar parishes' special position would have resulted from the great emphasis of the sugar parishes on importing only workers and not children. On importation and exportation patterns by state, see Tadman, *Speculators*, 6–7, 12.



**TABLE 2**  
**Demographic Comparisons between Slaves in Louisiana's 13 Leading Sugar**  
**Parishes and Total U.S. Slave Population**

Year	% Male Slaves*		% of Slaves Ages 0–9		Slave Children per 1,000 Women*	
	Louisiana	All U.S.	Louisiana	All U.S.	Louisiana	All U.S.
	[14–44 years]				[0–13/14–44 years]	
1820	58.44	50.82	20.28†	31.03†	1,113	1,882
	[10–54 years]				[0–9/10–54 years]	
1830	60.49	50.43	19.94	34.90	664	1,156
	[10–54 years]				[0–9/10–54 years]	
1840	57.51	50.09	25.64	33.93	847	1,098
	[15–49 years]				[0–9/15–49 years]	
1850	57.35	49.91	21.93	31.82	879	1,354
	[15–49 years]				[0–9/15–49 years]	
1860	58.77	50.09	22.69	31.09	922	1,320

SOURCE AND NOTES: Derived from U.S. Census.

\*for ages specified

†The 1820 census used a 0–13 years categorization, and these data were scaled to estimate the numbers of ages 0–9.

southern slave population of the sugar area's size, the sugar parishes in 1860 had 13,500 fewer children. Low fertility and excess mortality among the children under ten seem to have accounted for some 60 percent of this deficiency,<sup>36</sup> with the shortage of potential childbearing women being responsible for the remaining 40 percent.<sup>37</sup> These figures suggest that child shortages were a major part of the sugar area's demographic problem.<sup>38</sup> Evidence in the next section will also point to problems of excess adult mortality.

THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF THE SUGAR CROP shows up very clearly in the interstate slave trade of the United States. As slave traders' records indicate, the domestic trade to all parts of the South was *age selective* (concentrating mostly on teenagers

<sup>36</sup> In 1860, the fertility ratio (number of children ages 0–9 years per 1,000 women ages 15–49 years) in the leading parishes was 922, or 398 lower than the U.S. average (of 1,320). Since the leading sugar parishes had 19,946 females (ages 15–49) in 1860, low fertility (and excess mortality among the children under 10) would have led to a shortfall of  $398 \times 19,946 = 7,939$  children.

<sup>37</sup> The slave population of the thirteen leading sugar parishes in 1860 was, for the 15–49 age group, 48,151 (28,205 males and 19,946 females, or an excess of 8,259 males). If we assume a population of the same size (48,151), but with equal numbers of males and females, this would mean adding some 4,130 females and removing some 4,130 males. Compared with such a population, we can now calculate the effect of the sugar area's shortage of women. The average fertility rate in the U.S. slave population in 1860 was 1,320 children (ages 0–9 years) per 1,000 women ages 15–49. By adding our notional 4,130 women, we find that the sugar area should have produced an extra  $4,130 \times 1,320 = 5,452$  children.

<sup>38</sup> Similar calculations for 1850 suggest a child deficit of some 13,000, with as much as 67 percent of this shortfall being accounted for by low fertility (and excess mortality among the children under 10), and with some 33 percent being attributable to the shortage of women. As we shall see, over a whole decade (say the 1850s), the cumulative shortfalls in children would have been higher than the deficits for the individual years 1850 and 1860. On the child shortage, see Appendix 5.



and on young-adult slaves).<sup>39</sup> But a study of thousands of traders' bills of sale shows that only in the case of southern Louisiana was the domestic traffic *sex selective*. As I noted earlier, the trade to the cotton parishes of Louisiana, and indeed to all parts of the South except southern Louisiana, carried approximately equal numbers of males and females.<sup>40</sup> Demographic calculations using the "survival rate" technique allow detailed sex-specific (and age-specific) estimates of interstate slave movement, and these calculations emphasize the uniqueness of domestic importations into the sugar area.<sup>41</sup> Table 3 uses this technique for the 1850s and shows that males comprised over 67 percent of importations into the thirteen leading sugar parishes. It also shows that in the remainder of the state, because it only produced some 30 percent of the decade's sugar crop, males accounted for no more than about 54 percent of importations.

Slave trading to the sugar parishes was specialized since not only were there far more male than female slaves but the slaves had to be especially sturdy, and an exceptionally low proportion of children was carried. An important part of this traffic was a well-organized coastal trade from the Chesapeake ports to New Orleans, and the printed circulars of the several large-scale Richmond (Virginia) auctioneers regularly pointed up the need for specially selected "shipping Negroes" for the New Orleans trade.<sup>42</sup> One such circular, in October 1850, reported that several major New Orleans traders had arrived, and "good *shipping men* are in demand." Similarly, a Pulliam & Davis circular of October 1854 began: "This is to inform you that negroes are selling as follows . . . No.1 young men 18–22 years mostly in demand also girls 16–20 years heavy set and very smart, suitable for shipping purposes." Thomas A. Clark, like the thousands of other traders, was well aware of the special nature of the New Orleans market, and in February 1846 wrote to a Richmond auction house: "I am sorry that I have not got any good negroes on hand that will suit the New Orleans market . . . Likely young men such as I think would suit the New Orleans market are very hard to find and also stout young women." A Betts & Gregory circular for January 1861 again reflected the trading community's awareness of the New Orleans phenomenon. It reported, "Our market continues dull except for first rate negroes. There are several persons here now making up lots for the New Orleans market and if you have any on hand now is the time to bring them in."<sup>43</sup>

The South Carolina trader John H. Charles also knew all about the requirements

<sup>39</sup> See Tadman, *Speculators*, 25–31.

<sup>40</sup> Tadman, *Speculators*, 22–25.

<sup>41</sup> The technique first establishes "normal" age-specific and sex-specific survival rates for the southern slave population as a whole. For example, according to the federal census, 89.9 percent of the South's male slaves who were ages 0 to 9 in 1850 survived to 1860, when they would have been ages 10 to 19 years. Where in a particular region or state, a cohort exceeded the "normal" survival rate, importations are usually assumed; where a cohort's survival rate fell below the norm, exportations are usually assumed. Table 3 (using the survival-rate technique) compares the structure of slave importations into Louisiana's thirteen leading sugar-producing parishes with importations into the rest of the state. The latter produced mainly cotton, but some sugar was grown on the fringes of the leading sugar parishes. Partly because, as we shall see later, mortality was much higher on sugar plantations than elsewhere, actual numbers of importations will be very significantly underestimated by this technique. Nevertheless, a valuable indication of the special features of slave importations to the sugar is given. For details on survival-rate calculations, see Tadman, *Speculators*, 28–31, 43–44, 237–45.

<sup>42</sup> On the special features of the New Orleans trade, see Tadman, *Speculators*, 25–26.

<sup>43</sup> Pulliam & Slade and Pulliam & Davies circulars, Harris-Brady Papers, University of Virginia

**TABLE 3**  
**1850s Slave Importations into Louisiana's 13 Leading Sugar Parishes Compared**  
**with Importations into the Rest of the State: Data Indicates the Sex and Age**  
**Composition but Not the Full Extent of Importations**

Age in 1850	0-4		5-9		10-19		20-29		30-39		40+		Total	%
Age in 1860	10-14		15-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50+			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
13 Leading Sugar Parishes	-171	-464	389	200	3,171	1,736	1,899	1,005	897	113	-831	-334	9,410	67.6*
Rest of State (Mainly Cotton)	1,165	842	2,214	3,092	9,027	8,160	3,058	1,864	757	350	1,892	1,056	33,477	54.1†

SOURCES AND NOTES: Calculations are derived from the U.S. Census, and use the "survival rate" method. This method, because of the sugar parishes' "excess mortality," will very seriously underestimate the scale of slave importation into that area (see footnote 41). It does, however, indicate the essential age and sex patterns of its importations.

\*Excludes totals with minus sign.

†The minor sugar areas account for the raising of the male percentage above 50. The 13 leading sugar parishes produced about 70% of the state's sugar in 1860.

of the sugar planters, and in April 1859 wrote from New Orleans: "There is some [men] looking after [buying] negroes the last two or three days and if I had 4 or [5] good men and women [I] could have sold them at fair prices. But they are sugar planters who want them mostly and they want stout black negroes."<sup>44</sup> The reference to "black" Negroes was also significant, planters associating the darkest skin with the toughest workers. The fact that across the South—from the Chesapeake, to the Carolinas, and to Kentucky and Tennessee—slave traders' advertisements referred to buying slaves "suited to the New Orleans market" suggests not only that this market was special but that suppliers everywhere knew what its special characteristics were.<sup>45</sup>

Appendices to this study give detailed estimates of the numbers of slaves imported into the sugar parishes in the 1840s and 1850s. These estimates take account of several supply routes. Many of the area's slaves were bought at slave pens in New Orleans—and that city was supplied not only by the coastal trade from the Chesapeake and the eastern parts of the Carolinas but also by the overland trade from the Atlantic seaboard states and by the traffic down the Mississippi Valley from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. In addition, some traders bypassed New Orleans and took their slaves directly to the sugar parishes. No single document type, taken on its own, gives anything like a full picture of the extent of the trade, but by combining various sources—including ships' manifests of the coastal trade and traders' estimates—a major part of the traffic can be reconstructed. Appendix 2 outlines the primary sources used in calculating importations.

Library, Charlottesville; Clark to Dickinson, February 10, 1846, Lucy Chase Papers, American Antiquarian Society; Betts & Gregory circular, D. M. Pulliam Papers, Duke University.

<sup>44</sup> John H. Charles to Mary A. Charles, April 22, 1859, McGee-Charles Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S.C.

<sup>45</sup> For advertisements, see Tadman, *Speculators*, 65–66.



**THE undersigned wishes to purchase a large lot of NEGROES for the New Orleans market. I will pay \$1200 to \$1250 for No. 1 young men, and \$850 to \$1000 for No. 1 young women. In fact I will pay more for likely**

**NEGROES,**

**Than any other trader in Kentucky. My office is adjoining the Broadway Hotel, on Broadway, Lexington, Ky., where I or my Agent can always be found.**

**WM. F. TALBOTT.**

**LEXINGTON, JULY 2, 1853.**

FIGURE 5: Newspaper advertisement of Kentucky slave trader buying for the New Orleans market. J. Winston Coleman, Jr., *Slavery Times in Kentucky*, copyright 1940 University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission of the publisher.

A detailed calculation of the volume of importation in the 1840s is outlined in Appendix 3, and that appendix combines the totals brought by the coastal, overland, and Mississippi River routes. This calculation suggests that in the 1840s the leading sugar parishes imported a total of at least 27,000 slaves. Scaling down the area's 1850 population to allow for these 27,000 or more importations gives the level of natural decrease experienced by sugar slaves in that decade. It suggests that, instead of the typical 1840s *natural increase* rate of 27.8 percent, the sugar area experienced at best a 6 percent *natural decrease* (and in fact the situation was probably substantially worse than this).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> In calculating the rate of natural decrease, we need first to add the 1840 start-of-decade

Slave importations in the 1850s must also have been high, and again in these years there must have been major natural decrease. Preliminary indications of the high levels of 1850s importations are given, as we have seen, by the fact that sugar production expanded massively in this decade (requiring much new labor),<sup>47</sup> and heavy importation is also indicated (see Table 2) by the high proportion of males in the sugar area's working-age population of 1860. Appendix 4 gives detailed evidence on the level of importation in the 1850s and suggests that the total would have been at least 27,000. Similar calculations to those used already for the 1840s reveal that, in the 1850s, these parishes would have experienced a rate of natural decrease of over 13 percent. This contrasts dramatically with an expected *positive* rate of natural increase of 23.4 percent (see Table 1) for typical U.S. slaves in the 1850s.<sup>48</sup> Evidence on importation indicates, then, that deaths greatly exceeded births among slaves in the main sugar parishes. The 1840s importation figure (of at least 27,000 slaves) probably represents a significant underestimate of the real rate of decrease because it incorporates a conservative estimate for the overland supply route. Actual rates of natural decrease in both the 1840s and 1850s, therefore, were probably at least 13 percent.

Having established the approximate levels of natural decrease on the Louisiana sugar plantations, we can now consider the relative importance of excess adult mortality and child shortage in bringing about this decrease.<sup>49</sup> An extreme work load and inadequate net nutrition meant that slaves working on sugar plantations were, compared with other working-age slaves in the United States, far less able to resist the common and life-threatening diseases of dirt and poverty. An imbalance of the sexes, together with a shortage of potential mothers, would have been important in creating the sugar plantations' great shortage of children. In addition, the women who were present in the sugar area had far fewer children than those elsewhere in the United States. Indeed, they had far fewer than was the norm even for a slave-importing state, and an excessive work load would have contributed greatly to this.<sup>50</sup> Slave women throughout the South faced the problem of insufficient relief from strenuous work during pregnancy, but on the sugar plantations the nature of work would have had a particularly damaging impact on fertility. This combination of pressures for women on sugar estates would have produced a particularly grim catalog of irregular fertility, still births, low birth weights, and poor infant survival rates.

Detailed calculations (see Appendix 5), taking the example of the 1850s, allow a

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population (51,792 slaves) to the 26,783 imports (making 78,575 slaves). The actual 1850 end-of-decade population was (at 73,829) 4,746 slaves lower than this total. This 4,746 deficit represents 6 percent of the 73,829 total.

<sup>47</sup> Louisiana's average annual production of sugar in the 1840s was only 55 percent of that for the 1850s: the best 1840s year (1849) only produced 54 percent of the best 1850s year (1853). The federal census shows that the proportion of the sugar crop produced by the leading thirteen parishes declined from about 80 percent in 1850 to about 70 percent, but still these parishes participated energetically in the 1850s expansion. For annual production figures, see *De Bow's Review* 29 (1860): 522, table 2.

<sup>48</sup> The 1850 population was 73,829, and importations were 26,970, making a total of 100,799 slaves. The actual 1860 population (87,340) was 13,459, or 13.35 percent lower.

<sup>49</sup> As we shall see, malaria played some part both in raising mortality and in depressing fertility, but it was a secondary role compared with sugar.

<sup>50</sup> On fertility in the importing states generally, see n. 35 above.

fairly clear weighting of factors involved in producing natural decrease on Louisiana's sugar plantations. These calculations suggest that excess "adult" mortality (in this case, mortality among those who would have been age 10 years and over by 1860) accounted for some 44 percent of the gap between the sugar area's demographic performance and that of U.S. slaves generally. It follows that the shortage of children (ages 0 to 9 years by 1860) contributed the remaining 56 percent. We can also break down the child shortage into its component parts (again see Appendix 5). This disaggregation suggests that the scarcity of potential childbearing women would have been responsible for some 40 percent of the child shortage, so the combination of low fertility among the women present and high child mortality would have accounted for the remaining 60 percent. Overall, then, the child shortage was statistically more important than excess adult mortality, but both were major factors, and both were part of the extreme burdens of sugar slaves in Louisiana.

MOVING BACK FROM THE LOUISIANA TEST CASE to the overall debate on slave demography in the Americas, the detailed Louisiana evidence allows us to reflect on, and criticize, some of the interpretations outlined earlier in this study—the role of disease environments, anti-natalism, slave breeding, and the combination of arguments proposed by Fogel and Engerman. From the basis of the Louisiana evidence, it now seems to be possible both to reassert the case for the dominant role played by sugar planters and sugar plantations and also to resolve the puzzle concerning the timing of the transition to natural increase in different regimes.

First, let us consider the possibility that disease environments might explain the great demographic contrasts of the Americas. The Louisiana case study is very helpful here.<sup>51</sup> It is true that southern Louisiana was, even for whites, not a healthy place, but it is also clear that the labor regime of the sugar crop, regardless of the local disease environment, was in itself sufficient to cause deaths to exceed births. New Orleans was known as the yellow fever capital of North America, but, even though yellow fever was dreaded in New Orleans (and in other American cities), it only rarely attacked plantation districts and accounted for only a tiny percentage of plantation deaths.<sup>52</sup> Cholera, too, was never of major statistical significance on the sugar estates, and although it continued to affect New Orleans, it had disappeared from the sugar plantations by the early 1850s.<sup>53</sup>

Malaria was for Louisiana slaves a far more significant problem than either cholera or yellow fever: even so, it did not dictate the natural decrease of slaves on the sugar plantations.<sup>54</sup> It turns out (as Figure 6 shows) that almost all of the

<sup>51</sup> In broad terms, the work of Kenneth F. Kiple and Virginia H. King has supported the conclusion that the disease environment for slaves was not significantly easier in North America than in the Caribbean and Latin America. See Kiple and King, *Another Dimension of the Black Diaspora: Diet, Disease, and Racism* (Cambridge, 1981), 66–67.

<sup>52</sup> Mercer, "Medicine and Slavery," 81, 141, 193–206.

<sup>53</sup> Mercer, "Medicine and Slavery," 210–14.

<sup>54</sup> Mercer provides an excellent discussion of disease environments, diet, seasonal mortality, and other issues affecting the sugar parishes, and he too concludes that environment and epidemiology were less important than the labor demands of sugar in overall demographic terms.



western half of Louisiana—including a massive tract of parishes that produced cotton, not sugar—was in the same high-risk malaria belt as the sugar parishes.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, the demography of the cotton parishes, in similarly malaria-prone areas to the sugar plantations, was very different. Cotton areas did not have significantly more male than female slaves. And, crucially, while the fertility rates of slave women in the sugar parishes were exceptionally low by any U.S. standards, ratios in the western Louisiana cotton parishes were very high. Despite malaria, the cotton parishes, unlike the sugar plantations, had no child shortage.<sup>56</sup> Malaria brought many deaths and much debility, but it took the labor demands of sugar to produce natural decrease.<sup>57</sup> The local disease environment of the Louisiana sugar parishes was not what caused the pattern of natural decrease.

At the start of this essay, I also noted arguments that owners directly influenced fertility, either negatively in the Caribbean by discouraging slave births or positively in the United States by adopting systematic slave breeding. There is, however, little evidence to support either of these arguments. The fact that slave infants in the British sugar plantations had a positive cash value suggests that most owners, far from being anti-natalist, would have welcomed the birth of slave children. Indeed, in the British West Indies, the price of a one-year-old slave was about 5 to 10 percent of that of an adult male, and this was very similar to the situation in the United States, as well as to that of the Americas in general.<sup>58</sup> It is significant, too, that Patterson's references to the anti-natalism of the slaves themselves came from the most unreliable of sources—racist slaveowners who sought to shift the blame for lack of increase onto blacks. Thus owners routinely claimed that slaves were irresponsible, had no sense of family, and were not prepared to care for children.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The sugar parishes (except for Terrebonne and Lafourche, which were in low-risk areas) and the western cotton parishes of Bienville, Bossier, Claiborne, Caddo, De Soto, Natchitoches, and Sabine were all in the high-risk belt showing 90 to 140 deaths per 1,000 population in 1870. See Frank C. Innes, "Disease Ecologies of North America," in Kenneth F. Kiple, et al., eds., *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease* (Cambridge, 1993), 527. On the heavy death toll from malaria among slaves in northeastern Louisiana, see John Duffy, "The Impact of Malaria on the South," in Todd L. Savitt and James Harvey Young, eds., *Disease and Distinctiveness in the American South* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1988), 40.

<sup>56</sup> In 1860 among slaves, the ratio of children ages 0–9 years to women ages 15–49 years was 922 in the sugar parishes, 1,226 in Louisiana's western cotton parishes, only 1,104 in the South's slave-importing states generally, and 1,320 in the South as a whole. The statistic for Louisiana's western cotton parishes excludes Bienville, which made no relevant census returns in 1860.

<sup>57</sup> Further evidence on the secondary role of malaria comes from Barbados and South Carolina. Barbados was dominated by sugar, and even though it was always relatively free from malaria it still suffered from natural decrease until 1817. The rice district of South Carolina (see Figure 6, area with greater than 140 deaths per thousand) suffered even more badly from malaria than did the Louisiana sugar parishes. Despite the malaria problem, however, its slaves still reproduced themselves by natural increase. On Barbados, see Higman, *Slave Populations*, 341. On rice, see Dusiemberre, *Them Dark Days*, 48, 410–16.

<sup>58</sup> For remarkably consistent data on this, see Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Herbert S. Klein, and Stanley L. Engerman, "The Level and Structure of Slave Prices on Cuban Plantations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Some Comparative Perspectives," *AHR* 88 (December 1983): 1217; Ward, *British West Indian Slavery*, 34–35; Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (New York, 1972), 317–18; Higman, *Slave Populations*, 38, 79, 190–96, 202–11; Higman, *Slave Population and Economy*, 187–211; J. Harry Bennett, Jr., *Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710–1838* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958), 13–19; William Frederick Sharp, *Slavery on the Spanish Frontier: The Colombian Choco, 1680–1810* (Norman, Okla., 1976), 120–26, 203; Dean, *Rio Claro*, 58.

<sup>59</sup> Patterson, *Sociology of Slavery*, 108–09.

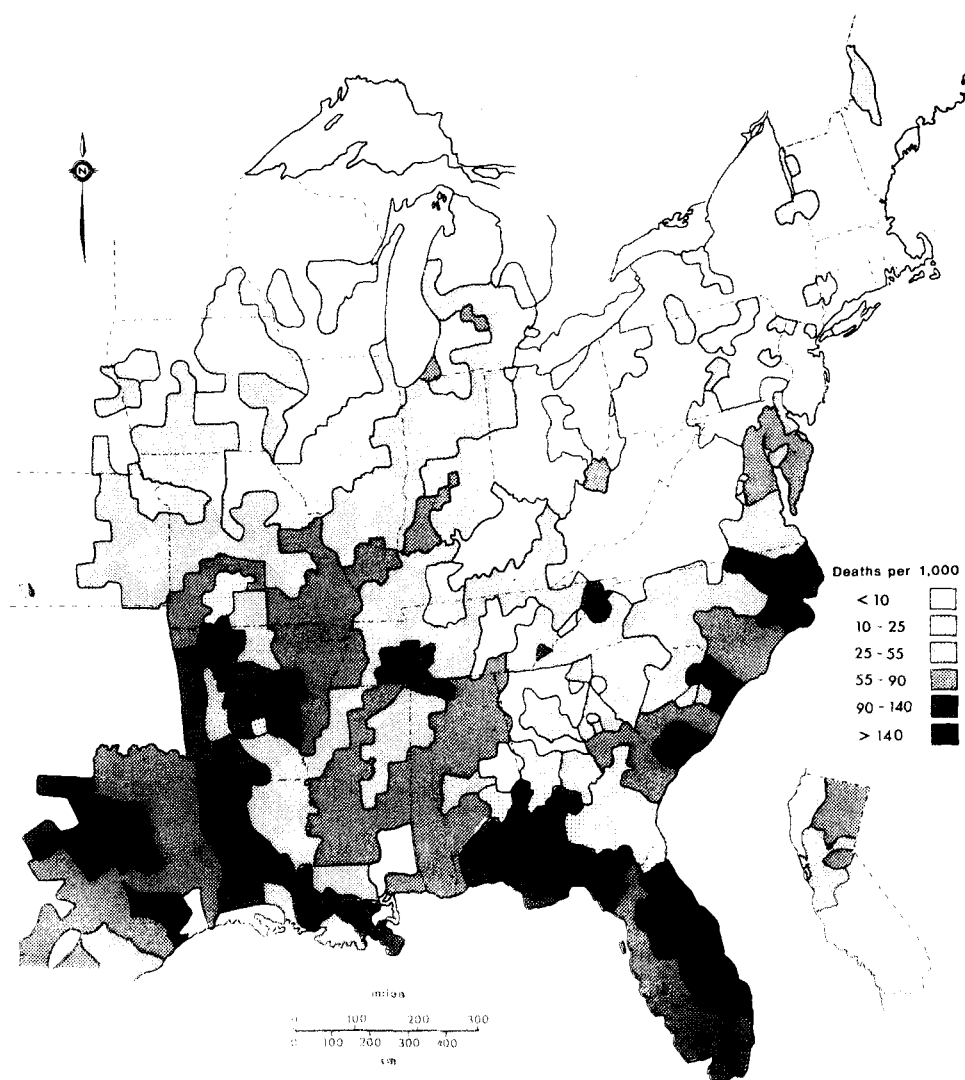


FIGURE 6: "Malarial Disease Deaths per 1,000 Population, 1870." This map is based on the Ninth U.S. Census, and is reproduced by permission of Cambridge University Press from Frank C. Innes, "Disease Ecologies in North America," in Kenneth F. Kiple, ed., *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease* (Cambridge, 1993), 527.

In North America, abolitionists sometimes made the claim that slavery in the Upper South depended for its economic survival on stud farms, which bred slaves for sale to the Lower South market. There is little doubt that slaveowners took a great interest in the value, and therefore number, of their "stock." The fact that I have found, in thousands of highly detailed letters by interstate slave traders, no reference at all to breeding farms, suggests, however, that the slave-selling states did not adopt such specialist child-production farms.<sup>60</sup>

Fogel and Engerman, sometimes in separate publications, sometimes in jointly written studies, have combined several elements in their demographic argu-

<sup>60</sup> For a more detailed discussion of stud farms, see Tadman, *Speculators*, 121–29.

ment—an emphasis on fertility (not mortality) differences between the United States and the West Indies, a claim that the Caribbean slaves' fertility was low because of African traditions (not planters' actions), and an argument that North American slaves enjoyed a particularly good diet and that this diet contributed substantially to the health, stature, and natural increase of those slaves. Each of these important claims demands attention.

Fogel and Engerman's claim that mortality rates were not substantially higher in the British Caribbean than in the United States was based on an adjustment of Higman's data for Jamaica in 1817 to 1834, but this selection of evidence raises problems.<sup>61</sup> The period chosen was one, after the ending of the slave trade in 1807, when the extreme mortality levels associated with the "seasoning" of imported slaves were no longer a factor. Fogel and Engerman's findings on mortality are also surprising since sugar was vastly more important in Jamaica than in the United States, and Fogel and Engerman themselves found that mortality was particularly high on sugar plantations. Given the importance of sugar planting in Jamaica, one would have expected to see a strong reflection of this in the U.S.-Jamaica comparison.<sup>62</sup>

Fogel and Engerman's second claim—that the U.S.-West Indian fertility gap was brought about by the operation of African cultural traditions in the West Indies—does not fit with the Louisiana evidence. The slaves of the Louisiana sugar plantations suffered from very low fertility, just as those in the West Indies did, but in Louisiana African lactation practices were not an issue. Louisiana had imported its slaves from the Upper South, and they would not have had significantly more contact with Africa and its traditions than would typical U.S. slaves. Fogel and Engerman based their argument on lists of children with their mothers and on the age gaps that they found between (surviving) children. The greater spacing in the Caribbean compared to the United States does not, however, seem to have been significantly influenced by special lactation practices. Instead, what would seem to account for the longer gaps between the ages of surviving West Indian children are factors that were also at work on the Louisiana sugar plantations: high child mortality, high numbers of stillborn children, poor health and net nutrition of women (and therefore a reduced ability to conceive), and interrupted fertility resulting from the death of husbands in an environment of overall high mortality.

Fogel and Engerman's third claim relates to the height of slaves. They have drawn on evidence from several scholars—using height samples from the coastal domestic slave trade to New Orleans, from manumission documents, and from Union Army records. These various samples have all indicated that the average height of adult male slaves in the antebellum United States was about 67 inches. These results suggest that, by any population standards of the time, U.S. slaves were tall (and therefore well fed).<sup>63</sup> However, all three of the data sets on height seem to use atypical samples, so the anthropometric evidence does not, in practice,

<sup>61</sup> For Fogel and Engerman's data, see, for example, Fogel and Engerman, "Recent Findings," 567–68; Fogel, *Without Consent*, 126.

<sup>62</sup> For Fogel on high mortality on sugar plantations, see *Without Consent*, 127.

<sup>63</sup> Fogel, *Without Consent*, 138–42.

appear to sustain the thesis that North American slaves enjoyed outstandingly good diets.

For instance, the sample of the New Orleans trade was developed by Richard Steckel, using ships' manifests describing slaves brought from Virginia and the Upper South.<sup>64</sup> There is, however, extensive evidence that slave traders generally (and even more so those supplying New Orleans) sought a carefully selected subset of the slave population. They sought "likely," "prime," strong slaves, and they screened out as difficult to sell those who were "undersized," unhealthy, or weak.<sup>65</sup> This suggests that typical slave men in the United States were not as tall as the 67-inch average found in the ships' manifests.

A further height sample, using Maryland certificates of manumission, was developed by John Komlos, and these data also suggested that men averaged 67 inches.<sup>66</sup> This sample, too, is likely to exaggerate the height of slaves, since it is probable that those who enjoyed manumission would have been among the most privileged, and therefore best fed and tallest, of U.S. slaves. Robert Margo and Richard Steckel have used a third main data set—records of the height of blacks recruited into the Union Army during the Civil War.<sup>67</sup> Again, it seems that the sample must have had an upward bias. The army normally had a minimum height requirement, and, in its recruitment of blacks, it is likely to have discriminated against those who were significantly below average height.

The data sets that Fogel and Engerman based their assumptions on all, therefore, seem to carry strong upward biases. It is extremely difficult to get direct samples of the height of typical field slaves, but the process of making shirts for two 1850s slave gangs has left detailed lists of the height, age, and occupation of fifty-five slaves (all of the males age 20 years or over in these two gangs). This sample is too slender a base for confident generalizations, but still the results are interesting. The average height for these fieldhands was 64.6 inches—far shorter than that for the trade and other samples mentioned above.<sup>68</sup> The combination of direct evidence from these lists and reservations about samples taken from the trade and elsewhere suggests that slave men would not have been as well fed as has recently been claimed by Fogel and Engerman, and suggests that they would have been significantly shorter than 67 inches on average.<sup>69</sup> The diet of U.S. slaves does not, after all, seem to be the cause of that population's exceptional rates of natural increase.

<sup>64</sup> See, for example, Richard H. Steckel, "A Peculiar Population: The Nutrition, Health, and Mortality of American Slaves from Childhood to Maturity," *Journal of Economic History* 46 (September 1986): 721–42; and Steckel, "A Dreadful Childhood: The Excess Mortality of American Slaves," *Social Science History* 10 (Winter 1986): 427–65.

<sup>65</sup> See Tadman, *Speculators*, 47–70, 136, 184–92.

<sup>66</sup> John Komlos, "Towards an Anthropometric History of African-Americans: The Case of the Free Blacks in Antebellum Maryland," in Claudia Goldin and Hugh Rockoff, eds., *Strategic Factors in Nineteenth-Century American Economic History: A Volume in Honor of Robert W. Fogel* (Chicago, 1992), 297–329.

<sup>67</sup> Robert A. Margo and Richard H. Steckel, "The Height of American Slaves: New Evidence on Slave Nutrition and Health," *Social Science History* 6 (Fall 1982): 516–38.

<sup>68</sup> Birdfield and Dirleton gangs in James Ritchie Sparkman Papers, South Caroliniana Library, and John Sparkman Plantation Book Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. The slaves in the "shirt lists" worked on rice plantations, and perhaps their net nutrition was poorer than that of slaves on cotton and tobacco plantations (and net nutrition would have implications for stature).

<sup>69</sup> A more detailed discussion of slave height will appear in a forthcoming article by the present writer.

We can go further than this. If we compare some key demographic indicators for slaves and free whites, the explanation for the very high natural increase of U.S. slaves seems to be far more gloomy than that suggested by Fogel and Engerman. It is true that natural increase among U.S. slaves was, by the 1850s, higher than that of U.S. whites, but the life experiences of slaves and whites contrasted profoundly, and the causes of natural increase were very different for the two populations. Slaves experienced far higher rates of infant, child, and adult mortality than did whites, and this mortality, as in “Third World” countries, was compensated for by a very high birth rate. “Third World” population patterns do not suggest that slaves were especially privileged.

Work by Richard Steckel has revealed the dreadful childhood experience of U.S. slaves. He found that, as a result of overworked mothers and of desperately poor net nutrition, average birth weights for U.S. slave babies were very low (typically, less than 5.5 pounds), and the rate of still births among U.S. slaves was very high (probably no less than 11 percent). He also found major contrasts between the child mortality of whites and slaves. After discounting still births, he found that 28 percent of the antebellum southern whites died before age 15, but 46 percent of slaves died before reaching that age.<sup>70</sup>

Moreover, it is not just in child mortality where major contrasts between U.S. whites and slaves appear. Despite far higher infant and child mortality among slaves compared with whites, the slave and free southern populations showed basically similar ratios of children to women.<sup>71</sup> This similarly suggests that, to balance its excess child mortality, the slaves’ birth rate must have been far higher than that of the whites.<sup>72</sup> A further statistic—the fact that there were relatively few slaves age 50 or over—suggests, too, that adult mortality was significantly higher for slaves than for whites.<sup>73</sup>

Data on height suggest another contrast in health. Oaths sworn by former South Carolina planters in the 1860s show the height of those slaveowners to have averaged 68.6 inches. If the “shirt lists” used in this study are anything like a useful indicator of typical slave heights, they suggest that owners would, because of far better net nutrition, have towered over most of their slaves by several inches.<sup>74</sup> U.S. slaves, then, reached similar rates of natural increase to whites not because of any special privileges but through a process of great suffering and material deprivation.

The evidence presented in this study does not, therefore, support arguments that

<sup>70</sup> See, for example, Steckel, “Dreadful Childhood,” esp. 431, 428, 460 n. 43.

<sup>71</sup> Remarkably, for slaves and southern whites in 1850, the ratios of children under 10 years old to women ages 15–49 were respectively 1,354 and 1,353. See Richard H. Steckel, *The Economics of U.S. Slave and Southern White Fertility* (New York, 1985), 3.

<sup>72</sup> For detailed arguments on fertility and on issues relating to the birth rate, see Steckel, *Economics*.

<sup>73</sup> In the U.S. population of 1850, for example, for every 100 white children ages 0 to 9 years in 1850, there were 32 whites age 50 and over, but for every 100 slaves ages 0 to 9 there were only 24 age 50 and over.

<sup>74</sup> Evidence on male slaveowners (age 21 and over) can be found in the manuscript “Register of Oaths Administered at Edgefield Court House [South Carolina] 1865,” South Carolina Department of Archives. The average height of 746 men listed as “farmers” was 68.6 inches, for 109 “physicians” and professionals was 69.1 inches, for 33 “mechanics” was 69 inches, and the overall average for the 888 registrants was 68.7 inches. Some have suggested that slave men averaged 67 inches, but my own evidence from shirt lists suggests that, in reality, the average height of antebellum slave men was probably under 65 inches. The average adult male height in Great Britain, which is often used by researchers as the modern standard, is currently 68.9 inches.



focus on the disease environment, anti-natalism, African cultural traditions, or especially favorable circumstances in the United States. North American slaves were driven very hard by their owners, but the special demands imposed by the sugar planters of the Americas were even more lethal. Sugar, of course, did not account for all slaves in the rest of the Americas, and pockets of natural increase were possible. Recent work shows, for example, that in the nineteenth century the Minas Gerais region of Brazil developed a diversified economy oriented largely toward domestic markets, and that the region is remarkable for the fact that its slaves experienced natural increase.<sup>75</sup> Crucially, Minas Gerais was not a sugar region. It seems likely that further work will show that other non-sugar regions in the Americas also experienced natural increase. Nevertheless, sugar plantations dominated the Americas, dominated its demographic patterns, and dictated too that natural decrease would dominate.

Sugar planters, as we have seen, combined extreme labor demands with a long-term insistence on a predominantly male work force, and the combination of burdens they imposed was lethal. The Louisiana case shows that sugar produced natural decrease even when the labor force was American-born. Where (in Brazil or Jamaica, for example) sugar planters bought their slaves from Africa, natural decrease would have been even worse than in Louisiana. Sugar and the Atlantic slave trade represented the worst of all worlds—the extreme demands of the sugar plantation, the urge to import (so as to maintain a male-dominated labor force), and the intensive sucking of Africans into an unfamiliar, and therefore hostile, disease environment.

The Louisiana evidence also seems to resolve a further problem mentioned earlier, one concerning timing and the early onset of natural increase in the North American colonies. Historians have wondered why, a century before the closure of the African slave trade, the North American colonies were able to experience positive natural increase, while other regimes showed such a different pattern. The answer seems to be simply that North America was not a sugar regime and so did not need to import intensively. As in the rest of the Americas, the slaves imported from Africa were still mostly males (about two-thirds males, as elsewhere), and they still met unfamiliar disease environments as in the rest of the Americas. But the permanent male surplus that the sugar planters demanded could only be achieved by intensive slave importation. North America, not being a sugar regime, did not in the long run require male-dominated gangs and therefore had no need to import so intensively from Africa. Its slave population was therefore far less affected by the “seasoning” process, there were more women to bear children, and conditions for population growth were far better.

NOT ONLY DOES SUGAR PLANTING EXPLAIN the major contrast between the natural increase of slaves in North America and the natural decrease of slaves in most of the Americas, the demographics of sugar also go some way toward explaining

<sup>75</sup> Laird W. Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888* (Cambridge, 1999).

certain other major differences in the black experience. The demands of the sugar planters explain why the Caribbean and Brazil were huge importers of African slaves. These demands also meant that slave gangs on sugar plantations were almost always far larger than those that were common on the tobacco and cotton plantations of North America, the great scale of sugar plantations arising because of the need for an army of labor to cut and haul cane, and to satisfy the appetite of the expensive crushing and boiling machinery that was used in the cruelly punishing "boiling season."

The sugar planters' insistence on a male-dominated work force and their intensive importation of Africans had implications that reached into the character of slave culture, resistance, family, and beyond. In the sugar areas of the Caribbean and South America, big plantations, big black majorities, and high numbers of recently arrived Africans meant a strong sense of Africanness and a tendency toward vigorous and very visible African cultural retentions. Where sugar planters were Catholic, as in Brazil, Cuba, and the French Caribbean, an extra element was added to the demographic factor, and the ground became even more fertile for African religious retentions. A strong African numerical presence was combined with a situation in which "correspondences" (surface similarities) between Catholic saints and African gods allowed African religious traditions to be maintained within a context of revering Catholic saints.<sup>76</sup> In North America, demographic factors meant that "Africanisms" or African "survivals," while still of great importance for slave culture and identity, were less direct than in the sugar areas (Protestant and Catholic) of the rest of the Americas.<sup>77</sup>

Wherever they found themselves, most slaves resisted their owners, directly or indirectly, and revolts sometimes occurred. Again, however, on the sugar plantations of the Caribbean and South America, the preconditions for a tradition of open slave revolt were generally more favorable than in North America. In North America, slave resistance (short of revolt) was of enormous importance, but crop patterns meant that plantations were usually small and relatively easy to police. Elsewhere, the sugar regime meant huge plantations, the importation of large numbers of young-adult African males, and the presence of many Africans who could pass on vivid memories of a world far different from that of white planter society. For these reasons, the traditions of open revolt and of "Maroon" societies (composed of runaway slaves and their descendants) seem to have been far stronger in the main sugar regions than in North America.<sup>78</sup>

A comparison between the United States and the sugar kingdoms of the Americas also suggests some broad regional differences in the pressures that

<sup>76</sup> On "correspondences," see Roger Bastide, *African Civilisations in the New World* (London, 1971). High concentrations of urban slaves could also foster strong African retentions, as is shown in Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 61.

<sup>77</sup> On African-American culture in North America, see, for example, Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977); Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundation of Black America* (New York, 1987).

<sup>78</sup> For a valuable comparative discussion of slave revolts, and of the circumstances that encouraged revolt, see Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: The Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979). On Maroons, see Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore, 1979).

masters imposed on slave families. The large scale of sugar plantations would have created the potential for many slaves to find marriage partners on their own plantation, and perhaps cross-plantation marriage was less common than on the typically smaller cotton and tobacco plantations of the United States.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, sugar plantations demanded particularly high rates of slave importation, and importation meant the trauma of leaving close relatives and friends behind. Mortality was high on sugar plantations, and this too meant an especially high rate of premature destruction of marriages.

Male-dominated African importation must have made it impossible for a significant minority of males to find mates. Even so, Patterson's view that, in sugar-dominated Jamaica, "the nuclear family could hardly exist within the context of slavery" seems much too pessimistic, especially in the light of work by Higman and others on family structure and resilience.<sup>80</sup> The argument in the present study that sugar planters did not commonly pursue a "buy, not breed" policy also has positive implications for how we should see relations between mothers and children, and indeed for how we should see family and community generally. Had anti-natalism really been the norm, and had slaves, too, been alienated from the idea of raising children, this would have suggested extremely low morale among sugar slaves. The male majority in the sugar areas and the great premium set on sheer hard physical labor would have influenced gender attitudes among slaves. Similarly, the shortage of children and of old slaves would have influenced attitudes toward childhood and toward elders.

Sugar planting had major implications in terms of economic dynamics: it demanded a great scale, huge capital investment, an unbalanced slave-rearing policy, and intensive slave buying. Had U.S. cotton and tobacco plantations, like sugar, lent themselves to heavy investment in machines, demanding equally spectacular excesses of labor, there is little doubt that such machines would have been adopted. But in all regimes, however hard they drove their slaves, planters tended to cast themselves in heroic roles and tended to see themselves as the guardians of their slaves.<sup>81</sup> Perhaps among sugar planters, with their big black majorities, there might have been, compared with typical U.S. slaveholdings, a difference in emphasis in the way they saw their slaves. In the sugar kingdoms, Negrophobia was probably especially prominent in white rationalizations of slavery: still, however, few planters, whatever the crop they raised, could resist deploying the

<sup>79</sup> Emily West estimates that about a third of U.S. slave marriages were "cross plantation" unions, where wife and husband had different owners (but she also suggests that such unions were usually as strong as same-plantation marriages). See West, "Surviving Separation: Cross-Plantation Marriages and the Slave Trade in Antebellum South Carolina," *Journal of Family History* 24 (April 1999): 212–31.

<sup>80</sup> Patterson, *Sociology of Slavery*, 167. For more recent studies, see Michael Craton, "Changing Patterns of Slave Families in the British West Indies," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (Summer 1979): 1–35; Barry Higman, "The Slave Family and Household in the British West Indies, 1800–1834," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (Autumn 1975): 261–87; Higman, *Slave Populations*, 364–78. On the sugar parishes of Louisiana, see Ann Paton Malone, *Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth-Century Louisiana* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992).

<sup>81</sup> For a critique of Eugene Genovese's paternalism thesis, see Michael Tadman, "The Persistent Myth of Paternalism: Historians and the Nature of Master-Slave Relations in the American South," *Sage Race Relations Abstracts* 23 (February 1998): 7–23. On the resort to paternalist proslavery arguments in the British West Indies as well as the United States, see Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens, Ga., 1987).

convenient argument that slavery represented a system of benevolence and paternalism.<sup>82</sup> Crop differences were important in very many ways for the nature of slave societies, but whatever the crop, or for that matter the country or pattern of European ancestry of the planter, similar self-serving slaveholder arguments were found across the Americas.<sup>83</sup>

The mentalities of slaveowners had much in common across the Americas. At the same time, though, in terms of economic dynamics, and more important for this study, in terms of the slave experience, there were highly significant things that were special about sugar. This study suggests that the sugar crop—and the special demographic features of the Louisiana sugar plantations—have decisive importance in explaining major contrasts in the population history of slaves across the Americas. And demographics, as we have seen, touch on much wider aspects of the way that slaves lived their lives.

<sup>82</sup> On Jamaican sugar planters' high-profile Negrophobia, mixed with benevolent self-images, see Mark J. Steele, "A Philosophy of Fear: The World View of the Jamaican Plantocracy in a Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Caribbean History* 7 (Spring 1993): 1–20.

<sup>83</sup> Some years ago, historians often thought in terms of contrasts between U.S. slavery and a supposedly more class-oriented and less racist Latin American slavery, but now such views of Latin American slavery seem dated and, with good reason, are not widely supported. For rejections of the idea that Latin American history has been marked by "racial democracy," see, for example, Pierre-Michel Fontaine, ed., *Race, Class, and Power in Brazil* (Los Angeles, 1985); Emilia Viotta da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985).

## Appendix 1

## Explaining a British West Indian Anomaly

In the last years of British West Indian slavery (between the closure of the African slave trade in 1807 and the abolition of slavery in 1833), a significant demographic anomaly appeared. From about 1817, the slaves of sugar-dominated Barbados enjoyed a natural increase in population, something unique in the British sugar islands.<sup>84</sup> Two characteristics of the Barbados slave population hint at an explanation of this unique situation—by 1807, Barbados slaves had (at 10 percent) the lowest percentage of African-born anywhere in the British Caribbean, and by 1817 the island had only 84 male slaves for every 100 females.<sup>85</sup> Barbados's low percentage of males suggests that in the last decades of slavery it would not have been a significant net importer of Africans. Indeed, it might perhaps have exported some males to the new frontier colonies like Trinidad, where demand for slaves was very high (as were prices). Circumstances after 1807 meant that in the last years of slavery Barbados had a far higher female percentage than even U.S. cotton slaves, and this special position led to a very high birth rate.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Higman, *Slave Populations*, 308. It is also worth noting that in the last years of slavery, the Bahamas (from 1822 to 1834), Anguilla (1827–31), and Barbuda (1817–32) experienced natural increase. These cases are easily explained, however, by the fact that cotton, salt production, maritime activities, and livestock rearing (not sugar) were the significant economic enterprises. On natural increase in these areas, see Higman, *Slave Populations*, 308–10.

<sup>85</sup> Higman, *Slave Populations*, 123, 116. Because of excess male mortality and the curtailment of new African supplies, the British Caribbean average male-female ratio by 1817 had greatly moderated, but still stood at 101: 100.

<sup>86</sup> On the exceptionally high numbers of children in the Barbados slave population in this period, see Higman, *Slave Populations*, 138–41, 462–70.



## Appendix 2

Documentary Sources on Slave Importation by the  
Louisiana Sugar ParishesA. *Notarial records*

The ledgers at the New Orleans Notarial Archives contain vast numbers of official transcripts that public notaries made of original bills of sale.<sup>87</sup> For example, for the period 1840–1852, the notarial data record the sale of 40,000 local and 17,000 out-of-state slaves (47 percent of the former and 57 percent of the latter being male). It is clear, however, that these sources document only a fraction of the total number of slaves sold at New Orleans. This is shown, for example, by the fact that while “New Orleans inward” manifests (discussed below) document less than a third of the out-of-state slaves traded at New Orleans, they still, for the 1840–1852 period, record more out-of-state slaves than the notarial set (23,000 compared with 17,000).

B. *Ships’ manifests (“New Orleans inward”)*

As a safeguard against the illegal importation of slaves from abroad (after 1807), manifests that recorded coastwise and river shipments of slaves within the United States were required by federal law, and these manifests were to be lodged at both the port of departure and of arrival.<sup>88</sup> While these records are of great importance for this study, the surviving manifests (held at the National Archives) are a very incomplete record of the coastal traffic. Table 4 includes annual totals (for the period 1840–1852) of slaves found in extant manifests that are classified by the National Archives as “New Orleans inward manifests” (that is, classified as arrivals at New Orleans). The availability of independent evidence on one of the supply routes—shipments from Baltimore to New Orleans in 1851 and 1852—means that we can test the level of completeness of the manifests.<sup>89</sup> This test suggests that, at best, some 67 percent of the relevant Baltimore–New Orleans manifests have survived. Since the years 1851 and 1852 were not unusually badly documented so far as extant New Orleans manifests are concerned (see Table 4), it seems reasonable

<sup>87</sup> On the composition of the notarial records, see Laurence J. Kotlikoff, “Quantitative Description of the New Orleans Slave Market 1804 to 1862,” in Robert W. Fogel, *et al.*, eds., *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery—Technical Papers: Markets and Production*, 2 vols. (New York, 1992), 1: 31–53.

<sup>88</sup> Manifests relating to river shipments do not survive for the period after 1840, and hardly any are available for earlier years either.

<sup>89</sup> The independent evidence comes from a documentary volume by Harriet Beecher Stowe. From the reports of the Baltimore customs house, Stowe obtained a very detailed listing of all, or almost all, slave shipments that left Baltimore for various ports (including New Orleans) between January 1, 1851, and November 20, 1852. Her carefully collected evidence included date of shipment, name of ship, destination, and number of slaves shipped. Stowe’s data document 742 slaves, spread over 26 shipments from Baltimore to New Orleans; and of these slaves, 67 percent are found in extant New Orleans manifests. See Stowe, *The Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin: Presenting the Original Facts and Documents upon Which the Story Is Founded* (Boston, 1853), 291–92.

**TABLE 4**  
**Annual Totals of Slaves in Extant Manifests**

Year	"New Orleans Inward"	"Mobile Outward to New Orleans"
1840	1,264	662
1841	1,409	0
1842	783	0
1843	2,165	228
1844	1,153	1,094
1845	3,224	967
1846	3,064	280
1847	2,707	0
1848	1,331	20
1849	1,547	847
1850	1,562	*
1851	1,043	*
1852	1,549	*

SOURCES AND NOTE: Derived from manifests at National Archives.

\*Mobile manifest not checked for 1850–1852.

No Mobile to New Orleans manifests survive for 1841, 1842, and 1847, and only one manifest survives for 1848. The average number of slaves in surviving Mobile to New Orleans manifests for the remaining six years of the decade, however, is 680. If we assume that activity in 1841, 1842, 1847, and 1848 was similar to that of the rest of the decade, and if we assume that for 1843–1846 and 1849 there was a 67 percent survival rate of these manifests (as for the "New Orleans inward" set), this produces a total of 10,150 slaves. "Mobile outward manifests" do not duplicate "New Orleans inward manifests": fewer than 2 percent of the slaves who appear in the former also appear in the latter.

to assume, for the 1840s and early 1850s generally, that no more than 67 percent of "New Orleans inward manifests" have survived. Supplementary samples bear out this conclusion and indeed suggest, if anything, that 67 percent might well be too high an estimate.<sup>90</sup> Significantly, these "inward" manifests show a strong male dominance (over 58 percent of the slaves being male), so the influence of demand from sugar planters must have been substantial.

### *C. Ships' manifests (Mobile to New Orleans)*

It is now necessary to take account of classification policies and other anomalies, which means that at least one major source of slaves (those shipped from Mobile to New Orleans) is excluded from the surviving collection of "New Orleans inward" manifests. Only a tiny number of shipments from Mobile to New Orleans appear in the "New Orleans inward manifests," but a subset of records, filed as "Mobile outward manifests," reveals the existence of a major traffic from Mobile to the

<sup>90</sup> I also compared extant manifests against a set of the trader Paul Pascal's slave shipments from Norfolk (Virginia) to New Orleans. These shipments are recorded in the Paul Pascal Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, and give name of ship, date, and name of slave. Of 206 slaves listed in eleven dated Pascal lists, only 22 percent were found in extant manifests. A further check compared extant New Orleans manifests against evidence of the several thousand slaves sent from Alexandria (Virginia) to New Orleans by the traders Franklin & Armfield's. Michael A. Ridgeway used newspaper and other sources to compile a reasonably complete list of Franklin & Armfield's coastal shipments for the years 1833 to 1836, and I found significantly less than 67 percent of these shipments in extant manifests. See Ridgeway, "A Peculiar Business: Slave Trading in Alexandria, Virginia, 1825–1861" (MA thesis, Georgetown University, 1976), 63–83.

Crescent City. These documents suggest for the 1840s (see Table 4) a coastwise shipment from Mobile to New Orleans of some 10,000 slaves, and since about 60 percent of these slaves were male, sugar planters must have been important buyers.<sup>91</sup>

#### D. Overland and direct sales

In the South's interregional trade as a whole, it is clear that the overland route was vastly more important than the coastal traffic,<sup>92</sup> but in the case of the New Orleans market, the specialized character of its trade and the convenience of coastwise links with the distant Chesapeake area gave the sea route special importance. Nevertheless, market forces suggest that traders in all parts of the exporting states would have been attracted by the profits of the New Orleans trade; and in much of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, it would have been cheaper and far more convenient to send slaves to New Orleans by traditional land routes.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, several sources of evidence suggest that overland routes from the eastern states would have been of great significance in supplying New Orleans.<sup>94</sup> We also need to take account of the fact that some of the slaves bought by sugar planters were supplied by traders, including some overland traders, who bypassed New Orleans and roved the sugar parishes to find their customers.<sup>95</sup> In this study, it is assumed,

<sup>91</sup> Slave traders' letters directly document the Mobile to New Orleans traffic. Quite commonly, traders would march slaves in overland "coffles," perhaps from the Carolina or Georgia upcountry, and would send them by river from Montgomery to Mobile, and then move them on by sea to New Orleans. For detailed documentation, see Joseph Jephtha Norton Papers, South Caroliniana Library; *Lawrence H. Belser vs. Robert C. Meyers*, February 20, 1852, Court of Equity, Sumter District, S.C.; William Haney Hatchett Papers, Tyre Glen Papers, and William A. J. Finney Papers (all at Duke University).

<sup>92</sup> See Tadman, *Speculators*, 31–41, 49–97.

<sup>93</sup> On the higher cost of the sea route, see T. H. Wells, "Moving a Plantation to Louisiana," *Louisiana Studies* 6 (Fall 1967): 279–99.

<sup>94</sup> Detailed evidence in Jonathan B. Pritchett, "Forced Migration and the Interregional Slave Trade" (paper given at the 1991 Meeting of the Social Science History Conference), suggests that, for slaves shipped to New Orleans from the key Chesapeake ports of Baltimore and Alexandria, their previous place of work had typically been only 20 to 35 miles from the port concerned. Similarly, Pascal & Raux's buying area for New Orleans slaves seems to have been localized in the counties around Norfolk, Virginia. We might conclude that the farther a trader was from a convenient port, the more likely it was that overland trading would take over from coastal. Moreover, even with traders based at ports like Alexandria, not all New Orleans-bound slaves were sent by sea. Franklin & Armfield regularly sent many of their slaves overland from Alexandria to New Orleans. Indeed, the traveler G. W. Featherstonhaugh encountered one of their coffles (of some 300 slaves) on its overland trek to Natchez (from where the slaves were to be sent to Louisiana's sugar plantations). For many in the eastern states, this combination of overland coffles to Natchez and river passage down to New Orleans would have been attractive on grounds of convenience and cost. On the coffles mentioned, see Ethan A. Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave Trade* (Boston, 1836), 142; and G. W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States* (New York, 1844), 36–37, 46. In South Carolina, especially outside of Charleston, major New Orleans traders made extensive use of the overland route. Owings & Charles (from the flourishing slave-trading center of Hamburg, Edgefield District) traded to New Orleans on a very large scale and used essentially land routes. See Tadman, *Speculators*, 262; and see McGee-Charles Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

<sup>95</sup> Manuscript census evidence for 1850 and 1860 hints at the presence of direct trading by listing—for parishes including Iberville, Jefferson, Plaquemines, Assumption, and Baton Rouge—individuals with the occupation of "trader" or "speculator." Some of these could have been general traders, but in Tadman, *Speculators*, 35, see detailed work on the South Carolina census, showing that those so described could often be proved to have been slave traders. Baton Rouge (which had a "trader" and a "speculator") was an active secondary center for the trade. On March 14, 1850, for example, H. & J. W. Taylor announced in the *Baton Rouge Gazette*: "We have just arrived with a very

probably very conservatively, that the overland trade to New Orleans was, for sugar planters, only half as important as the coastal route.

### E. Mississippi River

Finally, we must add slaves who, in the late antebellum period, were supplied by Kentucky, Tennessee, and increasingly Missouri, and who were sent down the Mississippi River to be sold in New Orleans. Contemporary newspaper advertisements, as well as secondary works on slavery, document this trade quite well,<sup>96</sup> but it is the notarial records that give a direct indication of the relative importance of these three states in the New Orleans slave supply. Although we know that these records greatly under-represent the overall volume of slave sales, there seems to be no reason why they should misrepresent the state of origin of those who were sold. The notarial records suggest that in the 1840s and early 1850s some 15 percent of out-of-state slaves sold at New Orleans came from the upriver states of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri.<sup>97</sup>

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superior lot of Virginia Negroes . . . 40 as likely negroes as has ever been offered in the Southern market." The "Cash Sales Book" in the courthouse at nearby Port Allen (West Baton Rouge Parish) records sales by several out-of-state traders, such as Sinclair & Clark of Missouri. Although some of the recorded sales by traders had originally been transacted at New Orleans, others appear to have been initiated near Port Allen. Particularly detailed evidence is available from local courthouse records for the mixed sugar-cotton parish of East Feliciana. The historian Richard H. Kilbourne found in East Feliciana Courthouse for the 1850s documentation of some 500–700 slaves imported and sold in that parish by traders, with Heckle & Wilson (of Georgia) being particularly prominent. See Kilbourne, *Debt, Investment, Slaves: Credit Relations in East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, 1825–1885* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1995), 50–51, 57; and private letter to me from Richard Kilbourne.

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, Frederic Bancroft, *Slave Trading in The Old South* (Baltimore, 1931), 123–44, 233–68.

<sup>97</sup> Fogel and Engerman note that, of those appearing in the notarial records, some 70 percent were local New Orleans slaves. See Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*, 53. A detailed search of the notarial records shows further that, in the 1840s and early 1850s, some 15 percent of out-of-state slaves were from the Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri group of states. I am very grateful to Stanley Engerman for, on my behalf, making a detailed search of the notarial records for these latter slaves.

### Appendix 3

## Calculating the Number of Slaves Imported into Louisiana's Leading Sugar Parishes in the 1840s

The calculation of importations can conveniently be set out in the three main stages below:

### A. "New Orleans inward" manifests

As Table 4 shows, there were 18,647 slaves in this set of extant 1840s manifests; and we should scale this total up to 27,831 to allow for the fact that not more than 67 percent of manifests would have survived (see Appendix 2). We now need to find what proportion of this total was bought by sugar planters, and finally need to adjust for the fact that the thirteen leading sugar parishes would in the 1840s have accounted for some 80 percent of all slaves sold to Louisiana sugar planters. These calculations suggest that 13,359 of the 27,831 imports would have gone to sugar planters, with 10,687 of these going to the thirteen leading parishes.

The estimate of the share going to sugar planters can be made using evidence on sex ratios. Because we know the percentage of male slaves in the New Orleans manifests and in both the trades to the sugar and to the non-sugar areas, we can calculate the number of these slaves who would have been absorbed by the sugar area. (The male share in the 1840s manifests was 58.43 percent, it was 50 percent in importations to non-sugar areas, and in importations by leading sugar parishes it was 67.55 percent.) On the 50: 50 ratio of males to females in the interregional slave trade (and in planter migrations) to non-sugar areas, see earlier in the present article, and see Tadman, *Speculators*, 22–25. On the sex ratio of the sugar area's importations, see Table 3, above.

The detailed calculation of the share of coastwise importations going to the sugar area was made as follows. Let  $T$  be the total number of slaves in New Orleans inward manifests. Let  $S$  be the number of slaves from  $T$  going to sugar plantations. Let  $N$  be the number of slaves from  $T$  going to non-sugar owners. We know that 58.43 percent of  $T$  are male; 67.55 percent of  $S$  are male, and 50 percent of  $N$  are male. It follows that

$$58.43\%T = 67.55\%S + 50\%N \text{ [equation 1]}$$

But also  $T = S + N$  is assumed such that  $N = T - S$ .

Substituting  $N = T - S$  in equation 1 gives

$$58.43\%T = 67.55\%S + (50\%T - 50\%S)$$

$$58.43\%T = 67.55\%S + 50\%T - 50\%S$$

$$58.43\%T - 50\%T = 67.55\%S - 50\%S$$

$$8.43\%T = 17.55\%S$$



$$8.43\%T \div 17.55\% = S$$

$$0.480T = S$$

$$48\%T = S$$

Thus 48 percent of T (slaves in New Orleans 1840s manifests) go to sugar plantations,  $T = 27,831$ , and 48 percent = 13,359 go to sugar.

We should note that the city of New Orleans might have absorbed some of the imported slaves. But we should also note that, among New Orleans residents, the demand was mainly for female slaves. New Orleans, like other towns and cities, had a persistent female majority among its slaves. (Of its 17,011 slaves at the 1850 census, 60 percent were female.) This means that any slaves imported and retained by New Orleans owners would have scaled down the male share of the overall slave trade to New Orleans, and because of the sex-ratio method of calculation used above, this would have tended to undercount the share of imported slaves going to the sugar parishes. Note also that the sex-ratio method means that any slaves imported at New Orleans and sent on to states other than Louisiana would not affect our calculations. This is because non-sugar planters in Louisiana and in other states imported slaves on the same 50: 50 male/female basis.

### B. *Mobile manifests*

As Table 4 shows, we can estimate an additional 10,150 New Orleans importations from Mobile in the 1840s. Since 59.7 percent of these slaves were male, similar estimates to those given above suggest that some 5,613 of these slaves went to sugar planters—and some 4,490 slaves would have gone to the thirteen leading parishes. “New Orleans inward manifests” plus Mobile “outward” manifests therefore suggest 15,177 coastwise importations by the main parishes (10,687 “New Orleans inward” plus 4,490 “Mobile outward”).

### C. *Overland and Mississippi River*

To account for overland imports, we can scale up the above coastwise total by 50 percent (to produce 22,766 slaves); and we then need to add a further 15 percent to account for the Mississippi River route. On these scalings, see Appendix 2.

## Appendix 4

### Calculating Importations for the 1850s

For the 1850s, “New Orleans inward manifests” have survived only for the years 1850 to 1852, but these give a basis for estimating importations in the early 1850s, and we can use eyewitness evidence for an estimate for the later 1850s.

#### A. *Manifests 1850–1852*

As Table 4 shows, the average number of slaves in extant “New Orleans inward manifests” for 1850 to 1852 was 1,385 per year. Similar scaling to that used for the 1840s (see Appendix 3) suggests that from this segment of the coastal supply route 825 slaves per year would have been imported by the leading sugar parishes in the period 1850 to 1852.<sup>98</sup> Further scaling (again see Appendix 3) allows us to estimate Mobile coastwise importations as well as overland and Mississippi River importations. This suggests that, when we combine all supply routes, the leading parishes imported an annual average of 2,068 slaves in the years from 1850 to 1852.<sup>99</sup> Eyewitness evidence suggests that in the later part of the decade New Orleans was an even more active importer, and notarial records show (since the male percentage of slaves sold at New Orleans was unusually high during the 1850s) that sugar planters accounted for a major share of New Orleans importations throughout the 1850s.<sup>100</sup>

#### B. *Eyewitness evidence*

The slave trader Philip Thomas provides us with expert evidence on the scale of the New Orleans trade in the late 1850s. On December 26, 1859—that is, when the 1859–1860 slave-trading season was just beginning its three or four months of peak activity—he had just returned to Mobile from New Orleans. He reported that at New Orleans “I find about 3000 in the market and none selling.” On December 31, he again reported that traders were holding 3,000 slaves at New Orleans.<sup>101</sup> Thomas was an experienced trader in the region and would have been familiar with New

<sup>98</sup> As for the 1840s, it is assumed that 67 percent of “New Orleans inward manifests” have survived. For the 1850s, it was assumed that 57 percent of importations went to sugar planters. This is based on Kotlikoff’s evidence (in “Quantitative Description,” 34) that 60 percent of slaves in 1850s notarial records were male. The percentage of the sugar region’s importations going to the thirteen leading sugar parishes was then estimated for the 1850s at 70 percent (rather than the 80 percent, as in the 1840s). This is because agricultural statistics in the 1860 federal census showed, for 1860, only about 70 percent of Louisiana’s sugar as being produced by the leading thirteen parishes.

<sup>99</sup> Based on 1840s patterns, it was assumed that “Mobile outward” shipments to New Orleans would have been equivalent to 42 percent of the slaves in the “New Orleans inward” set. The overland and Mississippi routes were assumed to have contributed the same shares of the sugar area’s slave supply as in the 1840s.

<sup>100</sup> Kotlikoff found that, across the 1807 to 1860 period generally, males made up 57 percent of out-of-state slaves sold at New Orleans, but in the 1850s they made up 60 percent. Kotlikoff, “Quantitative Description,” 34.

<sup>101</sup> Philip Thomas to W. A. J. Finney, December 26 and 31, 1859, W. A. J. Finney Papers, Duke University. He added that there were 400 at Mobile (including 60 at Fred Hall’s depot, where Thomas

Orleans's slave pens and with the state of the market. Moreover, we can confirm his estimate by comparing Thomas's report with evidence on the Natchez market.

For Natchez, we have first a local newspaper report that by late February and early March 1860, with perhaps three weeks of the season left, 1,500 to 2,000 slaves had been sold at Natchez that season.<sup>102</sup> Second, we have an expert witness that the Natchez market was far less important than that of New Orleans. In 1902, in an interview with the historian Frederic Bancroft, William T. Martin (formerly a lawyer who had specialized in cases arising out of the Natchez slave trade) recalled: "In some years there were three or four thousand slaves here [at Natchez]. I think that I have seen as many as 600 or 800 in the market at one time. There were usually four or five large traders at Natchez every winter. Each had from fifty to several hundred negroes, and most of them received fresh lots during the season."<sup>103</sup> Since we know that at New Orleans there were, every season, many times more than the four or five large traders of Natchez, we can safely assume that New Orleans would have imported and sold far more slaves than Natchez.<sup>104</sup> If, over a nearly completed 1859–1860 season, the Natchez market had sold 1,500 to 2,000 slaves, this is very much consistent with Thomas's estimate that at the start of its season there were some 3,000 slaves held at New Orleans by traders. Such a level of activity suggests that in the whole 1859–1860 season—from December to the start of April—there would have been some 7,500 out-of-state slaves traded at New Orleans.<sup>105</sup> Further calculations lead to the conclusion that the leading sugar parishes imported some 3,300 slaves in the 1859–1860 season.<sup>106</sup>

### C. Combining evidence

We now have estimates both for the early 1850s (some 2,068 slaves per year) and for the late 1850s (some 3,300 per year). Taking an average between these levels of importation gives us some 2,700 per year—or some 27,000 importations into the main sugar area over the whole decade.

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lodged). A trader at Mobile also told Thomas that he had recently "been to Natchez [Mississippi,] from there to Alexandria [Louisiana] on the Red river and says all points are full."

<sup>102</sup> *Natchez Courier* cited in Richard Tansey, "Bernard Kendig and the New Orleans Slave Trade," *Louisiana History* 23 (Spring 1982): 161.

<sup>103</sup> Bancroft, *Slave Trading*, 304–05.

<sup>104</sup> Bancroft, in *Slave Trading*, 319–20, wrote that in New Orleans in the late 1850s there were at least twenty-five slave traders' depots and yards "within a few squares of the St. Charles hotel . . . [And in] the French Quarter there were about half as many." For a list of forty-seven of the more important coastwise New Orleans traders of the 1840s (a list that largely excludes the overland and Mississippi routes), see Tadman, *Speculators*, 232–33.

<sup>105</sup> The pattern reported in Stowe's evidence (shipments from Baltimore to New Orleans) suggests (allowing twenty-one days for the journey to New Orleans) that 52 percent of the season's slaves would have arrived at New Orleans after December 26. This conclusion is supported by evidence from the manifests generally. Data in Herman Freudenberger and Jonathan B. Pritchett, "The Domestic United States Slave Trade: New Evidence," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21 (Winter 1991): 464, and in Kotlikoff, "Quantitative Description," 33, suggest that in a typical season almost 20 percent of New Orleans's sales would already have taken place by late December.

<sup>106</sup> The sex ratio of 1850s importations suggests that 57 percent of imported slaves would have gone to sugar planters, and evidence cited earlier indicates that (at 1850s rates) 70 percent of these (or 2,993 slaves) would have gone to the thirteen leading sugar parishes. If we then add a further 10 percent to take some account of slaves sold directly to the sugar parishes (bypassing the New Orleans market that Thomas commented on), the total rises to 3,326 slaves.

## Appendix 5

### Excess “Adult” Mortality Compared with Childhood Factors

Data for the 1850s illustrate the method used in weighting excess “adult” mortality (defined below) and childhood factors.

#### A. *Excess “adult” mortality*

In order to gain an indication of the level of excess adult mortality, the sugar area’s expected 10-years-and-over population of 1860 was compared with its actual population for this age group. The calculation was as follows. The leading sugar parishes’ slave population was 73,829 in 1850, so (given typical age-specific and sex-specific survival rates of slaves) 59,910 of these should have been alive in 1860. There were 26,970 importations (92 percent would have been age 10 and over at importation, and most would have been in the 15 to 25 age range). (See Tadmán, *Speculators*, 234). These slaves, after importation, would typically have experienced half of that decade’s risk of mortality, so that, given typical survival rates, we should add 22,530 of these slaves to the area’s expected 10+ population of 1860. Instead of a combined total of 82,440 slaves age 10+ in 1860, there were only 67,520. Excess 10+ “adult” mortality therefore removed 14,920 slaves.

#### B. *Childhood factors*

An estimate of the role of the shortage of children was developed by comparing the actual size of the 1860 population of the leading parishes with that which its 1850 population should have achieved by 1860 had it experienced typical U.S. slave growth rates. The 1850 population of the leading parishes was 73,829, and given the typical slave growth rate of 23.4 percent for the decade, it should have grown to 91,105 by 1860. Its 26,970 importations should, after arrival (typically at mid-point in the decade), have enjoyed half a decade’s growth, expanding therefore to become 30,125 slaves. The total expected 1860 population (including importations) was therefore 121,230 slaves, but the actual 1860 population was only 87,340—leaving a shortfall of 33,890 slaves. Since I have already attributed 14,920 of this shortfall to excess 10+ mortality, it follows that childhood factors accounted for the remaining 18,970. In other words, excess 10+ mortality accounted for some 44 percent of the deficit, with childhood factors accounting for the remaining 56 percent. I also showed (see earlier footnotes) that we can break down the childhood shortage to show that some 40 percent is attributable to the male-female ratio in the population, with the rest being accounted for by the combination of low fertility and infant mortality.

It should be added that had I chosen the 1840s for these calculations, it would at first sight have appeared that there was, in the overall result, a 30/70 split between the roles of excess 10-and-over mortality and childhood shortage. As the text above

has noted, however, it is probable that the level of slave importations has been underestimated for that decade, and in the calculation of weightings used in this appendix such an undercount would lead to an underestimate of the role of excess “adult” mortality. Even so, both the 1840s and 1850s patterns are in broad agreement: childhood shortage was even more important than excess “adult” mortality.

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## The Threads of Class at La Virgen: Misrepresentation and Identity at a Mexican Textile Mill, 1918–1935

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CHRISTOPHER R. BOYER

IN EARLY SEPTEMBER OF 1927, the morning shift of loom operators at the “La Virgen” textile mill in west-central Mexico abruptly declared a sit-down strike (*huelga de brazos caídos*). As the day wore on, a group of workers at the plant, which was located just outside the town of Ciudad Hidalgo, Michoacán, decided to write a letter to the president of the republic. They complained that the factory manager had fired an operative without just cause and beseeched his help in the name of “Organized Labor.”<sup>1</sup> A federal inspector soon arrived, convened a delegation of strikers, and inquired about their grievances. A memorandum was drawn up and signed by both the inspector and the delegation, explaining that the strike broke out when the manager attempted to “remove” loom operator Santiago Soto “from his place of work” without first contacting the proper union stewards. According to the memorandum, the workers demanded that the company rehire Soto and grant official recognition to their union, a local affiliate of the Mexican Regional Confederation of Labor, or CROM. At the time, the CROM was Mexico’s most powerful labor federation and a key supporter of the federal government. The controversy dragged on for ten days until the firm agreed to negotiate with the union and give Soto back his job.<sup>2</sup> A thick packet of reports and official memoranda filed with the Department of Labor detailed every phase of what appeared to be a straightforward labor action. In fact, though, the strike was bound up with a more intimate set of conflicts.

Everyone familiar with conditions at the mill knew that the strike was yet another incident in an ongoing feud between two factions of mill workers, each from a different region of the country. Most of the pro-CROM strikers were longtime residents of Ciudad Hidalgo and worked the first shift at the mill. Their opponents had

Previous versions of this article were presented at the University of Kansas Seminar on Social and Economic History and at the 1998 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. I would like to thank Margaret Chowning, Alex Saragoza, Michael Snodgrass, Amy Shannon, Drew Wood, and Sue Zschoche for their observations. I am particularly indebted to Matt Karush as well as the editors and anonymous reviewers of the *AHR*, whose comments allowed me to correct some inaccuracies and conceptual shortcomings. Errors that have escaped these dragnets are the result of my own dogged determination. Funds for research were provided by a Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Fellowship from the U.S. Department of Education and a University Small Research Grant from Kansas State University.

<sup>1</sup> J. Carmen Ugalde to Plutarco Elías Calles, September 7, 1927, caja 1159, ramo Departamento del Trabajo, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter, DT/AGN).

<sup>2</sup> “Acta,” September 19, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN; “Informe del Presidente Municipal de Ciudad Hidalgo,” October 25, 1927, 2.331.1 (13)-2, ramo Dirección General de Gobierno, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter, DGG/AGN).

immigrated to Michoacán from a neighboring state and mostly worked the second shift. These newcomers belonged to the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), a nominally anarcho-syndicalist workers' central that vied with the CROM for control of Mexico's organized labor. For nearly a decade before the 1927 strike, the two factions of workers had clashed over such issues as whether to collaborate with the postrevolutionary state, as the natives of Ciudad Hidalgo did, or whether to rely on paternalist relations with the factory owner, as the newcomers did. The rival workers had expressed their mutual animosity by stoning each others' houses, voting for different political candidates, and, ultimately, forming competing labor unions. The regionalist rivalry was also carried out in gendered terms, particularly when questions of sexuality and family honor came into play. Indeed, a few strikers confided to a municipal authority that the walkout did not begin as a labor dispute at all; rather, they said, it was touched off by "unimportant personal issues involving [Soto] and a female worker with whom the factory manager has [sexual] relations."<sup>3</sup>

It has become something of a commonplace for historians to think of "class" as a multiform cultural identity reflected in and structured by language. Many labor historians would agree with Gareth Stedman Jones's dictum, "It is not simply experience, but rather a particular linguistic ordering of experience" that constitutes the consciousness of working people.<sup>4</sup> Yet here we are confronted with a case in which workers produced two dissimilar though not necessarily incompatible linguistic orderings of events. One was an "official record" set forth in the memorandum and related documents signed by the workers. It described a labor action pure and simple, prompted by workers' sense of solidarity and outrage at the firing of one of their own number. This was a rendition of events that Mexico's postrevolutionary politicians could understand and to which they might respond.<sup>5</sup> The other version came to light through the workers' assertion that the strike had to do with "unimportant personal relations" between factory operatives. Their words hinted at a concealed history of backbiting between workers of different regional origins, expressed in this particular instance through gender relations. How can we reconcile these two interpretations of the same event?

The workers who subscribed to the memorandum in September 1927 cannot have

<sup>3</sup> Presidente Municipal to Enrique Ramírez, September 14, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>4</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, "Rethinking Chartism," in Jones, ed., *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge, 1983), 101. Other pathbreaking discussions of the role of language in structuring class identity are Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), especially the essay "On Language, Gender, and Working-Class History"; and William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, 1980). Synoptic discussions of the "linguistic turn" in labor history include Lenard R. Berlanstein, ed., *Rethinking Labor History: Essays on Discourse and Class Analysis* (Urbana, Ill., 1993); Geoff Eley, "Is All the World a Text? From Social History to the History of Society Two Decades Later," in Terrence J. McDonald, ed., *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996); and Bryan D. Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990). See also the debate on class in *Social History*, in 17–20 (May 1992–January 1995).

<sup>5</sup> My understanding of the "official record" is closely related to what James C. Scott calls the "public transcript." For Scott, however, the public transcript is the record of a discussion that takes place between dominant and subordinate actors. The official record I refer to is slightly different in that it is produced by two factions of workers (that is, two different groups of subordinate actors) who address their complaints *about each other* to politicians (that is, dominant actors). See Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990).

been ignorant of the pervasive regionalist tensions that triggered their strike. We can only conclude that the document's silence on these matters constitutes an attempt to create an official record that *misrepresented* the complex events at the mill. By "misrepresentation," I do not mean outright untruth. I mean instead the process of distortion that occurs when an event with multiple antecedents and many possible interpretations is more or less intentionally shorn of all but one particular meaning. Misrepresentation occurs when historical actors articulate a version of events or of their own actions that they know to be incomplete or misleading. In the case at hand, labor leaders at La Virgen repeatedly turned to political authorities in order to resolve what at root was a parochial conflict. If they hoped to gain the politicians' sympathies, they needed to portray events at the mill as part of a conflict between labor unions comprised of politically conscious workers, not a petty spat between two factions of operatives. As a result, the official record that purports to explain events at La Virgen is characterized by exaggeration, dissimulation, misplaced jargon, and the omission of pertinent information. Yet even though labor leaders went to extremes to tell politicians and bureaucrats what they wanted to hear, a close examination of the official record nonetheless reveals quite a bit about how workers' social identity was created. Workers found in due course that class-based discourse functioned very well to express a collective social identity. As time passed and they grew accustomed to the language of class (and once conditions within the mill had changed sufficiently), workers proved entirely capable of organizing around their common material interests. By then, the language of class functioned to promote worker solidarity rather than to misrepresent workplace factionalism.

I hope to achieve two purposes by elaborating a hermeneutics of misrepresentation. First, in emphasizing the misrepresentation of *events*, I want to signal the necessity of examining experience, in addition to discourse, in the construction of social identity. As Marshall Sahlins and, more recently, William Sewell have argued, some events are literally unprecedented. Such events unfold in unexpected ways that challenge established norms and thus cannot be apprehended within the existing frameworks of meaning through which people make sense of the world. As historical actors struggle to affix a coherent meaning to complex events that are difficult to comprehend, they must necessarily refashion and update these frameworks of meaning.<sup>6</sup> I argue that misrepresentation has an analogous potential to

<sup>6</sup> Anthropologists sometimes refer to these frameworks of meaning as cultural "structures." See William H. Sewell, Jr., "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille," *Theory and Society* 25 (December 1996): 840–81. Sewell's article builds on Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981), and its companion volume, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985). For a thoughtful application of this mode of thinking to the Mexican context, though in very different terms, see Alan Knight's discussions of "the logic of revolution" in *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), 1: 301–09; and 2: 5. Of course, it can be hard to establish what actually occurred in any given event sequence and even harder to reconstruct how historical actors perceived it. One need look no further than the controversy between Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere over the proper interpretation of the murder of Captain Cook. See Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); and Sahlins, *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, for Example* (Chicago, 1995). For an overview of this debate, see Robert Borofsky, "Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins," *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997): 255–65, as well as comments by Herb Kawainui Kane, Obeyesekere, Sahlins, and Borofsky in the same issue.

restructure the way individuals understand their own actions. To take the present example, there is reason to believe that workers did not unambiguously conceive of the 1927 strike as a movement for union recognition until after they had walked out over the firing of Soto. They initially understood their actions primarily in terms of the feud between locals and newcomers. Once the workers met with the federal inspector and chose to portray their behavior as a labor action rather than a regionalist tiff, however, they found it difficult to back down until they had achieved such ostensibly class-based demands as union recognition and the reinstatement of the fired worker. This sort of post facto adjustment to the meaning of events occurred again and again at the mill and eventually made it impossible to distinguish worker mobilizations based on regional origin from those based on self-conscious labor solidarity.

Second, the study of misrepresentation can help to specify how social identity is transformed when one set of social solidarities becomes expressed in terms of another. Historians have recognized for years that working people's sense of class is articulated in historically specific ways with other identities built around gender, ethnicity, and (in some instances), regional origin and local culture.<sup>7</sup> Latin America has proved a particularly fertile ground for such studies.<sup>8</sup> But the mechanisms through which workers' various social identities become intertwined have yet to be fully explained. Misrepresentation lies at the core of one such articulative process. Misrepresentation creates a linguistic bridge between previously discrete social identities and functions to map one onto another. It establishes an analogy that taps into the emotional capital bound up with one social solidarity and links or even transfers it to a new one. At La Virgen, for example, workers constructed solidarities in the early 1920s based on their regional origin. Local union leaders then misrepresented this regionalist tension through the language of class. Over time and through repeated acts of misrepresentation, these local leaders succeeded in grafting new, class-based meanings onto workers' behavior. This new sense of

<sup>7</sup> Historians often ignore regional origin as a social identity. For a notable exception, see Emily Honig, *Creating Chinese Ethnicity: Subei People in Shanghai, 1850–1980* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); and her discussion of analogous findings by other sinologists in "Regional Identity, Labor, and Ethnicity in Contemporary China," in Elizabeth J. Perry, ed., *Putting Class in Its Place: Worker Identities in East Asia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 228.

<sup>8</sup> Recent works that treat the intersection of gender and class in Latin America include Verena Stolcke, *Coffee Planters, Workers, and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations in São Paulo Plantations, 1850–1980* (New York, 1988); Joel Wolfe, *Working Women, Working Men: São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil's Industrial Working Class, 1900–1955* (Durham, N.C., 1993); Carmen Cinira Macedo, *A reprodução da desigualdade: O projeto de vida familiar de um grupo operário* (São Paulo, 1979); John D. French and Daniel James, eds., *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box* (Durham, 1997); and Heather Fowler-Salamini and Mary Kay Vaughan, eds., *Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850–1990: Creating Spaces, Shaping Transitions* (Tucson, Ariz., 1994). Some recent studies on class and ethnicity include George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison, Wis., 1980); and *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison, 1991); Jeffrey L. Gould, *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912–1979* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, 1992); Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba* (Princeton, N.J., 1985); and Winthrop R. Wright, *Café con Leche: Race, Class and National Image in Venezuela* (Austin, Tex., 1990). For studies that consider regional culture in addition to other identities, see Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951* (Durham, 1998); and June Nash, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines* (New York, 1979).

class proved far more durable than the small-town schism during which it was first invoked.

THE HALF-DOZEN BUILDINGS that made up the complex of La Virgen lay 5 kilometers outside the township of Ciudad Hidalgo, next to a river that meanders through foothills of northeastern Michoacán.<sup>9</sup> A coalition of regional and international investors built the factory in 1894 in the midst of Mexico's late nineteenth-century industrial boom. Located far from the great textile manufacturing centers in Mexico City and the states of Puebla and Veracruz, Ciudad Hidalgo had no nearby stock of experienced workers on which it could draw. The firm had to recruit a contingent of one hundred veteran workers from Puebla to get the mill running and teach the local weavers their new vocation. During La Virgen's heyday prior to the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920), it employed around a thousand people, a thin majority of whom appear to have been proletarianized textile artisans from Ciudad Hidalgo. Yet the local pool of skilled labor never fully met the mill's requirements in its first twenty years of operation, not least because shutdowns in 1902, 1907, and 1913 forced contingents of factory operatives to emigrate. When production returned to normal, the firm hired small groups of textile workers from other parts of Mexico and as far away as Italy.<sup>10</sup>

Work in the mill paid well by local standards, but the labor was demanding, closely regulated, and dangerous. The turn-of-the-century electrical wiring constantly threatened to set fast-burning fires in the workshops, even in the 1920s and 1930s. Cotton fiber filled the air in some buildings, and people who worked in them constantly suffered from respiratory disorders or diseases such as tuberculosis.<sup>11</sup> Apart from the physical dangers of textile work, foremen maintained strict discipline inside the factory. One operative later recalled that foremen locked the factory doors the moment a twelve-hour shift began. If a worker had not arrived on time, the foreman selected a substitute from the pool of men and women who always gathered at the entryway hoping for an extra shift. Any employee who missed three consecutive shifts was fired, no matter the reason.<sup>12</sup>

Despite harsh working conditions and the varied regional origins of La Virgen's prerevolutionary work force, no surviving evidence suggests that the operatives developed a particularly strong sense of regionalism or labor militancy before 1918 or so. This may have to do with the nature of mill work in Mexico around the beginning of the twentieth century. In the first place, textile workers numbered among Mexico's most mobile population, as a constant stream of experienced

<sup>9</sup> The name "Ciudad Hidalgo" is in fact an anachronism. The present municipality of Ciudad Hidalgo was known as Taximaroa until 1908. That year, the Michoacán state legislature changed the name to "Villa Hidalgo" in homage to the nineteenth-century Mexican insurgent Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. The name changed again in 1922, when the congress elevated the municipality from a "township" (*villa*) to a "city" (*ciudad*). For purposes of clarity, I will refer to the municipality as "Ciudad Hidalgo" throughout.

<sup>10</sup> José Alfredo Uribe Salas, *La industria textil en Michoacán, 1840–1910* (Morelia, Michoacán, 1983), 144–58; Ramón Alonso Pérez Escutia, *Taximaroa: Historia de un pueblo michoacano* (Morelia, Michoacán, 1986), 336.

<sup>11</sup> Uribe Salas, *La industria textil*, 169–70.

<sup>12</sup> Isael Zaldívar, interview with the author, Ciudad Hidalgo, February 21, 1995.



operatives, ex-artisans, and peasants-cum-workers moved among the great textile centers in central Mexico. Sometimes, they migrated to factories such as La Virgen in the more remote regions of the country as well. Many of these workers were unmarried, but entire families also migrated and sought employment together.<sup>13</sup> This constant movement took its toll, particularly at the smaller mills. It sometimes splintered factory operatives into regional factions such as those that later arose at La Virgen, and it tended to undermine attempts to organize effective labor unions.<sup>14</sup>

Paternalist relations between mill owners and employees also dampened labor militancy in the prerevolutionary period. Paternalism sprouted deep roots in most nineteenth-century mills and probably permeated the shop floor at La Virgen as well. Mill owners throughout Mexico took it upon themselves to oversee the "moral development" of their workers by providing them with a modest education, foodstuffs, churches, and credit at the company store.<sup>15</sup> Paternalism exercised a strong pull on workers because it derived from traditional, gendered family roles and established Catholic precepts that cast employers as the paterfamilias of "their" workers. Indeed, clerics often voiced support for non-confrontational industrial relations.<sup>16</sup> Still, paternalist gestures could not always forestall labor discontent. The largest and most modern mills in the industrial heartland of central Mexico proved to be particularly infertile grounds for the development of personal relationships between workers and their typically foreign and absentee employers. Textile operatives declared more strikes than any other industrial workers during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1910), and the biggest factories of the textile sector were the crucible of some of nineteenth-century Mexico's most well-organized unions.<sup>17</sup> One especially militant unionization effort in the region of Río Blanco, Veracruz, in 1906–1907 resulted in a strike followed by an acrimonious employers' lockout. The episode ended in a confrontation between mill operatives and the federal army that left scores of workers dead and revealed the brutal underside of the Díaz regime.<sup>18</sup>

The slaughter at Río Blanco echoed at La Virgen, where workers formed an

<sup>13</sup> Bernardo García Díaz, *Un pueblo fabril del porfiriato: Santa Rosa, Veracruz* (Mexico City, 1981), 30–41; Mario Trujillo Bolio, *Operarios fabriles en el valle de México, 1864–1884* (Mexico City, 1997), 91–165; Carmen Ramos Escandón, *La industria textil y el movimiento obrero en México* (Iztapalapa, 1988), 72–77.

<sup>14</sup> Bernardo Díaz, "Migraciones internas a Orizaba y formación de la clase obrera en el Porfiriato," in Victoria Novelo, ed., *Historia y cultura obrera* (Mexico City, 1999), 117.

<sup>15</sup> Dawn Keremitsis, *La industria textil mexicana en el siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1973), 212 and 212–15 generally.

<sup>16</sup> On paternalism in Mexican labor relations, see Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 13–26; William E. French, *A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1996), 63–85; and Michael Snodgrass, "The Birth and Consequences of Industrial Paternalism in Monterrey, Mexico, 1890–1940," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 52 (Spring 1998): 115–36. For a careful discussion of the intertwining of material and religious paternalism, see Todd A. Diacon, *Millenarian Vision, Capitalist Reality: Brazil's Contestado Rebellion, 1912–1916* (Durham, N.C., 1991), esp. 37–43.

<sup>17</sup> Rodney D. Anderson, *Outcasts in Their Own Land: Mexican Industrial Workers, 1906–1911* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976), 68–97.

<sup>18</sup> Anderson, *Outcasts*, 103–10, 137–71; García Díaz, *Un pueblo fabril*, 87–155; Moisés González Navarro, *Historia moderna de México*, Daniel Cosío Villegas, ed., Vol. 4: *El Porfiriato: La vida social* (Mexico City, 1957), 322–38.

organization to protest the killings and mounted a short strike of their own.<sup>19</sup> Yet the protest appears to have been the mill's only major labor action before a devastating fire in 1906 and a revolution-induced cotton shortage drove its owners into bankruptcy. The tradition of labor quiescence at La Virgen evaporated in the postrevolutionary years, however. In 1918, Spanish-born financier Eusebio González bought the mill after a fire destroyed the textile factory he had owned in Salvatierra, a small town in the neighboring state of Guanajuato. In addition to giving La Virgen a new lease on life, he brought hundreds of skilled workers with him to Ciudad Hidalgo. Soon afterward, labor unrest associated with regional factionalism became a part of daily life at the mill.

The Salvatierran workers packed up their belongings, right down to dogs and cats, and trundled them the 60 kilometers to Ciudad Hidalgo. They soon made up around half the work force of the mill.<sup>20</sup> They apparently concluded that their new home differed in key respects from Salvatierra, which was located in the heart of a region of Mexico known as the Bajío. The hacienda and the church had been the preeminent social institutions in the Bajío for hundreds of years. The region was a bastion of Hispanic traditionalism as well as of two major Catholic movements that affected most of western Mexico in the postrevolutionary years: the 1926–1929 Cristero guerrilla war fought by religiously devoted peasants and a smattering of middle-class Catholics against the federal government, and a reactionary social movement of the 1940s known as Sinarquismo. Both of these movements rejected the secular, modernizing, and class-based ideology that postrevolutionary politicians promoted.<sup>21</sup> Salvatierra itself was the permanent seat of a parochial district and home to at least one major church-run development project, a peasant credit cooperative inspired by the social Catholicism associated with the 1891 encyclical *Rerum novarum* of Pope Leo XIII.<sup>22</sup>

Ciudad Hidalgo had a less traditional mien. Both geographically and culturally, the town was situated on the periphery of the Bajío. The impoverished haciendas around Ciudad Hidalgo employed only a handful of laborers and did not have the same influence on local society as their Salvatierran counterparts.<sup>23</sup> La Virgen was the linchpin of the municipal economy, which also supported several small-scale logging companies, dry goods stores, and cottage industries producing everything

<sup>19</sup> Uribe Salas, *La industria textil*, 154, 185; Pérez Escutia, *Taximaroa*, 334–36.

<sup>20</sup> The newcomers numbered somewhere between 175 and 250 of the 500 or so workers at La Virgen during the early 1920s. See “Informe” of Inspector de Trabajo Melitón V. Romero, March 10, 1923; and “Informe” of J. Rodríguez, April 16, 1923, both in caja 685, exp. 6, DT/AGN.

<sup>21</sup> See Pablo Serrano Álvarez, *La batalla del espíritu: El movimiento sinarquista en el Bajío (1932–1951)*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1992); D. A. Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: León, 1700–1860* (Cambridge, 1978); Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire*; and Luis González, *Pueblo en viño: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (Mexico City, 1968).

<sup>22</sup> Edmundo Contreras to Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, May 22, 1924, caja 39, exp. 308. Fondo Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, Archivo Histórico de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City. On social Catholicism, see Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, *El Catolicismo social: Un tercero en discordia; Rerum Novarum, la “cuestión social” y la movilización de los católicos mexicanos (1891–1911)* (Mexico City, 1991); Jean Meyer, *La Cristiada*, 3 vols. (Mexico City, 1973–74), 2: 212–31; and González Navarro, *El Porfiriato*, 360–68.

<sup>23</sup> See Santiago Monterrosa to Departamento del Trabajo, Mexico City, November 29, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN; and “Informe” of Melitón V. Romero to Departamento del Trabajo, March 10, 1923, caja 685, exp. 6, DT/AGN.

from bottled mineral water to bricks.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the church cast less of a shadow over local affairs. To be sure, some of Ciudad Hidalgo's residents participated in the Cristero war and the Sinarquista movement, but the town lacked any notable social Catholic organizations such as Salvatierra's peasant cooperative. The parish church contended with a shortage of funds throughout the nineteenth century, and its religious confraternities had all but evaporated by 1900.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, unlike the state of Guanajuato, Michoacán was a fountainhead of postrevolutionary populism. One of the revolution's preeminent intellectuals, Francisco J. Múgica, served as governor from 1920 to 1922 and helped to organize a self-sustaining agrarian movement made up of peasants who often dabbled with socialist rhetoric and anticlericalism.<sup>26</sup> Lázaro Cárdenas, who eventually became postrevolutionary Mexico's most radical president (1934–1940), was governor between 1928 and 1932, during which time he tested out the brand of corporatist populism he would later use to transform the Mexican political system.<sup>27</sup>

Although the contrast between the local cultures of Ciudad Hidalgo and Salvatierra should not be overdrawn, González's management style brought regional differences to the fore. The mill owner offered his longtime employees some special inducements to make the move to Michoacán and treated them differently once they arrived. By 1921, 193 adult émigrés from Salvatierra (98 males and 95 females) lived in the small settlement surrounding the mill complex. He allowed these newcomers to move into the abandoned company housing adjacent to the factory.<sup>28</sup> They were soon joined by a much smaller contingent of immigrants from the mill town of Atlixco, Puebla, who were almost certainly members of the CGT.<sup>29</sup> González made sure that Salvatierrans received most of the top salaried positions at the mill.<sup>30</sup> Finally, he boosted the little colony of newcomers by arranging for women from nearby peasant villages to set up a Saturday produce

<sup>24</sup> Pérez Escutia, *Taximaroa*, 310–40.

<sup>25</sup> Pérez Escutia, *Taximaroa*, 214–19, 227–33.

<sup>26</sup> On Michoacán's agrarian movement, see Christopher R. Boyer, "Old Loves, New Loyalties: Agrarismo in Michoacán, 1920–1928," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 78 (August 1998): 419–55; Paul Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (Chicago, 1977); and Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham, N.C., 1999). On Guanajuato's, see Francisco Javier Meyer Cosío, *Tradición y progreso: La reforma agraria en Acámbaro, Guanajuato (1915–1941)* (Mexico City, 1993).

<sup>27</sup> On Cárdenas's government in Michoacán, see Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire*; Christopher R. Boyer, *Fields of the Revolution: Land, Class, and Citizenship in Agrarian Michoacán, 1920–1935* (forthcoming), chaps. 6–7; and Eitan Ginzberg, "Abriendo nuevos surcos: Ideología, política y labor social de Lázaro Cárdenas en Michoacán, 1928–1932," *Historia mexicana* 48 (January–March 1999): 567–633.

<sup>28</sup> See list of residences of signatories of "Acta destacada notarial por receptoría, referente a la constitución del 'Sindicato de Obreros Progresistas de la Fábrica 'La Virgen''" (hereafter, "Progresistas"), February 28, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>29</sup> L. Zingúñegui Tercero, *Zinapécuaro: Sus riquezas, su historia, su porvenir* (Mexico City, 1922), 91, 130; "Informe" of Santiago Monterrosa, November 29, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN. The Atlixco workers arrived in 1922, the same year that a CGT-sanctioned strike in Atlixco led to massive layoffs of workers. See José Rivera Castro, *La clase obrera en la historia de México*, Vol. 8: *En la presidencia de Plutarco Elías Calles (1924–1928)* (Mexico City, 1983), 121.

<sup>30</sup> The weaving room supervisor, chief security guard, and at least one shift manager were Salvatierran natives; a handbill noted that the daughters of mill administrators were Salvatierran natives, and several observers commented on the close affinity between the Salvatierran operatives and the white-collar workers of the mill. See "Copia . . . de la causa instruida contra el administrador de la Fábrica 'La Virgen' . . .," caja 1159, DT/AGN.

market next to the complex; that way, workers would not have to make the trip to the municipal market in Ciudad Hidalgo proper.

That González intended his conduct to fit within the framework of traditional paternalist relations was made clear by his promotion of religious institutions. In an uncommon procedure for the times, he channeled 10 percent of workers' salaries (the traditional *diezmo* tithe) to build a church near the mill and to contract the services of a priest. He also countenanced or actively encouraged the creation of a mutual aid society, which the Salvatierran workers probably brought with them from the old mill. Such "worker's circles," often inspired by social Catholic precepts, were intended to harmonize relations between workers and owners and act as a balm to class conflict.<sup>31</sup> These policies had tangible advantages for the Salvatierrans. They received housing, education, easy access to commerce, and spiritual ministrations right at the mill. It is not likely that González's actions similarly benefited the workers from Ciudad Hidalgo, most or all of whom lived in town and traveled 5 kilometers to work. The locals already had their own churches, schools, and markets in town, and they may well have looked askance at the garnishing of their wages to pay for such services at the mill. Nor did the locals have much of a voice in the workers' mutual aid society. Its secretary general was a foreman and Salvatierran native who continued to lead Salvatierran-controlled labor organizations during the contentious years to come.<sup>32</sup>

The Salvatierrans appear to have responded to González's paternalism in kind. They often addressed him as "Papa Chevo" (the Spanish-language diminutive of Eusebio), thus casting him as their symbolic father. Even seventy years later, one ex-operative fondly recalled the company picnics he provided.<sup>33</sup> Paternalist relations did come under strain when workers pressed for higher wages, but even then labor leaders cast their demands within the larger framework of paternalism. A 1923 missive that Salvatierran workers sent the owner in the aftermath of a minor wage dispute began on a deferential note by expressing "the hope that your benevolence will not weary [*fastidie*] of us" and ended with a filial "in anticipation of your favors as always."<sup>34</sup> Such verbal cues placed the letter squarely within the idiom of paternal relations and may have helped to remind González that his symbolic duty to exercise forbearance and generosity occasionally needed to be expressed in material terms as well. The workers from Ciudad Hidalgo showed decidedly less enthusiasm for Papa Chevo. The locals apparently resented what they viewed as González's preferential treatment of the newcomers. By 1921, local authorities began to complain of worker factionalism at the mill.<sup>35</sup> Instead of asking the factory owner to redress their grievances, however, the locals turned to the government.

In 1923, the two groups of operatives took diametrical positions during the first

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Zaldívar; see also Marjorie Ruth Clark, *Organized Labor in Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934), 86–91.

<sup>32</sup> "Acta 38: Constitución del Sindicato de Obreros Independientes de la Fabrica de Hilados y Tejidos 'La Virgen,'" September 9, 1925, portfolio entitled "Juez de 1a Instancia, 1925," Archivo Municipal de Zitácuaro; *El Trabajador* (Morelia) (March 13, 1927): 1.

<sup>33</sup> Luis Martínez, interview by the author, Ciudad Hidalgo, February 21, 1995.

<sup>34</sup> Carlos Rico, *et al.*, to Eusebio González, February 14, 1923, caja 685, exp. 6, DT/AGN.

<sup>35</sup> Presidente Municipal Vidalgo Francisco Patiño to Secretaría de Gobernación, July 7, 1921, B.2.51–198, DGG/AGN.

major labor dispute of González's tenure. The problem began during one of the frequent instances in which factory administrators idled the mill for economic reasons. As the stoppage stretched on, the locals decided to demand their constitutionally mandated severance pay, equivalent to three months' salary. The Salvatierrans wanted to relinquish their severance wages in exchange for train fares and letters of recommendation to the big mills in the distant states of Veracruz or Puebla.<sup>36</sup> At this juncture, the Ciudad Hidalgo faction inaugurated the tradition of inscribing a spurious public record of events at the mill. According to Salvatierran labor leaders, a group of Ciudad Hidualgans circulated a petition that purported to ask González to reopen the mill. Nearly all the operatives signed. But instead of sending the document to González, the locals affixed the signatures to a petition that requested payment of the severance wages and sent it to the state labor arbitration board (*junta de conciliación y arbitraje*). The Salvatierrans angrily retracted their signatures as soon as they realized how their rivals had put them to use.<sup>37</sup> The native workers' gambit failed, but the particular thrust of their trickery merits attention: they had used the familiar idiom of paternalism (a request for the mill owner's indulgence) to convince their counterparts to sign a document that misrepresented workers' attitudes to political outsiders.

Whereas the Ciudad Hidalgo workers regarded government officials as useful allies, the newcomers distrusted bureaucrats. Salvatierran labor leaders often complained that the municipal authorities of Ciudad Hidalgo catered to the native sons whenever troubles arose at the mill. The newcomers told a federal inspector who arrived in midst of the severance pay dispute that they "constantly had to endure abuse" at the hands of locals. They cited several instances in which municipal authorities refused to punish Ciudad Hidalgo natives who had stoned their houses. But it turned out that the inspector had no greater sympathy for their plight than the municipal officials did. He sided with the Ciudad Hidalgo natives and accused the Salvatierrans of colluding with the mill owner, reporting to his superiors that "the workers from Zalvatierra [*sic*] assent to the directives given by the company management, which upsets the group of workers from C[iudad] Hidalgo." He also wrote that the Salvatierran workers had "fallen under the influence" of the company priest, who "never misses an opportunity to lecture the workers and who used his sermon [last] Sunday to counsel the workers to reject the indemnity to which they have a right."<sup>38</sup> Most subsequent labor inspectors shared his attitude. In the midst of the troubles of 1927, the Department of Labor sent a Michoacán native with socialist credentials to investigate labor strife at the mill. This was hardly the sort of individual who might treat the Salvatierrans impartially. True to form, the inspector accused the newcomers of collusion with the mill owner and characterized them as "the Company's toadies [*instrumentos*]," of manifesting an "utterly clericalist disposition," and therefore of being "enemies of the current Government."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Inspector del Trabajo J. Rodríguez to Departamento del Trabajo, April 11, 1923, caja 685, exp. 6, DT/AGN.

<sup>37</sup> Rodríguez to Departamento del Trabajo, April 11, 1923. See a similar case in Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt*, 113–15.

<sup>38</sup> "Informe" of J. Rodríguez, April 16, 1923, caja 685, exp. 6, DT/AGN.

<sup>39</sup> Nicolás Ballasteros to Departamento del Trabajo, July 4, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.



By 1923, a clear line of regionalist animosity divided the two cliques of workers at La Virgen. The natives of Ciudad Hidalgo believed that the newcomers colluded with the mill owner to sustain the paternalist status quo and win all manner of perks. They readily turned to the good offices of the postrevolutionary bureaucracy if they thought it would help their case. On the other hand, the Salvatierran leaders perceived an unholy alliance between the native workers and various government officials who, they thought, intended to threaten their relationship with the owner and perhaps their religious practices as well. The workers' growing regionalist solidarities were soon reinforced by gendered conflicts that erupted in the mid-1920s. At issue was the protection of women's honor and control of female sexuality.

FOUR YEARS AFTER the Salvatierran workers arrived at the mill, the elections for the Michoacán state legislature pitted a young revolutionary firebrand from a notable Ciudad Hidalgo family against an established, old regime politician from another nearby town. The newcomers from Salvatierra supported the old-guard candidate, much to the disgust of the native workers. One day as the elections neared in 1922, a group of rowdies from Ciudad Hidalgo forced the daughters of Salvatierran labor leaders to drive their car off the road. The assailants, who were partisans of the local candidate, pointed pistols at the young women and ordered them to shout hurrahs for their man. Afterward, they apparently let the women go with no further ado. In response, the Salvatierran labor leaders and their political allies published a handbill entitled "Announcement to the Nation: Is There a Movement Afoot to Drown the Popular Will in Blood and Filth?" The Salvatierrans qualified the roadside encounter as "an unspeakable assault committed against . . . a group of helpless women, who were nearly the victims of a scandal [*desgracia*] when they were accosted in the middle of a public roadway" and charged that their adversaries had turned to violence because their candidate lacked popular support.<sup>40</sup>

The Salvatierran union leaders' blustery characterization of the event seems a bit overstated, given the circumstances. The assailants had not physically harmed the young women, after all, yet the Salvatierran men nonetheless described the episode as "unspeakable" and, moreover, emphasized their daughters' feminized helplessness through their allusion to an unnamed but potentially sexual "*desgracia*." All in all, the handbill seems more like an attempt to make political hay against its enemies than an actual appeal for justice. Its title misrepresented the local toughs' attack on the young women as an exclusively political event—an assault on the "popular will" of the "nation"—even though the document itself implied that feminine purity and regionalism were the main issues at stake. In this way, the document's writers recruited powerful notions of sexual integrity and family honor and placed them at the service of the political exigencies of the moment.

Women comprised about 5 percent of the work force of La Virgen in the mid-1920s, and they belonged to both the CROM and the CGT-affiliated unions.

<sup>40</sup> "Manifiesto a la Nación: ¿Se Pretende Ahogar en Sangre y Fango la Voluntad Popular?" June 20, 1922, B.2.74.1-13, DGG/AGN.

They were concentrated in the early phases of the production process, mainly in drawing and spinning cotton thread into yarns and applying sizing to them. They also transported materials within the factory and trimmed the finished bolts of fabric.<sup>41</sup> As a result, men and women, Salvatierrans and Ciudad Hídalgo alike, worked in close proximity with each other.<sup>42</sup> In an atmosphere heavy with factionalism and intrigue, gender relations became a powder keg. Men came to regard the protection of women's honor and the surveillance of women's sexuality as a domain in which to perpetuate their respective group's integrity and to contest that of their rivals. As mentioned before, an overt contest over control of women's sexuality underlay the strike in September 1927. The confrontation took place at a critical moment in labor union politics at the mill. In the months preceding the strike, factory management had repeatedly refused to negotiate a labor contract with the CROM workers on the grounds that the CGT represented the entire work force. Shop floor tensions had risen apace.<sup>43</sup>

In the midst of this agitation, Santiago Soto, a leader of the CROM workers' faction, quarreled with Refugio Olvera, a woman who managed the bobbin dispensary. Olvera was a native of Salvatierra, a member of the CGT, and also the lover of plant manager José Giraud. According to the anarchists' version of the event, Soto (who was a native of Puebla but a member of the Ciudad Hídalgo clique) grew angry one day when Olvera could not give him a full quota of fresh bobbins for his loom. An enraged Soto was said to have pushed his way through the window to Olvera's compartment, paused "to insult her with obscene words" (no doubt some unflattering reference to her relationship with Giraud), and grabbed up the first bobbins he could find.<sup>44</sup> The CROM workers' version had it that Olvera refused to give Soto the yarn he needed for his loom, so he merely picked up some bobbins that were lying on a nearby countertop. At another point, they alleged that Giraud tried to force Soto to leave the factory by sabotaging his loom and then ordering him to leave his post.<sup>45</sup> Whatever the case, the firm fired Soto for his role in the fracas. The CROM workers refused to work the rest of their shift, and a tussle broke out the following day when Giraud refused to meet with a group of CROM partisans.<sup>46</sup>

A labor inspector who investigated the matter discovered that this was not the first time the Soto family had tangled with the plant manager over issues of women's sexuality. Before he became the lover of Refugio Olvera, Giraud had carried on an illicit sexual affair with Santiago Soto's sister-in-law. Once Santiago Soto's brother, Amado, learned about the liaison, he divorced his wife and pledged his undying

<sup>41</sup> "Acta destacada . . .," March 5, 1927; and "Lista General de los obreros de la Fábrica de Algodón 'La Virgen,'" November 14, 1927, both in caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>42</sup> See also Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, "Talking, Fighting, Flirting: Workers' Sociability in Medellín Textile Mills, 1935–1950," in French and James, *Gendered Worlds*.

<sup>43</sup> "Progresistas" to Enrique Ramírez, June 28, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>44</sup> For example, *El trabajador*, March 6 and 13, 1927; and "Progresistas" to Departamento del Trabajo, September 28, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>45</sup> Carmen Ugalde to Plutarco Elías Calles, Ciudad Hídalgo, September 7, 1927; Presidente Municipal to Enrique Ramírez, September 14, 1927; and "Acta" September 19, 1927, all in caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>46</sup> "Copia . . . de la causa instruida contra el administrador de la Fábrica 'La Virgen' . . .," caja 1159, DT/AGN.

hatred for Giraud. But the episode had already revealed Amado's inability to control his wife's sexuality. To make matters worse from his perspective, it was rumored that his wife took up with the manager at the suggestion of her mother.<sup>47</sup> If this is true, it raises the intriguing possibility that the two women may have deliberately chosen to use Refugio's body—perhaps a woman's most negotiable asset in 1920s Mexico—to break away from an unsatisfactory marriage and move up in the world.

The history of bad blood between the Soto family and Giraud lay at the root of the 1927 altercation in the bobbin dispensary. Olvera clearly knew about the grudge between the various parties. According to a relatively impartial labor inspector, she had cultivated "ill-will and jealousy against the whole Soto family, and she always sought to make trouble for them."<sup>48</sup> The inspector's observations suggest that Olvera knowingly exploited the insecurity that the Soto men felt at having one of their number cuckolded by a leader of the anti-Ciudad Hidalgo, anti-CROM contingent. A man's inability to control his wife's behavior was regarded as humiliating in its own right, and as the roadside confrontation between Ciudad Hidalgo men and Salvatierran women had demonstrated five years previously, regionalist solidarities were defined in part by men's attempts to safeguard "their" women's sexuality. Thus the sexual dynamic that underlay Soto's firing further politicized the limits of male workers' patriarchy and rearticulated family honor as yet another component of regionalist solidarity. Yet we cannot ignore the fact that the scandal took place against the backdrop of a fierce competition to determine whether the owner of La Virgen would tolerate the formation of the Ciudad Hideos' labor union and accept a national, CROM-brokered labor contract for the textile sector.

TWO PRINCIPAL FACTORS made it attractive for operatives at La Virgen to embed their feud within the discourse of union politics and class consciousness. First, there was a close symmetry between the schism on the shop floor of La Virgen and the trajectory of Mexico's organized labor movement in the mid-1920s. A rivalry had simmered for years between the nation's two largest labor federations, and it reached the boiling point at mid-decade when CROM leader Luis Morones was promoted to minister of Industry, Commerce, and Labor. Morones's cabinet post, in addition to his close personal ties with President Plutarco Elías Calles (1924–1928), gave the CROM a decisive advantage over the anarcho-syndicalist CGT, whose membership had begun to dwindle even before that time. Second, to a far greater extent than any of his predecessors, Calles celebrated class struggle in his political oratory. His class-based political discourse set the ideological tone for his administration and molded the sorts of language workers might use to good effect when they communicated with labor inspectors and politicians.

The alliance between the president and organized labor had been a long time in the making. Calles belonged to the dynasty of revolutionary leaders from the state

<sup>47</sup> "Informe" of Santiago Monterrosa, November 29, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>48</sup> "Informe" of Santiago Monterrosa, November 29, 1927.

of Sonora who rotated in the presidency between 1920 and 1928. In 1915, his political mentor had forged a pact with what was then Mexico's largest labor organization, a gambit that led to the fielding of symbolically important but militarily indecisive "Red Battalions" of workers to fight Pancho Villa's legions.<sup>49</sup> This relationship soon soured, but the revolutionaries nonetheless included in Article 123 of the Constitution of 1917 provisions for an eight-hour day, the right to unionize, a minimum wage, and the establishment of labor arbitration boards. Moreover, Calles himself believed that the controlled unionization of ostensibly class-conscious workers would both set the nation down the path of modernization and build a populist coalition to support his regime. Indeed, he had promoted organized labor for most of his political career. He arranged the alliance between Sonorans and the CROM in 1919, and he used the various ministries he held between 1919 and 1923 to pave the way for the organization's expansion. Calles protected CROM-affiliated unions and tolerated a low level of strike activity during most of his administration, though the relationship broke down in the end.<sup>50</sup> His public discourse therefore made ample use of the rhetoric of class. In a campaign speech in Michoacán, for example, he declared that the "working classes" made up the "soul and nervous system" of the nation, albeit ones whose "material and intellectual level" left something to be desired.<sup>51</sup>

The CROM's style of business unionism was conceived in the mold of the American Federation of Labor. The organization's prime mover, Luis Morones, believed that the relative smallness of Mexico's industrial proletariat demanded ideological flexibility and a willingness to cooperate with the government in order to win political concessions for workers. He handled his station with a pragmatism that veered increasingly into corruption as the years went by. The organization grew rapidly, and in 1924 it claimed a (no doubt inflated) membership well in excess of a million workers, enough to make it by far the most important labor central in the country.<sup>52</sup> Morones also espoused the extremist anticlericalism that pervaded the Calles administration. In 1925, a group of CROM-affiliated radicals founded a schismatic church intended to mitigate the hegemony of Roman Catholicism, much to the dismay of the clergy and a good portion of the Mexican populace.<sup>53</sup> Morones's collaboration with Calles was cut short only in 1928 after it became clear Morones would not be named heir to the presidency. The CROM leader consummated his fall from grace by resigning his ministry only days after his political enemies accused him of masterminding the assassination of Mexico's president elect, whose death at the hands of a religious fanatic threw the nation into a severe

<sup>49</sup> On the alliance between the constitutionalists and the Casa del Obrero Mundial, see John M. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860–1931* (Austin, Tex., 1978), 126–36; Barry Carr, *El movimiento obrero y la política en México, 1910–1929* (Mexico City, 1976), 57–72; and Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, 2: 316–21.

<sup>50</sup> Carr, *El movimiento obrero*, 82–86, 127 and following; Clark, *Organized Labor*, 45–147; and Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *Labor and the Ambivalent Revolutionaries in Mexico* (Baltimore, 1976).

<sup>51</sup> "Las clases trabajadores son el nervio de la nación," in Carlos Macías, ed., *Plutarco Elías Calles: Pensamiento político y social: Antología (1913–36)*, abridged edn. (Mexico City, 1992), 95–96.

<sup>52</sup> On the CROM, see Gregg Andrews, *Shoulder to Shoulder? The American Federation of Labor, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1924* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 82–123; Carr, *El movimiento obrero*, 108–34; and Rocío Guadarrama, *Los sindicatos y la política en México: La CROM (1918–1928)* (Mexico City, 1981).

<sup>53</sup> Meyer, *La Cristiada*, 2: 143–66.

political crisis. As the dust began to settle, Calles emerged as the *éminence grise* of national politics, making the CROM and Morones superfluous. The labor federation's fortunes waned along with those of its leader, although it never completely withered away and remained a force to be reckoned with well into the 1930s.

The CGT was founded in 1921 by anarcho-syndicalist and communist leaders in Mexico City specifically as a radical alternative to the CROM's accommodating and partisan unionism. The communists soon withdrew, leaving the CGT to wage an arduous and increasingly futile battle against its officially sanctioned rival. Textile workers from Mexico City and the state of Puebla formed its strongest core of supporters, followed by trolley operators and a smattering of other workers based for the most part in Mexico City. The central was established with a claimed membership of 50,000 and 43 affiliate unions and soon distinguished itself for political independence and a hardline stance against the religious right.<sup>54</sup> Yet these early successes masked fundamental weaknesses in leadership, organizational capacity, and ability to withstand governmental aggression, all of which put the CGT into decline as early as 1923.<sup>55</sup> In 1925, CROM supporters took advantage of the federal government's thinly veiled support and began to undermine the CGT on a number of fronts. Street fights became an almost weekly occurrence in Mexico City as the CROM tried to penetrate textile mills there. That same year, the government struck another blow by declaring that only unions that represented a majority of a firm's workers would secure official recognition. This meant in practice that the CGT lost its legal standing wherever it had a minority presence on the shop floor. Beleaguered on all sides, the CGT by the end of the decade had lost most of its membership, its union discipline, and its commitment to direct action.<sup>56</sup>

If workers at La Virgen hoped to gain ascendancy for their faction in this superheated political atmosphere, they had little alternative but to join one national labor federation or the other and to pitch their public rhetoric accordingly. Whichever group could claim to represent a majority of workers at the factory would theoretically win the exclusive right to negotiate labor contracts and govern the shop floor on behalf of the entire work force. The Salvatierran faction acted first. In August 1925, union leaders reorganized the internal statutes of the mill's mutual aid society, rechristened it the "Syndicate of Free Laborers," and affiliated with the CGT.<sup>57</sup> Since the Salvatierran workers were devout Catholics with little interest in changing their comfortable, patriarchal relationship with "Papa Chevo," their alliance with a national anarchist labor central renowned for its dedication to anticlericalism and class warfare might seem like an odd choice. Nevertheless, by joining the anarchist CGT, Salvatierran workers could squelch allegations by labor inspectors and partisan journalists that they were ideologically retrograde simple-

<sup>54</sup> Rivera Castro, *La clase obrera*, 114–19; Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class*, 159–77; Guillermina Baena Paz, "La Confederación General de Trabajadores, 1921–1931," *Revista mexicana de ciencias políticas y sociales* 83 (1976): 113–86.

<sup>55</sup> Rivera Castro, *La clase obrera*, 133–37.

<sup>56</sup> Rosendo Salazar, *Historia de las luchas proletarias de México, 1923 a 1936*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1938–56), 1: 191–210; Clark, *Organized Labor*, 83–85.

<sup>57</sup> On the origins of the syndicate, see writ of *amparo* by Arturo Valenzuela, December 4, 1925, caja 233, exp. 7, ramo Amparos, Archivo Histórico del Poder Ejecutivo del Estado de Michoacán, Morelia (hereafter, A/AHPPEM); and writ of *amparo* by Arturo Valenzuela, December 11, 1926, caja 253, exp. 7, and caja 257, exp. 10, A/AHPPEM.



tons who kowtowed to factory administrators. Like the Salvatierrans, the CGT's national leadership usually found itself at odds with the federal labor bureaucracy. Nor was national leadership in any position to place ideological restrictions on the Salvatierran workers. Although the CGT had originated as a radical alternative to the CROM, by the mid-1920s its directorate desperately needed as many new recruits as it could muster. The organization's national leaders made repeated trips to the mill, but they showed no inclination to discipline its La Virgen affiliate just because its members committed a few ideological peccadilloes. Finally, it appears that the factory administrators gave at least tacit blessing to the new anarchist union and willingly negotiated labor contracts with it. The relationship between the union and the factory owner was so cozy that González's opponents claimed he had organized it himself.<sup>58</sup>

Only a few months after the formation of La Virgen's CGT affiliate (which the factory administration allegedly ordered all workers to join or face dismissal), the Ciudad Hidalgo natives decided to split off and form their own union.<sup>59</sup> In December 1925, a number of workers calling themselves members of the CROM appeared before the state labor arbitration board to demand back pay after they had lost some shifts at the mill. This group soon declared a short and ultimately failed strike to demand company recognition for their union, even though they had no legal standing to negotiate on behalf of mill operatives.<sup>60</sup> A few months later, a brief gunfight broke out between the rival factions that left one worker wounded on the shop floor.<sup>61</sup>

The unionization efforts at La Virgen soon attracted the attention of political outsiders, who had a vested interest in portraying the rivalry at the mill as an ideological battle between two factions of militant and ideologically sophisticated workers. Even though the CGT's weakness in the late 1920s hobbled its effectiveness as a political advocate, several of its regional affiliates wrote President Calles on behalf of the local at La Virgen complaining of the "brutal attacks" on "class-conscious workers" there.<sup>62</sup> The CROM leadership was far more vocal in defense of its partisans. In early 1927, the CROM's official newspaper in Michoacán published a series of articles excoriating the mill owner and the pro-CGT workers. The paper charged that the "filthy Spaniard" (*gachupín*) González had "provoked" the split between workers.<sup>63</sup> A few days later, it declared that the anarchists' actions were not those of "[class-]conscious workers" (*obreros concientes*) but rather of "pariahs and slaves who wish to kiss the whip that flogs them." The newspaper denounced the anarchists as the "unthinking instruments" of the mill owner and charged that their actions undermined the regional movement for workers' "emancipation and improvement."<sup>64</sup> About this time, the CROM's national direc-

<sup>58</sup> *El trabajador* (March 6, 1927): 1.

<sup>59</sup> "Informe" of Santiago Monterrosa to Departamento del Trabajo, November 26, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>60</sup> "Informe" of Presidente Municipal Pascual Abascal, October 28, 1926, caja 253, exp. 7, A/AHPM.

<sup>61</sup> *Argos* (Zitácuaro) (February 14, 1926): 5.

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, Sindicato de Obreros y Obreras de la Fábrica "El Merino" and Trabajadores de la Fábrica "El Pilar" to Secretario de Gobernación, July 1927, 2.331.8(13)-3, DGG/AGN.

<sup>63</sup> *El trabajador* (March 6, 1927): 1.

<sup>64</sup> *El trabajador*, March 6 and 13, and May 19, 1927.

torate wrote President Calles to allege that “communist” CGT workers in conjunction with the factory administration (an unlikely combination!) had undertaken a “formidable” effort to hobble “the genuine Representatives of the national workers’ movement.”<sup>65</sup> Thus, while the two national labor federations differed on matters of doctrine, they agreed that the conflict at the textile mill revolved fundamentally around the question of how best to promote workers’ class interests. Regional conflict simply did not fit within such an ideological schema.

IT IS IN THIS HISTORICAL CONTEXT that the rhetoric and practice of labor unionization at La Virgen must be understood. The workers’ subtle cultural differences, their incompatible orientations toward mill-owner paternalism, and, among the men, the battle for control of female sexuality had all become bound into a single, tightly interlaced matrix of regionalist contention. This essentially parochial schism was misrepresented to the outside world as an ideological conflict between competing labor unions, each of which claimed to represent workers’ true class interests. Both groups of workers played along. In 1927, the Salvatierrans subscribed to a statement of principles declaring that “we accept class warfare as a fundamental principle and recognize that there is nothing in common between the laboring class and the exploitative class.” Likewise, the CROM affiliate’s founding principles included the somewhat ironic goal, given the circumstances, of achieving the “unification of all workers in order to empower [*dar fuerza*] the syndicate and thus mount an effective defense of the interests of labor.”<sup>66</sup>

The Salvatierran workers wove the language of anarchism throughout their organization’s official documents, in some instances reproducing verbatim segments of CGT’s national statement of principals. Their bylaws pledged that the union would help mill workers “to defend ourselves and to educate ourselves, as well as to achieve [*conquistar*] the absolute emancipation of workers and peasants.” The ultimate goal of the union, it said, was to achieve “Libertarian Communism.”<sup>67</sup> Even though it will never be possible to look into the hearts of historical actors, it is hard to regard these words as anything other than bald equivocations, at least to judge by the Salvatierrans’ actions at the time. Yet we also know that the conflict among workers made it increasingly important to the Salvatierrans to preserve the structural integrity of their union. As factionalism deepened at the mill in 1927, the “anarchist” labor leaders wrote the governor to explain that the CROM workers—supported by a federal labor inspector—“have become frenzied in their efforts to usurp [our] freedom of thought and freedom of labor.” They complained of “the continual difficulties that have arisen for our labor organization as a result of the bad faith [*mala labor*] of a certain group of workers . . . which is bent on [the] absorption [of our union].”<sup>68</sup> Unlike workers’ dubious declarations in favor of class warfare, this language elided workers’ regionalist factionalism and their union

<sup>65</sup> R. Treviño and Luis Navarro to Presidente de la República, July 30, 1927, 2.331.8(13)-3, DGG/AGN.

<sup>66</sup> “Acta destacada . . .,” February 28, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>67</sup> “Acta destacada . . .,” February 28, 1927. Compare this passage to the CGT constitution, found in Luis Araiza, *Historia del movimiento obrero mexicano*, 5 vols. (Mexico City, 1964–66), 4: 56–66.

<sup>68</sup> “Progresistas” to Enrique Ramírez, June 28, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

affiliation, making it all but impossible to know where one identity ended and the other began.

Local CROM officials painted themselves as the bulwarks of “the noble cause of Organized Labor.”<sup>69</sup> They too needed an institutional expression of their group interests, and they too decried their competitors’ attempts to “arrest the salutary activities” that the local affiliate had undertaken “on behalf of the working class.”<sup>70</sup> As the language and practice of national labor politics permeated everyday life at La Virgen, the leaders of the CROM faction took a further step and began to experiment with the rhetoric of revolutionary anticlericalism. In late 1927, as Cristero guerrillas began to take the field against government troops in western Mexico, the mill’s CROM leaders complained that the anarchists were spreading disquieting rumors about them. It appears that the Salvatierrans had embarked on a campaign to broaden their union’s membership by appealing to mill workers’ religious sensibilities. Most if not all mill operatives were practicing Catholics, but both CROM leader Luis Morones and the government inspectors who visited the mill from time to time held notoriously anticlerical attitudes. Thus the CROM workers charged that the anarchists were “taking advantage of the religious fanaticism that exists in this region” in order to convince neutral workers at the factory that the CROM and President Calles intended to “do away with the Catholic religion.” The anarchists must have enjoyed some success in their campaign, because the local CROM bosses asked the government to put a stop to their opponents’ “unconstitutional” behavior.<sup>71</sup>

These crosscurrents of religious controversy apparently helped persuade the CROM clique to enfold anticlericalism into their political discourse a few years later. In late 1928 or early 1929, 44 workers in the anarchist union attempted to incorporate a mutual-aid fund under the unlikely moniker of “The ‘Sacred Heart of Jesus’ Cooperative Society.”<sup>72</sup> The name was incredibly provocative and ill-conceived, given the political atmosphere of the moment, and this suggests that the organization had existed for quite some time without its managers ever bothering to incorporate it formally. Whatever the case, municipal officials prudently declined to register the association using that particular appellation. But the damage had already been done. The CROM workers had just signed a pact of mutual cooperation with a new, statewide political organization established by Governor Cárdenas, who had taken office in 1928. Both organizations immediately seized on the anarchists’ transgression of revolutionary orthodoxy. CROM labor leaders brought a motion before the state labor arbitration board requesting that the anarchist union be disbanded because of its religious affiliation. The board quickly ruled in their favor.<sup>73</sup> The pro-CROM workers followed up this success by sending a delegation to present their case to the inaugural congress of Cárdenas’s

<sup>69</sup> “Progresistas” to Rafael Sánchez Tapia, March 2, 1936, 523.4/60, Papeles Presidenciales de Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter, LCR/AGN).

<sup>70</sup> Emiliano Correa, Secretario General de la Federación de Obreros y Campesinos de Ciudad Hidalgo (hereafter, “Federación”) to the Confederación Revolucionaria Michoacana del Trabajo, circa April 10, 1929, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>71</sup> “Federación” to Luis Morones, December 30, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>72</sup> “Informe” of Jorge Aguirre, May 23, 1929, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>73</sup> “Informe” of the Secretaría de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo, July 17, 1929, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

semi-official political organization. The CROM leaders argued that the mill's anarchist union should be quashed for its engagement in "political and religious issues."<sup>74</sup>

The matter did not end there. The firm ignored the state arbitration board's directive to abolish the anarchist union and pointed out that only federal officials had the authority to make such an order. Factory administrators then hired on a new contingent of anarchist sympathizers to assure that the pro-CGT faction (renamed "The 'Social Emancipation' Labor Union of Male and Female Workers of the 'La Virgen' Factory") maintained a numerical superiority in the mill.<sup>75</sup> The coalition between Cárdenas and the now-decaying CROM meant it was quite likely that the state government would have continued to put pressure on the mill owner and the CGT workers, had the Great Depression not forced González to close the mill down in early 1930.

La Virgen's operatives clearly recognized, at least at some moments, that the invective spewed by the two unions during this period misrepresented events and social conditions there. We have already seen that some pro-CROM workers in 1927 reckoned that their union leaders had attempted to pass off the "personal" conflict between Santiago Soto and Refugio Olvera as a struggle between the union and factory management. Furthermore, the CROM partisans' repeated accusations that the anarchists collaborated with the mill owner suggests that they regarded their opponents' dedication to class struggle as politically expedient window dressing. The Salvatierrans also signaled their belief that much of the heated political rhetoric at La Virgen misrepresented social conditions there. In a meeting with the mayor of Ciudad Hidalgo in 1929, they argued that the CROM workers' alleged anticlericalism was nothing more than an artifice. Anarchist union leaders contended that "while it may be true" that some CGT members were practicing Catholics, "it would be childish to believe" that there were no Catholics in the CROM faction as well. In any case, they denied that the CGT had promoted a "religious conflict" at the mill, as their enemies alleged.<sup>76</sup> In a letter to Governor Cárdenas that same year, they declared that the "nefarious" CROM leaders at the mill were simply trying to "recover their diminished union strength" through a campaign of "unfounded charges and calumnies . . . that create an atmosphere of mistrust at the mill."<sup>77</sup>

Yet the two factions' willingness to promote their group interests through the medium of union politics had repercussions far beyond the regionalist schism of the 1920s. No matter how cynical its initial motivation, the workers' participation in the organized labor movement exposed them to the practice of collective action and the postrevolutionary discourse of class. By the end of the decade, each faction of workers tentatively answered the calls to arms issued by their national directorates to mobilize around questions of national labor policy. As we have seen, the strike that broke out over the firing of Santiago Soto also became a struggle to achieve union recognition. The strikers soon added a second demand, that the mill abide by

<sup>74</sup> "Federación" to J. Jesús Rico, October 25, 1929, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>75</sup> "Informe" of Jorge Aguirre, June 1, 1929, caja 1159, DT/AGN; Confederación General de Trabajadores to Pascual Ortiz Rubio, September 10, 1930, 2.331.8(13)-3, DGG/AGN.

<sup>76</sup> Acta of "Progresistas," April 30, 1929, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>77</sup> Antonio A. Galván to Gobernador de Michoacán, May 26, 1929, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

a national, CROM-approved convention that set salaries and working conditions in the textile sector. The company administration responded with a brief and ultimately unsuccessful lockout but eventually declared it would abide by the convention.<sup>78</sup> Later that year, the CROM workers held a vigil to commemorate the “martyrs” of Río Blanco in conjunction with yet another futile strike for company recognition.<sup>79</sup> At about the same time, the Salvatierran faction complied with a CGT directive to declare a strike in sympathy with a national walkout by an independent railroad workers’ organization that the national CROM directorate intended to break. The CGT strikers at La Virgen managed to shut the mill down for a few days despite a government decree prohibiting any walkouts over the matter.<sup>80</sup>

Both of these episodes suggest that, at least at some junctures, mill operators were willing to expand their scope of action to coordinate with national labor movements. Moreover, the workers’ increasing willingness to use the rhetoric of class indicates that to some extent they recognized its potential to advance their group interests. In fact, a group of CGT partisans sent their rivals a remarkable letter in 1929, after the CROM’s general secretary had fallen afoul of the federal government. In it, the anarchist leaders invited their counterparts to join their union. They suggested that workers at La Virgen should put their “jealousies” and thirst for “vengeance” behind them, because “you know very well that our [mutual] antagonism makes it impossible to act in a way that benefits all the workers of this region, and the industrialist who presides over this factory takes advantage of that fact” to keep the work force divided and impoverished.<sup>81</sup> Perhaps these individuals had developed an affinity for class-based politics after all.

If so, their conversion came late in the day. The Great Depression cut short the ferment at the mill and drove its owner once again into bankruptcy. La Virgen’s machinery lay idle from 1930 until early 1935. In some respects, little had changed when the doors reopened. The mill’s labor leaders again formed a local affiliate of a national labor federation. They continued to employ the language of class and to produce a politically palatable official record that purported to describe social conditions at the mill. They again wrote powerful politicians about such issues as their attempts to “oversee” the ratification of collective labor contracts and to “break the old molds and ensure that Revolutionary postulates become the reality of social justice.”<sup>82</sup> On the shop floor, unionized workers still threatened to strike when they felt that foremen’s orders were intended to “mistreat this brotherhood [*colectividad*].”<sup>83</sup> Yet social conditions at the mill had changed dramatically. Regionalist tensions had abated because half the Salvatierran workers, including most of the leadership of the old anarchist union, had left during the early 1930s to

<sup>78</sup> “Informe” of Santiago Monterrosa, November 29, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>79</sup> Precepto Sánchez, *et al.*, to Luis Morones, January 7, 1928, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>80</sup> “Informe” of Monterrosa, November 29, 1927, caja 1159, DT/AGN; on the national aspects of the strike, see Clark, *Organized Labor*, 113–15.

<sup>81</sup> Refugio A. Galván, *et al.*, to “los componentes del grupo de Obreros y Campesinos de Ciudad Hidalgo, Mich[oaacán],” August 1, 1929, caja 1159, DT/AGN.

<sup>82</sup> Sindicato de Obreros Progresistas adh. a la C.T.M. to Rafael Sánchez Tapia, March 2, 1936, 523.4/60, LCR/AGN; J. Jesús Padilla to Lázaro Cárdenas, December 11, 1935, 703.1/243, LCR/AGN.

<sup>83</sup> Sindicato de Obreros Progresistas adh. a la C.T.M. to Departamento del Trabajo, September 7, 1938, caja 258, exp. 15, DT/AGN.



search for work elsewhere. The workers who remained behind had to struggle to make ends meet regardless of their regional origin. Most tried to find day jobs at nearby haciendas or timbering operations, although the founder of the CROM union managed to obtain a sinecure as a petty court clerk in Morelia.<sup>84</sup> By the time the mill reopened, the national CGT had all but disintegrated, the CROM had fallen on very hard times, and the old mill owner, Eusebio González, had sold La Virgen to a distant relative.<sup>85</sup> Finally, Michoacán's Lázaro Cárdenas had become president of Mexico, established a new national labor organization dubbed the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), and undertaken the programmatic support of organized labor that ultimately led to his dramatic nationalization of petroleum reserves in 1938.<sup>86</sup>

THE RADICALLY CHANGED CONTEXT OF WORK at La Virgen in the 1930s makes it impossible to detect the persistence of the sort of misrepresentation that so characterized the previous decade. Instead, several fragments of evidence suggest that workers engaged in collective action and employed the language of class in order to express the difficulties they faced as a group rather than to placate political elites or pursue an internal rivalry. For example, about 400 unemployed operatives organized a mutual aid society soon after the mill closed down. This group sent a missive to the governor of Michoacán in early 1934 asking him to help renew operations at the mill. The authors included both natives and non-natives of Ciudad Hidalgo who explained that the closure of the factory had impoverished "us workers as well as local commerce and the people [*el pueblo*] in general." They wrote that "we no longer have anywhere to earn the sustenance of our families" and suggested that they might run the mill as a cooperative if no entrepreneur could be found to reopen it.<sup>87</sup> A few months later, the unemployed workers sent another letter that described their attempts to renew operations as "an important struggle on behalf of the workers and commerce" of the town.<sup>88</sup>

Just as the social context in which workers employed the language of class had altered, their reasons for undertaking collective action appear to have changed as well. Absent the regional rivalry, workers proved quite capable of cooperating with each other. At first perhaps, they had little choice. President Cárdenas himself told the workers that he would allow the formation of only one union at the factory, and that its statutes must be approved by CTM leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Interviews with Zaldívar and Martínez; J. Jesús Padilla to Lázaro Cárdenas, December 11, 1935, 703.1/243, LCR/AGN.

<sup>85</sup> Pérez Escutia, *Taximaroa*, 336–37.

<sup>86</sup> Arturo Anguiano, *El estado y la política obrera del cardenismo* (Mexico City, 1973); Jonathan C. Brown, "Acting for Themselves: Workers and the Mexican Oil Nationalization," in Brown, ed., *Workers' Control in Latin America, 1930–1979* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997); Adolfo Gilly, *El cardenismo, una utopía mexicana* (Mexico City, 1994), 243–52; and Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), 216–41.

<sup>87</sup> "Memorial de los suscritos obreros . . .," May 25, 1934, caja 1, ramo Industria y Comercio, Archivo Histórico del Poder Ejecutivo de Michoacán, Morelia (hereafter, CP/AHPM).

<sup>88</sup> La Comisión to Presidente de la H. Cámara Nacional de Comercio, June 6, 1934, caja 1, CP/AHPM.

<sup>89</sup> Interview with Zaldívar.

When the time came to organize the local chapter, a local bureaucrat arrived at La Virgen to guard against the establishment of any splinter groups.<sup>90</sup>

Although the operatives had some help in learning to work together, it also appears that they made a conscious effort to put regionalism behind them. Ciudad Hidalgo natives who had been affiliated with the CROM in the previous decade organized and led the new union, but they chose to give it a name associated with the old, anarchist organization.<sup>91</sup> Workers' solidarity was further demonstrated when a strong majority chose to accept a reduction in their wages to ensure the mill's solvency. They restored contributions to the mill's chapel as well, much to the disgust of Cárdenas.<sup>92</sup> In 1945, the union set up a health insurance cooperative that functioned continuously until it was replaced by the state-run social security agency in 1962. Finally, when the mill's economic fortunes took a downturn in 1969, the 216 operatives who still worked there, all of them men, formed a cooperative to take over ownership and day-to-day operations. The mill limped along like this for two decades more until it closed its doors for good in 1992, two years shy of its one hundredth birthday.<sup>93</sup>

Workers might have achieved this unity of purpose even had the regionalist schism of the 1920s not been transformed into an inter-union struggle. On the other hand, the workers' sense of solidarity no doubt received a boost when the language of class succeeded in translating deep-seated regionalist solidarities into the practice of labor union activism. The chief mechanism of this process was what I have defined as misrepresentation. The events of the 1920s that union leaders depicted as simple labor actions in fact had multiple and cross-cutting antecedents and indeterminate meanings. Only in retrospect do the workers' challenge to factory administrators, their efforts to gain union recognition, their inscription of missives to political elites, and their strikes appear to have forged "class consciousness." With the passage of time, however, labor leaders' repeated use of the language of class to "explain" events at La Virgen to the outside world slowly shifted away from misrepresentation and began to function as a discourse that galvanized workers to act in what some of them apparently had come to regard as their collective interests. The social memory of regionalist identity faded, and only that associated with class remained.

Some form of misrepresentation probably takes place whenever a new social identity is constructed, or at least whenever a determinate group of individuals sets about trying to attach novel meanings to events. Identity formation necessarily occurs against the background of historical actors' other preexisting identities. These older social identities are often recruited to help create the new one and become ramified within it. In the period before a social identity becomes relatively well set—and perhaps afterward as well—historical actors' other identities present multiple frameworks through which they can try to make sense of events. In such circumstances, an attempt to reduce a complex event to one privileged meaning

<sup>90</sup> Presidente de la Federación Agraria y Sindicalista to Lázaro Cárdenas, February 9, 1937, 433/14, LCR/AGN.

<sup>91</sup> "Progresistas" to Rafael Sánchez Tapia, March 2, 1936, 523.4/60, LCR/AGN.

<sup>92</sup> Presidente de la Federación Agraria y Sindicalista to Lázaro Cárdenas, February 9, 1937, 433/14, LCR/AGN.

<sup>93</sup> Interviews with Martínez and Zaldívar.

must do so by what I have called misrepresentation. Sometimes, historical actors recognize this process for what it is: an effort to manipulate the meaning of events, often for “political” reasons. People may reject such obvious attempts at misrepresentation and therefore refuse to modify their outlook. In other instances, such as that of La Virgen, misrepresentation functions in more unobtrusive ways and produces a rendering of social reality that becomes more broadly accepted over time. In this fashion, a new and relatively unambiguous meaning is attached to behaviors and events that were anything but uncomplicated in the doing.

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*AHR Forum*  
**Gender and Manhood in Chinese History**

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*The five pieces that follow take up the challenge of showing that the activities of men, no less than of women, have a gendered dimension and a gendered history. They do this by focusing primarily on various kinds of relationships between men in China from imperial times on up through the 1940s. The Forum is book-ended by two general pieces by senior scholars in Chinese and European studies, respectively. It opens with an overview essay by **Susan Mann**, who has published extensively on Chinese women's history, and who introduces non-Sinologists to the basic contours of the historical and historiographic landscape, while also adding a new perspective to ongoing debates relating to gender in China that has something to offer to specialists and nonspecialists alike. The Forum closes with a comparative comment by **Robert A. Nye**, who is known largely for his work on notions of masculinity in nineteenth-century France and has worked as well on the history of sexuality in the West. Between these two essays come three empirically grounded case studies, which make use of everything from court documents to texts by Confucian philosophers. The first case study, by **Norman Kutcher**, looks at friendships between men and makes the provocative claim that, in many ways, nonsexual affective bonds of this sort (which tended to be egalitarian) were more threatening to the traditional Chinese social order than were relationships we would now label homosexual (which tended to be hierarchical in nature). The second case study, by **Adrian Davis**, explores the curious fact that, while China is often described as a place where familial harmony was all-important, brothers not all that infrequently killed one another. The third, by **Lee McIsaac**, turns from biological to fictive forms of fraternity, looking at the many social and cultural meanings of sworn brotherhoods in a Chinese city in the middle of the twentieth century.*

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*AHR Forum*  
The Male Bond in Chinese History and Culture

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SUSAN MANN

HISTORIANS OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA credit feminist theory and women's history for introducing gender as a category of analysis, sparking interest in gender identity and performance, leading in turn to new work on "the history of men as men."<sup>1</sup> Not so—at least not yet—in the field of Chinese history. Among historians of China, women's studies and feminist theory have stimulated reams of published work. Much of this work, however, remains at the margins of mainstream academic research, which may partly explain why scholars of China have been slow to grasp the significance of gender theory for the study of Chinese history. But it is not simply the reluctant reception of women's history that makes the China field anomalous when it comes to the study of men. In point of fact, historians of China have yet to develop a sustained interest in the study of sexuality, which has been the starting point for work on the history of men and of masculinity in European and North American studies.<sup>2</sup> And even China scholars drawn to women's history have been slow to appreciate the importance of men's studies to their own enterprise.<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting, then, that the articles in this *Forum* constitute the first collaborative attempt by historians of China writing in English to investigate social relationships among men, using gender as a category of analysis.

Why have historical studies of Chinese men "as men" been so few? The question

The articles in this *Forum* were first presented at a panel on "The Male-Male Bond in Late Imperial and Republican China," presented in Atlanta on January 5, 1996, at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Special thanks are due to Norman Kutcher, who organized the panel, and to Gail Hershatter, who served as chair. This writer also acknowledges with appreciation the comments and criticisms of the editors and manuscript reviewers for the *American Historical Review* and the suggestions of Catherine Kudlick, Clarence E. Walker, and Weijing Lu.

<sup>1</sup> Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York, 1996), 2. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, eds., *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1997), x, credit feminist theorists Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Judith Butler for historians' interest in masculinity and femininity as "multiple sites for the production of cultural meaning."

<sup>2</sup> Exceptions are Keith McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists: Sexuality and Male-Female Relations in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Fiction* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Frank Dikötter, *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period* (Honolulu, 1995); and Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960–1665* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

<sup>3</sup> As Leora Auslander put it, "Adequate explanations of how men come to understand their gender and sexuality are crucial even if one's primary preoccupation is women. Given the relational nature of gender, and the centrality of processes of differentiation to its making, ignorance of one gender produces ignorance of the other." See "Do Women's + Men's + Lesbian and Gay + Queer Studies = Gender Studies?" *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 9, no. 3 (1997): 7.



is especially vexing because, as we shall see, bonds among men were key to success and survival for rich and poor, elite and commoner, in Chinese history. One answer may lie in the history of gender studies in the China field as a whole. This history began in the 1970s, when anthropologists in Taiwan, together with scholars interested in women and socialist revolution in China proper, shook loose decades of scholarship encrypted in the “patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal” language of China’s family system. Historians of my own generation still recall the startling impact of Margery Wolf’s classic analysis of women and the family in rural Taiwan. The rhetoric of the Chinese family system—rhetoric that shaped the perception of virtually all historians—relegated women to the margins; but the meaning of family relationships, Wolf showed, placed women at the center. Ephemeral emotional bonds centered on a single mother during her lifetime were revealed, in Wolf’s stunning analysis, to lie at the very heart of the enduring “patriarchal” family structure.<sup>4</sup> Wolf’s work inspired new research on modern Chinese women, and by the 1990s a veritable flood of major monographs and articles on women in earlier periods had come into print.<sup>5</sup> This rapid transformation might have signaled a transformation of the kind that reshaped European and North American history.<sup>6</sup> Curiously, though, research on Chinese women did not stimulate much interest in the subject of men or male culture in Chinese history. Instead, ironically, the turn toward “women’s studies” in the China field seems to have encouraged a turn *away* from studies of men. The turn away from studying men, in other words, was perhaps an inevitable result of a backlash against the China field’s obsession with problems of patriarchy and male dominance. Still another reason why histories of women have not been followed by historical studies of men may be that studying men looks easy, while studying women (if the Chinese historical record supplies your evidence) is hard. What men do is, after all, the pervasive subject of Chinese documents and texts of every kind. Women, by contrast, become visible only if historians read between the lines, track down obscure sources, and bring neglected collections to light. A new book about women—razzle-dazzle—may transform the field! But another book about men? Many scholars seem to have concluded that we know enough about Chinese men already.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford, Calif., 1972).

<sup>5</sup> The subject of Chinese women’s history is now a virtual publishing industry, much of it still reclaiming a past where foot-binding and female suicide are not the dominant themes. Meanwhile, studies of women have retained a prominent place in the interdisciplinary field of contemporary Chinese studies in North America. For recent reviews of this literature, see Ann Waltner, “Recent Scholarship on Chinese Women,” *Signs* 21 (Winter 1996): 410–28; Jinhua Emma Teng, “The Construction of the ‘Traditional Chinese Woman’ in the Western Academy: A Critical Review,” *Signs* 22 (Autumn 1996): 115–51; and Susan Mann, “The History of Chinese Women before the Age of Orientalism,” *Journal of Women’s History* 8 (Winter 1997): 163–76.

<sup>6</sup> In European historiography, the growth of men’s studies was signaled by the founding, in 1989, of the journal *Gender and History*, followed in the United States in 1992 by the *Journal of Men’s Studies*. Reviews begin with David H. J. Morgan, “Men Made Manifest: Histories and Masculinities,” *Gender and History* 1 (Spring 1989): 87–91; see also Frank Mort, “Crisis Points: Masculinities in History and Social Theory,” *Gender and History* 6 (April 1994): 124–30; and Anna Davin, “Historical Masculinities: Regulation, Fantasy and Empire,” *Gender and History* 9 (April 1997): 135–38.

<sup>7</sup> The most important historical work on men to emerge thus far from the new era of gender studies on China is a study of male homosexuality: Bret Hinsch’s *Passions of the Cut Sleeve*. Hinsch’s work is the first in English to survey the counterculture of male love and sexual relations outside the boundaries

The failure of China historians to consider male bonds and relations among men as a legitimate subject of gender analysis has already created new distortions and pedagogical obstacles—obstacles that many historians in European and North American fields immediately identified and sought to overcome as women's history gained stature. Graduate students studying Chinese history still equate “gender studies” with “women's studies,” and they may search in vain for examples of scholarship using gender as a category of analysis where the historical subjects are entirely male.<sup>8</sup> Ironically, this unhappy situation is an even bigger problem in the China field than it was in either European or North American history, because China's late imperial society was even more sex-segregated than contemporary societies in the West or, for that matter, in the rest of East Asia. Thus any historian of China whose subject lies outside the domestic sphere—in the bureaucracy, in trade and commerce, in secret societies or rebellions, in scholarly academies or the civil service examination—will find himself or herself studying almost exclusively men and their relationships with each other. Yet no one has thought to ask what sorts of homosocial bonds these various sex-segregated social networks gave rise to or how they might be understood.<sup>9</sup>

How might we use gender as a category of analysis to understand relationships

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of the patriarchal family. But with its exclusive focus on sexuality, *Passions of the Cut Sleeve* is hardly the male-centered answer to studies of Chinese women that explore “women's culture” and the bonds joining women as writers, as friends, or as kinfolk. And it does not correspond at all to the studies of “masculinity” that have produced new journals and new genres in Euro-North American history since the late 1980s. See *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990). Two recent studies point in new directions, however: Matthew H. Sommer, *Sex, Law, and Society in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif., 2000); and Giovanni Vitiello, “Exemplary Sodomites: Chivalry and Love in Late Ming Culture,” *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China* 2, no. 2 (2000) [in press]. See also Michael Szonyi, “The Cult of Hu Tianbao and the Eighteenth-Century Discourse of Homosexuality,” *Late Imperial China* 19 (June 1998): 1–25. In the Japan field, by contrast, studies of male sexuality have been more numerous and broader in scope. See, in particular, Roger Keyes, *The Male Journey in Japanese Prints* (Berkeley, 1989); Gary P. Leupp, *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley, 1995); and Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950* (Berkeley, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> In the China field, for example, students looking for gender studies will encounter works on women such as Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). This has been a problem in North American and European history as well; see Morgan, “Men Made Manifest.” Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 3–4, complains about women's studies and its failure “to make gender visible to men,” citing Thomas Laqueur's observation that “woman alone seems to have ‘gender,’” in *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 22. In this regard, scholars should take note of the forthcoming publication of *Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities*, edited by Susan Brownell and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, with a foreword by Thomas Laqueur (Berkeley, Calif., 2001). This reader will pair new or reprinted essays on women with commissioned essays on related topics that deal with manhood.

<sup>9</sup> Analogues from the U.S. and European literature bring to mind (on guilds and merchants) Merry Wiesner, “Guilds, Male Bonding and Women's Work in Early Modern Germany,” *Gender and History* 1 (Summer 1989): 125–37; and Lyndal Roper, “Stealing Manhood: Capitalism and Magic in Early Modern Germany,” *Gender and History* 3 (Spring 1991): 4–22; (on friendship) Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987), 99–103, 215–19; (on brotherhoods) Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); and Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880–1930* (Princeton, 1984). Among U.S. historians, the notion of parallel “male” and “female” communities has even entered mainstream textbooks, as in Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York, 1996), 203–39.

between men in Chinese history and culture? What new insights may emerge to transform the field if we do? Historians of women have already raised questions about flashpoints or shifts in the construction of masculinity. Reflecting on the origins of foot-binding during the Song dynasty (960–1279), Patricia Ebrey opines that “new notions of masculinity” were partly responsible, in particular the ideal of an upper-class gentleman scholar who “might seem effeminate unless women could be made even more delicate, reticent, and stationary” than their male counterparts. Gail Hershatler’s study of an emerging modern consciousness in twentieth-century Shanghai shows how “men defined themselves in relationship to each other” by embracing rituals that either celebrated courtesans or criticized prostitution.<sup>10</sup> Rather than examining a flashpoint of historical change, the three articles in this *Forum* explore fault lines and contradictions embedded in the structures of ordinary life in late imperial and early modern China. Each helps the reader to see why, in a sex-segregated society, male bonds embodied particular kinds of tensions. By showing how gender relations were constructed in relationships among men, the authors also raise new questions about Chinese women’s history.

A FOCUS ON THREE DIFFERENT VENUES in this *Forum* enables Adrian Davis, Lee McIsaac, and Norman Kutcher to defamiliarize and reexamine Confucian norms governing human relationships in male culture. The three venues of male bonding their articles consider are the family (fraternal bonds between siblings), sworn brotherhoods or secret societies (fictive kin bonds or bonds between surrogate brothers), and friendship (bonds between male friends). These three venues are the sociological outcome of three grand structures or processes that framed human action in late imperial China: the family system, the civil service examination system, and patterns of male sojourning. Each of these structures ensured that men spent most of their sociable time with other men, *not* with women. Let us begin by reviewing these structures briefly.

In the Chinese family system, parents’ foremost obligation was rearing a male heir to carry on the descent line. This imperative introduced a decided preference for sons into reproductive decisions, especially among ordinary commoners with limited means. As a consequence, practices ranging from neglect of daughters to female infanticide skewed the sex ratio in most Chinese populations, leaving large numbers of unmarried men competing for a relatively small pool of eligible brides. Meanwhile, in the absence of a respectable alternative to marriage for women, more than 99 percent of women in Chinese society became wives or were “married” as concubines. An endemic pool of young, rootless single males, the demographic casualties of this marriage market, flocked to towns and cities looking for work, homeless and vulnerable.<sup>11</sup> They supplied the membership of the secret societies

<sup>10</sup> Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Song Period* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 41–42; Gail Hershatler, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley, 1997), 11–12.

<sup>11</sup> Ted A. Telford, “Covariates of Men’s Age at First Marriage: The Historical Demography of Chinese Lineages,” *Population Studies* 46 (March 1992): 19–35; Telford, “Family and State in Qing



FIGURE 1: The Peach Garden Oath, in which the Three Kingdoms heroes Liu Bei, Guan Yu, and Zhang Fei pledge themselves to brotherhood in the cause of righteousness. Woodblock print in an edition from the Yu family publishing house, Jian'an, Fujian (fourteenth century). Reprinted in *Zhongguo banhua shi tu lu* [Illustrated record of the history of Chinese woodcut illustrations], Zhou Wu, ed. (Shanghai, 1988), vol. 2: 456.

studied by McIsaac. The Chinese government kept an eye on this group, especially in crisis periods of the sort McIsaac examines. Unemployed vagrants and homeless

China: Marriage in the Tongcheng Lineages, 1650–1880,” Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, eds., *Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History*, 2 vols. (Taipei, 1992), 2: 921–42.



people, and other persons who were not safely rooted in families and stable agrarian communities, were always seen as potential rebels or bandits.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, it must be stressed that this particular venue for male bonding, with its attendant tensions and manifest instability, was continuously reproduced as a result of China's normative family system and its *normal* functioning.

In China's late imperial culture, where elite mobility strategies focused on the civil service examination system, schooling for elite males past the age of ten or so took place almost exclusively in academies and schools outside the home, with the sole aim of training students to pass.<sup>13</sup> An examination degree was a prerequisite for a position in government in late imperial times, and government was the most prestigious career open to elite men.<sup>14</sup> The civil service examinations and the educational institutions that prepared men to sit for the exams were exclusively male domains, since no women held posts in the government's civil service. In the schools and in the examinations themselves, men established hierarchical bonds with other men through patronage, mentoring, and "pupilship" or "discipleship." They learned to compete against one another for recognition and status even while forming self-conscious bonds of solidarity and friendship, based on common examination year, common teachers, common schools, and so forth. Here, too, as young boys (as we learn from the great eighteenth-century novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*), they formed their earliest emotional attachments outside the family.<sup>15</sup>

In other words, like the family system, the civil service examination system sustained both the bonds that engaged men as comrades and the conflicts that set them at odds as competitors. Examination training socialized men to bureaucratic norms and public service. It also introduced them to the niceties of personal connections and patronage that were keys to success in the cumbersome government apparatus where they had to negotiate their careers.

As for male sojourning, in China's core towns and cities with ready access to trade and transport networks, commoner males routinely traveled abroad to engage in business or the trades, joining the elite travelers studying for or taking examinations and holding office. By contrast, most respectable women—whether elite or commoner—remained at home. This pattern of sex-segregated male sojourning was once again a function of the normative family system, devoted to perpetuating and preserving the purity of male descent lines. Cloistered daughters in respectable families were married by parental arrangement to young men from comparable backgrounds. Keeping a daughter respectably at home was one key to an advantageous marriage alliance. Meanwhile, as men sojourned abroad, they relied not on women but on male networks based on common native place or common occupation. Guilds and native-place associations (often translated as *Landsmannschaften*, citing the nearest European counterpart) supplied welfare, medical

<sup>12</sup> Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

<sup>13</sup> Ichisada Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China*, Conrad Schirokauer, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1963).

<sup>14</sup> Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368–1911* (New York, 1962).

<sup>15</sup> See Cao Xueqin, *The Story of the Stone: A Chinese Novel in Five Volumes*, David Hawkes, trans. (vols. 1–3) and John Minford, trans. (vols. 4–5) (New York, 1973–86), 1: 177–82, 205–16.





FIGURE 2: "Four Brothers Happy Together." Auspicious New Year painting (color woodblock print) celebrating brotherly harmony among the many sons in this family. Qing dynasty. Reproduced in *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tu lu* [Illustrated record of the history of Chinese New Year paintings], Wang Shucun, ed. (Shanghai, 1991), vol. 2: 656.

care (including death benefits), networks of friends who spoke one's native dialect, and connections to powerful people who could serve as advocates and protectors.<sup>16</sup>

In sum, as a result of these three grand structures, late imperial China was a society where the dominant channels of social mobility ensured that men would spend the better part of their social lives interacting exclusively with other men. This was a culture where we could expect homosocial bonding to reach the state of a very high art. *The way men learned to be social was in the company of other men.* Let us now turn to the three venues for male bonding examined in the following essays.

<sup>16</sup> See especially Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); on guilds, see Peter J. Golas, "Early Ch'ing Guilds," in G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif., 1977), and literature cited therein.

ADRIAN DAVIS'S ARTICLE BEGINS WITH a crucial anthropological observation about the Chinese family system, identifying the tension that lies at its heart. Under the rules of equal inheritance, brothers are "equal" as co-parceners of their father's estate. Under the rules of Confucian filiality, on the other hand, brothers are hierarchically ranked siblings who must self-consciously address one another as "elder" and "younger." It was not uncommon for family members to nickname boys in the same generational cohort by birth order, hence "Big Eldest," "Little Fourth." Brothers shared a common obligation of filial piety to their parents, but their relationships to one another were highly differentiated. These differences were exacerbated, ironically, by parental behavior, because Chinese parents made differential investments in their male offspring based on practical assessments of their chances for success in different occupations.<sup>17</sup> Tracing these basic tensions at the core of the Chinese family system, Davis stresses that fraternal relations were *negotiated* and that legal cases reveal a variety of conceptions of fraternity. Therefore, a central point we may take from his article is that little boys learned about the strife and competition embedded in hierarchical adult male bonds from their earliest childhood interactions with their brothers. Brothers' common moral obligation to filiality instantly embroiled them in intense competition for parental—especially maternal—affection and favoritism. Notice, too, that whereas most studies of Chinese childhood focus on child socialization by parents, Davis's article shows that much of child socialization occurred in sibling relationships, not relationships with parents, and brothers socialized their brothers, often in spite of their parents' intentions. Relationships between brothers were potentially subversive precisely because parents could not, in the end, control or monitor them; as I have noted, male sibling relations bred conflicts that parents themselves exacerbated.<sup>18</sup> *Fen jia*—the division of the family estate contested by two or more married brothers—is the emblem of the inability of parents ultimately to control these competitive filial interests.

THE EXCLUSIONARY FORCES OF THE MARRIAGE MARKET—which discriminated harshly against poor young men—explain why brotherhoods were so important in late imperial Chinese society. But why were brotherhoods subversive? Lee McIsaac's article on brotherhoods begins to answer this question by pointing out that the language of secret societies used a contradictory code. When addressing one another, society members used the terminology of loyalty and brotherhood, but their codes of conduct invoked the virtues of *friendship*. That is, the oaths of sworn brothers committed them not to brotherly fraternity but to the "common purpose" (*tong zhi*) or "shared heart" (*tong xin*) of friends. In that sense, brotherhoods

<sup>17</sup> G. William Skinner, "'Seek a Loyal Subject in a Filial Son': Family Roots of Political Orientation in Chinese Society," in Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, *Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History*, 2: 943–93.

<sup>18</sup> Skinner, "Seek a Loyal Subject," 959–62, points out that the presence of a sister greatly reduces the subversive potential of brothers' behavior in Chinese families and that, for that reason, Chinese parents might find it highly desirable to have at least one daughter.

display not the hierarchical arrangement of geese in formation (the metaphor for brothers in the kinship system); instead, sworn brotherhoods fostered distinctive relationships in which junior men “of common purpose” shared equally in a common relationship of subservience and loyalty to a patron, or “elder brother.” McIsaac presents a range of possibilities for male bonding within the context of sworn brotherhoods. At one extreme is the macho version. This is represented by the coercive leadership style of the Robed Brothers, based on patronage and protection serving the interests of elders. At the other extreme, though, we find young boys at work as sailors, hoping only to avoid being attacked or even killed when setting foot on a strange dock, or strategizing to escape conscription into the Nationalist Army. What does this tell us about these brotherhood bonds? They provided leadership opportunities, power, and perquisites for the few, protection for the many. But they were also fragile bonds, easily quashed—as the Qing government recognized—by seizing key leaders, or readily coopted—as Republican leaders knew—to serve other goals.

Philip Kuhn’s study of an eighteenth-century sorcery scare reveals dramatically how brutal Chinese government and community opinion could be toward the rootless and the homeless.<sup>19</sup> The marriage market ensured that virtually all of the rootless and homeless poor were men. Their attachment to the language of friendship and loyalty, which they used to create fragile bonds of patronage and protection, is one of the great examples of the crucial function of male bonding, enabling the survival of the most vulnerable members of the population.

More subversive than commoner brotherhoods, as far as the state was concerned, was male bonding within elite circles of scholar-officials. In the Qing period, “cliques” of men bound by a common “high purpose” (*tong zhi*) were condemned and suppressed by suspicious Manchu emperors, who recalled only too well the immense danger posed to the state by the Donglin faction and other groups maneuvering for influence in the late Ming court.<sup>20</sup> In a provocative essay on friendship in the late Ming, when circles of “friends” were probably at their most powerful, Joseph McDermott has shown how late Ming dissenters viewed friendship circles (*wu dang*) as a potential moral base from which to attack imperial despotism.<sup>21</sup> Their focus on *tong xin* (“same heart-mind”) led some of these men to

<sup>19</sup> Kuhn, *Soulstealers*.

<sup>20</sup> On factions in Chinese politics of this period, see David S. Nivison, “Ho-shen and His Accusers: Ideology and Political Behavior in the Eighteenth Century,” in Nivison and Arthur F. Wright, eds., *Confucianism in Action* (Stanford, Calif., 1959).

<sup>21</sup> See Joseph P. McDermott, “Friendship and Its Friends in the Late Ming,” in Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, *Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History*, 1: 67–96. This notion can be traced at least as far back as the Song, when feelings of shared moral and intellectual commitment formed the basis of the “fellowship” joining Zhu Xi and others, who called themselves devotees of “Daoxue” in order to “identify a particular tradition and fellowship distinct both from other Sung Confucians and from conventional Confucians.” Hoyt Cleveland Tillman selects the term “fellowship” (conceding that he is not referring to an association or a society) to underscore the fact that the members had “a network of social relations and a sense of community with a shared tradition,” on the basis of which they “forged personal, political, and intellectual ties in a common effort to reform political culture, revive ethical values, and rectify Confucian learning.” Their bonds were strengthened by a common meeting place (a local academy), rituals involving prostration to declare themselves pupils of a common teacher, mutual aid (especially in careers), distinctive mannerisms and styles of dress and deportment, and a special vocabulary and focus on certain issues. By the 1170s, they were

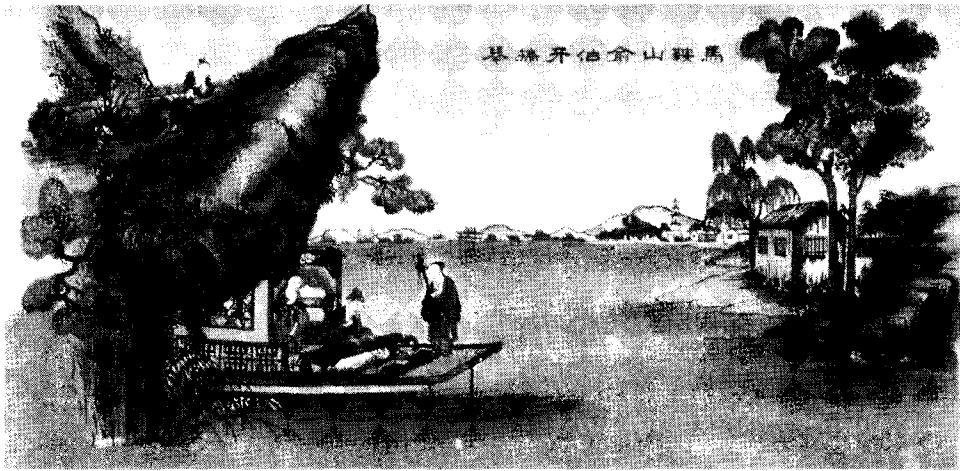


FIGURE 3: Bo Ya plays the zither while Zhong Ziqi listens. New Year painting celebrating the friend who “knows my sounds.” Ink-line woodblock print, color-filled, nineteenth century, from the publishing house of Yangliuqing, Tianjin. Reproduced in *Zhongguo Yangliuqing muban nianhua ji* [Album of Paintings of China: Yangliuqing Woodblock New Year Pictures], Tianjin Yangliuqing hua she, comp. (Tianjin, 1992), vol. 1: 14.

believe that *only* among friends could one’s true heart-mind develop and reach its full morally realized potential. Why? Friends do not have the demands and expectations, nor does friendship entail the constraints, that are unavoidable within the family or larger kin group, or in patron-client relationships such as teacher/pupil (not to mention ruler/minister). To get clear in your thinking, to air your thoughts freely, to square away your real values and affirm them, you need the support of good, loyal friends.

THE MANCHU GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGED the great power of elite friendship in its paranoid reactions to factions (*dang*) and in its very successful campaigns to suppress self-identified cliques of friends within the scholarly elite.<sup>22</sup> Yet despite government proscriptions, intimate emotional relationships among men reached far beyond the kinship system throughout the Qing period, and the quest for “someone who knows my sounds” (*zhi yin*) runs through the memoirs of Qing literati.<sup>23</sup> In

calling themselves “our faction” (*wu dang*). Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi’s Ascendancy* (Honolulu, 1992), 3.

<sup>22</sup> In his study of Qing repression of factions, Nivison observes that the Qing government’s concern harked back to the keyword “same heart-mind” (*tong xin*), used to connote not only friendship but political alliance by Ouyang Xiu in his famous essay on factions, written in 1044. Ouyang noted that “inferior persons” join in temporary alliances to serve the same material interests but later turn on each other when those interests diverge, whereas “superior men” form permanent bonds based on their allegiance to a common *dao*—they are loyal and trustworthy. Nivison, “Ho-shen and His Accusers,” 218–32.

<sup>23</sup> The phrase “knows my sounds” comes from the story of Bo Ya and Zhong Ziqi, dating from at least the third century BCE. Bo Ya was a gifted zither player who delighted in Zhong Ziqi’s company. When Bo Ya played with his mind set on Mount Tai, Ziqi said of his music, “How it soars!” When Bo Ya played with his mind on the rushing rivers, Ziqi would say, “How it flows!” When Ziqi died, Bo Ya broke the strings on his zither, because there was no one left in the world who could hear and understand his music.



men's culture, the oldest histories tell tales of mutual trust and reciprocal obligation—like the story of Guan Zhong and Bao Shu recounted in Norman Kutcher's article—that form the foundations of manly relationships. Sima Qian, the author of China's first dynastic history, describes heroic knights-errant: "Their words were always sincere and trustworthy, and their actions always quick and decisive. They were always true to what they promised, and without regard to their own persons, they would rush into dangers threatening others."<sup>24</sup> Picking up where these stories left off, the novel—as in *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *All Men Are Brothers*, and *Journey to the West*—later celebrated bonds joining men of common purpose, which McIsaac emphasizes in her study of brotherhoods. The Peach Garden Oath of the heroes of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, the righteous cause of the "outlaws of the marsh," the epic search for Buddhist texts by the irrepressible Monkey and his three unlikely companions—all dramatized for readers the empathic emotional attraction between men who appreciate and play off against one another's complementary qualities.<sup>25</sup> Robert Ruhlmann perceptively remarks, "Liu Pei, Kuan Yü, and Chang Fei [the three heroes who pledge an oath in the Peach Garden], meeting for the first time and by coincidence, are mutually attracted by each other's size and distinctive features . . . Passionate and sensitive, the heroes possess 'outstanding gifts of personality and talent, and the resolution to behave on a level higher than that of the sages and the wise.'"<sup>26</sup> Far from supplying mere plotlines in novels, the desire for male camaraderie runs like a theme through other literary genres, especially autobiographical writings and poetry.<sup>27</sup>

Naturally, through the centuries, male bonds based on a common "high purpose" sparked radical political action, the reason why Qing rulers suppressed factions. Even so, writings on friendship—poems, essays, letters—continued to fill the literary collections of Qing statesmen and scholars. Poignant and empathic, their memoirs of one another's lives testify to deep emotional attachment. These attachments came easily to men who spent their formative years in intimate contact with other men: taking exams, traveling lonely roads, sheltering in the care of a

<sup>24</sup> Translated in Lien-sheng Yang, "The Concept of 'Pao' as a Basis for Social Relations in China," in *Excursions in Sinology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 6.

<sup>25</sup> See comments on the first two of these novels in McIsaac's article. All have been translated into English. See Luo Guanzhong, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, trans. (Taipei, 1969); and *Three Kingdoms: China's Epic Drama*, Moss Roberts, trans. and ed. (New York, 1976); Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, *Outlaws of the Marsh*, Sidney Shapiro, trans., 2 vols. (Beijing and Bloomington, Ind., 1981); and Wu Cheng'en, *The Journey to the West*, Anthony C. Yu, trans. and ed., 4 vols. (Chicago, 1977–83).

<sup>26</sup> See Robert Ruhlmann, "Traditional Heroes in Chinese Popular Fiction," in Arthur F. Wright, ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford, Calif., 1960), 150–51. Ruhlmann is quoting the study by L. S. Yang cited in what follows.

<sup>27</sup> On autobiography, see Pei-yi Wu, *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 59–60, 258–59. Poems about parting or separation celebrate the devotion of friends, as Kutcher points out. They take as their tropes historical figures like the Han dynasty prisoners of war Su Wu and Li Ling, forced to part after nineteen years in captivity. See Arthur Waley's translation of the poem attributed to Li Ling, "Parting from Su Wu," in *Chinese Poems* (London, 1962), 44. A fine example from the Qing literati is the poem by Qiao Lai translated by Jiaosheng Wang, in *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, Victor H. Mair, ed. (New York, 1994), 366–67.



benefactor, struggling to support a distant wife, parents, and children, lending each other money, doing one another favors. Reflecting on his bonds with his own male friends, the eighteenth-century scholar-official Hong Liangji counted only one “friend for life,” and a single “soulmate,” along with two “close” friends, five “literary” friends, and five others whom he considered purely “ceremonial.” He describes his “friend for life” as a person who was “not influenced by glory or humbleness, not affected by decline or prosperity; a man who does not measure your worth by the vicissitudes of your career, nor judge your character on the basis of your public record.” Of the “soulmate,” Hong remarks, he “has nothing in common with me, whether dwelling at home or traveling abroad, and yet the expressions from his heart may be trusted. He is a man who may go in many different directions but who throws himself completely into whatever he does.” Hong’s “close” friends he describes briefly as “men of high caliber, able to discern right from wrong and sort out the evil from the good.” His literary friends were a mixed lot: one was inspiring because he “freely poured out his feelings,” three others were good to read classical texts with, and the last was “utterly correct” in everything he did and everything he wrote. As for the “ceremonial” friends, “our relationships have very clear limits set by the demands of etiquette and propriety.”<sup>28</sup>

Hong Liangji’s brief sketch on friendship sums up the tensions identified by Kutcher: true friends are rare, and friendships are strained by the hierarchical social pressures bearing down on all men who strive for success. Reading to the end of Hong’s little essay, I was surprised to encounter his final words: “The spirit of ancient men of high purpose continues through the ages. This poor body of mine may be cast aside, but my pledges of trust will endure.” Perhaps genteel scholars like Hong Liangji always measured their relationships with other men against the standard of the heroes of Sima Qian’s day, or other heroes of time past—including those who died as martyrs resisting the Qing conquest. Perhaps when they conceived of friendship, they always imagined the ideal of the blood oath, signaling integrity as well as nurturance and security.<sup>29</sup>

JUST AS THEY CALL ATTENTION to neglected essays like Hong’s, the studies of the male bond in this *Forum* offer insights that invite deeper research into gender relations and gender difference in Chinese history. As European and North American historians have discovered, studies of men bring us back to women’s studies with

<sup>28</sup> “On Friendship” [*Yuan you*], “Juanshige wen, yiji, xubian” [Essays from the Pavilion of the Juanshi Plant, Second Collection, Supplement], *Shoujing tang* edn., n.d., 4b–5a, in *Hong Beijiang xiansheng yiji* [The collected works of Hong Beijiang (Liangji)], 18 vols. (rpt. edn., Taipei, 1969), 2: 944–45.

<sup>29</sup> The blood oath of violent criminals, messianic cults, and idealistic rebels, in other words, also quickened the emotions of friends bonded within the scholar-elite. See David Ownby, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China: The Formation of a Tradition* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 40–42. To a Qing dynasty reader, references to “ancient men of high purpose” would also recall the valor of Ming loyalists. For a discussion of the political complexities of male friendship in the early Qing, shadowed by the Ming loyalist legacy, see Lynn A. Struve, “Ambivalence and Action: Some Frustrated Scholars of the K’ang-hsi Period,” in *From Ming to Ch’ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China*, Jonathan D. Spence and John E. Wills, Jr., eds. (New Haven, Conn., 1979).

new questions. What, for example, was the metaphorical language of female bonds, and how did that language differ from its male counterpart? How did sworn sisterhoods differ from brotherhoods? Were the kinship bonds between sisters less fraught than those joining their brothers? How did homosocial bonds—male and female—serve to produce and reproduce gender performance?

We know that both men and women in late imperial times formed bonds reaching beyond the domain of kinship and the domestic sphere. To cite some telling examples: James Polachek has shown how the “aesthetic fellowship circles dominant in Ch’ing examination-elite culture,” especially the Xuannan Poetry Club, provided the framework for new forms of political activism in the nineteenth century. Joseph Esherick’s study of the Boxers describes local cultures where all-male martial arts and sectarian groups came together and flourished.<sup>30</sup> As for women, Dorothy Ko has identified bonds of friendship among female poets, many sustained by exchanging writing rather than personal contact. And novels describe the female networks joining ordinary commoners, including the female pilgrimage societies organized for religious journeys to Mount Tai.<sup>31</sup> Does this mean that whereas male groups moved easily into arenas of political action or violence, women’s bonds propelled them into venues that were primarily literary or religious? Not exactly, for female bonds could be subversive as well. The marriage-resisting sisterhoods of the Canton Delta, and the orgiastic Buddhist female cults who worshiped Guanyin with rites of self-immolation, explicitly challenged the normative Confucian order.<sup>32</sup> This raises the ironic possibility that men’s commitment to the language of Confucian loyalty rendered even their most radical collective bonds less dangerous than those formed by women, who used a language alien to the vocabulary of Confucianism.

In twentieth-century China, political and economic transformations opened new arenas for female bonding, as Emily Honig showed in her study of sisterhoods among female factory workers.<sup>33</sup> Yet public culture in contemporary China remains dominated by structures formed of male bonds. Not only is this true of the government bureaucracy and the Communist Party elite, it is also the case throughout rural China’s villages. In a landmark study of the decades preceding and following the Communist Revolution in the countryside (cited elsewhere in this *Forum* by McIsaac), Edward Friedman, Paul Pickowicz, and Mark Selden pointed

<sup>30</sup> See James M. Polachek, *The Inner Opium War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 39–61; and Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 38–67, 216–22. Paul A. Cohen’s recent study of the Boxers analyzes another aspect of Boxer male culture: avoidance of female pollution. See Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York, 1997), 128–45.

<sup>31</sup> Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 179–293; Glen Dudbridge, “Women Pilgrims to T’ai Shan: Some Pages from a Seventeenth-Century Novel,” in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

<sup>32</sup> See Janice E. Stockard, *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1989); and James A. Benn, “Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 37 (May 1998): 295–318.

<sup>33</sup> Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919–1949* (Stanford, Calif., 1986), 209–17.

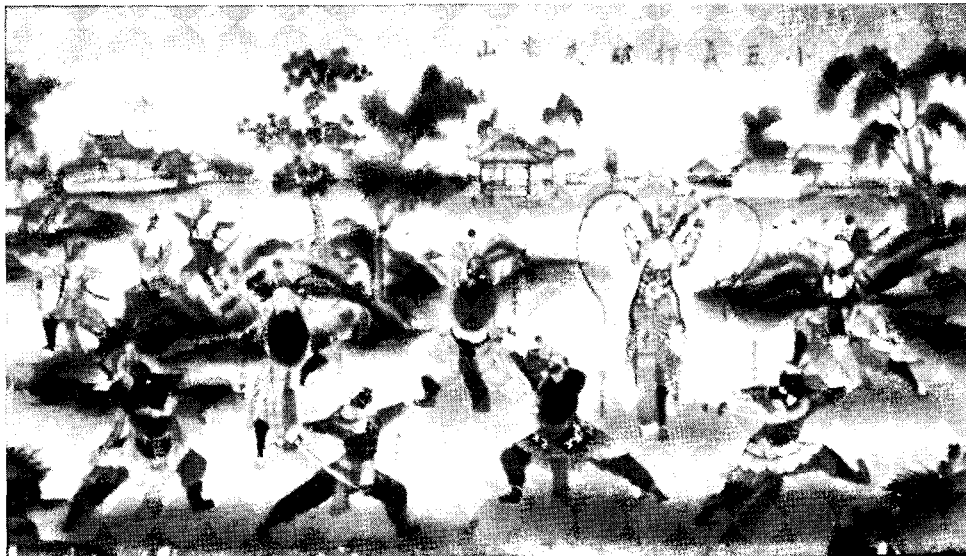


FIGURE 4: Battle scene from one of a series of late Qing novels celebrating the exploits of sworn brothers who fight to aid righteous officials in bringing criminals to justice. Ink-line woodblock print, color-filled, late nineteenth century, from the publishing house of Yangliuqing, Tianjin. Reproduced in *Zhongguo Yangliuqing muban nianhua ji* [Album of Paintings of China: Yangliuqing Woodblock New Year Pictures], Tianjin Yangliuqing hua she, comp. (Tianjin, 1992), vol. 1: 80.

to an enduring pattern of male dominance in rural China. Above all others, they stressed, the Communist Revolution in the villages empowered violent young men. In their words, “certain strands of violence-prone village culture working through militia, military and a myth of Mao . . . bound tough village males to the socialist state” by making them the primary beneficiaries of revolutionary change.<sup>34</sup> This “macho-military” culture dominated by bonds among young males has in recent years reached from the countryside into the cities through networks of job-seeking male migrants. Male culture has not always dominated rural China. Before the Communist Revolution, informal female networks used gossip to check the behavior of wayward or abusive village men. Margery Wolf’s studies of women in rural Taiwan were the first to identify the power of these female networks, in which mothers and their daughters-in-law minutely discussed and passed judgment on the activities of their menfolk, then used their influence to check men’s abuses, mainly through gossip and shame.<sup>35</sup> After the Communist Revolution, however, collective labor reduced the discretionary time women could devote to either laundry or gossip.<sup>36</sup> This suggests that one unidentified consequence of the revolution in China was the erosion of possibilities for female bonding, and the enhancement of the power of males who forge bonds. Whether this was in fact the case, and whether,

<sup>34</sup> Edward Friedman, Paul G. Pickowicz, and Mark Selden, *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (New Haven, Conn., 1991), xxiii, see also 271–72, 277–78.

<sup>35</sup> Wolf, *Women and the Family*, 38–52, esp. 40.

<sup>36</sup> William L. Parish and Martin King Whyte, *Village and Family in Contemporary China* (Chicago, 1978), 242–43.

if so, it remains true in the post-Mao reform era, is only one of countless questions raised by the provocative studies of the male bond in this *Forum*.

Studying men, in other words, is not as easy as it looks. In the field of Chinese history, moreover, women's studies can yield at best an incomplete understanding of gender relations, absent a balanced attention to the homosocial bonds that shaped men's culture.

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*AHR Forum*  
The Fifth Relationship:  
Dangerous Friendships in the Confucian Context

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NORMAN KUTCHER

OF THE “FIVE RELATIONSHIPS” in Confucianism, the five bonds that men in Chinese society were to observe and promote, it was the fifth, friendship, that was unique. The others, those that bound father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, older and younger brother, were overtly concerned with the maintenance of China as a *guojia*, literally a “state-family”—a state modeled on the principles of family organization.<sup>1</sup> They denoted hierarchical, obligatory bonds of mutual devotion that together formed the web of Confucian social relationships that was to provide the source of parallel devotions to family and state. Sons, in the traditional formulation, learned to be capable ministers by turning their devotion to their parents into loyalty to the emperor.<sup>2</sup> The state in turn was modeled on the family, with the emperor’s management of his own family serving as the basis for his running of the state.

Friendship was different. It was neither a family bond nor a state bond, and therefore lay outside the web of parallel devotions that bound these together. Moreover, it was voluntary. One was obliged to serve one’s family (and preserve it by producing offspring) and obliged to serve a virtuous ruler, but there was no requirement that one make friends.<sup>3</sup> Finally, friendship was the one bond that could

An earlier form of this article was presented at the 1996 meeting of the American Historical Association in a panel entitled “The Male-Male Bond in Late Imperial and Republican China.” In preparing the original and subsequent drafts, I have learned much from conversations with several people and in the course of doing so strengthened my own bonds of friendship. I thank the other panelists, who were Lee McIsaac, Adrian Davis, Susan Mann, and Gail Hershatter, and also the audience members present on that day. Steve Angle and Benjamin Fischer kindly read drafts of the paper and offered many helpful suggestions. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Liu Fei-wen and Lin Wei-zen, who pored over baffling passages with me. Finally, I thank Michael Grossberg and Jeffrey Wasserstrom at the *AHR*, and their five anonymous reviewers, for considerable help and encouragement. I bear full responsibility for errors that may remain.

<sup>1</sup> In modern Chinese, *guojia* is defined as nation; in pre-modern usage, as a state, or ruling dynasty. See Zhang Qijun, *et al.*, *Zhongwen da cidian* (Taipei, 1973), 4896.236. Mencius used the term and noted that the basis of the state was the family. *Mengzi xinyi*, in Xie Bingying, *et al.*, eds., *Si shu duben* (Taipei, 1966), 365; *The Works of Mencius*, James Legge, trans. (1895; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 295.

<sup>2</sup> A comprehensive statement of this worldview appears in the writings of Fang Xiaoru (1357–1402). See Ji Xiuzhu, *Ming chu daru Fang Xiaoru yanjiu* (Taipei, 1991), 18–25. For a discussion of precedents, see also Norman Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (New York, 1999), 11–18.

<sup>3</sup> It may seem strange to describe the relationship between ruler and minister as non-voluntary, and indeed there was not complete agreement on this matter. In general, though, it was agreed that if the government was virtuous, a son owed it to his parents and to the state to serve. The idea that a minister



be non-hierarchical, and it was this feature that dramatically set it apart from other social relations.

In exploring the character of the friendship bond, and the particular status of friendship in Confucianism, this essay makes several contentions. First, despite the Confucian admiration and respect for friendship, many writers remained deeply wary of it. Friends well chosen could improve one's morality, thereby serving the needs of the state and family. On the other hand, poorly chosen friends tempted one with evil pursuits such as drinking and gambling. They also removed one from the world that was centered on service to family and state. This caution is evident across much of Chinese history. It can be found in the writings of early Confucians, including Confucius himself, but becomes most apparent in the works of later, and in particular Neo-Confucian, writers of the Song dynasty (960–1279) and after.

Second, this essay argues that these Confucian writers were wary of friendship at least in part because of its potential for creating a human relationship that was not hierarchical. So geared was the Confucian schema of social relations around the hierarchical needs of the state-family that equality in friendship was potentially subversive.

Finally, this essay argues that where the possibility of equality in friendship existed in the writings of Confucians, it was undercut by ways of writing about friendship that stressed the fleeting, even momentary, nature of intense, non-hierarchical friendships, or that such friendships were life stages. Those who sought more than hierarchy in human relations were thus offered moments of contentment, while being reminded that such relationships could neither remain stable nor threaten the other more important social bonds. Friendship was thus constructed as the one bond whose function was the service of the others. Having a good friend should make one a better son, brother, or official.

THE GENERAL PLACE OF HIERARCHY in Confucian thought is a subject too complex to be fully dealt with here. It is certain, though, that from the Confucian *Analects* forward hierarchy was essential to the functioning of the Confucian system. It was the common element in the five bonds, the cement that held them together and made them part of a unified system. From the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE), hierarchy was well integrated into cosmological theories by connecting it to *yin* and *yang*, the two elemental forces that underpin the universe.<sup>4</sup> In all things, there had to be an upper and a lower, and this applied to human relations. Good social order meant a father over his son, a ruler over his minister, a husband over his wife, an elder brother over his younger brother, and, perhaps, even a friend over his friend.

Whether that hierarchy amounted to oppression was and is strenuously debated. Early Chinese communists, who sought to free the individual from oppression

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could serve voluntarily was championed by Lü Liuliang (1629–1683). See Wm. Theodore DeBary, *The Trouble with Confucianism* (Cambridge, 1991), 64.

<sup>4</sup> This viewpoint is generally credited to Dong Zhongshu of the Han dynasty, although as Sarah A. Queen has noted, historians have somewhat overstated Dong's contribution to the systemization of *yin-yang* thought. Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn, According to Tung Chung-shu* (New York, 1996), 3.

within and without the family, seized on the hierarchical nature of Confucianism as the source of many of China's ills.<sup>5</sup> Others, though, have been quick to point out that the Confucian conception of hierarchy is based not on one-way obedience but on reciprocity and mutual obligations.<sup>6</sup> To this, we may add the view that only the Western-biased mind would see fulfillment in human relations as possible exclusively through equality. Hierarchy, even an obligation to obey, need not be tantamount to oppression. Indeed, the pervasive practice of fictive kinship in China may suggest that people model non-kin relationships on the hierarchy of the family because they find that hierarchy most comforting.<sup>7</sup> Those on both sides of the debate, however, agree that hierarchy is central to Confucianism.

Somehow, in discussions of the Confucian view of human relations, friendship has received little attention. The overwhelming prominence and importance of family ties in China is in part responsible for this silence. However, as the other essays in this *Forum* suggest, relationships between men played an essential role in the society. Much of men's lives were spent in male-only institutions. And because friendship was the only bond in society to be freely chosen, it was potentially the most powerful relationship. It is the Confucian attempt to manage the power of those relationships that is the subject here.

Before proceeding further, several clarifications are in order. First, this essay examines the Confucian attitude toward friendship as expressed primarily in writings that conceptualize the friendship bond within the Confucian schema of social relations, or that offer advice to elite young men on how to choose friends. It deals less with actual friendships, which certainly varied tremendously, and more with how the friendship relationship was conceived within the constellation of human relations and what the ideal type of friendship was supposed to be. Second, these authors I consider wrote primarily for an elite audience. They were not completely disconnected from the world of Lee McIsaac's sworn brothers or Adrian Davis's murderous ones. Confucian essayists wrote, for example, on the dangers of forming sworn brotherhoods.<sup>8</sup> But the men who worked in the factories, coal mines, and on the waterfront docks in Chongqing did not and could not read these essays, which were intended for an audience of elite Chinese males.

Fourth, while this argument begins with Confucius and ends with Confucian thinkers in the nineteenth century, it must be recognized that Confucian writers were the products of their times, and societal developments inevitably affected the ways they conceived of human relations. Attitudes toward friendship changed over time, and as more is written on this topic those differences will become apparent: some are merely suggested here. There were important differences, for example, between the Confucian thinkers of the pre-Song period and the Neo-Confucian thinkers of the Song and after; those who constructed a revitalized Confucianism

<sup>5</sup> See Kam Louie, *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China* (New York, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> Tu Wei-ming, *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (Albany, N.Y., 1985), 139; Lien-sheng Yang, "The Concept of 'Pao' as a Basis for Social Relations in China," in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, John K. Fairbank, ed. (Chicago, 1957).

<sup>7</sup> As Susan Mann notes, "those who lacked family ties invented them." *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 139.

<sup>8</sup> Wang Youliang, "Zheng you," in He Changling, et al., eds., *Qing jingshi wenbian* (rpt. edn., Shanghai, 1992), 68.12a.

meant to answer Buddhism's challenge to the Chinese worldview. So the generalizations presented here are no more than just generalizations—true for most, but not all, periods.<sup>9</sup> This was especially the case in historical periods that Confucian thinkers would subsequently describe as decadent. A classic symptom of decadence was human relations, and most particularly the five bonds, out of order. During such periods, even orthodox Confucian ideology was influenced by changed social relations. This caveat aside, there is, by and large, remarkable continuity in writings about friendship, even across a span as long as the one followed here.

One area in which change was evident concerned utility in friendship. Confucians always trod a narrow line when it came to this issue, on the one hand eschewing crass utility or profit in any human relationship, on the other mitigating the power of the friendship bond by making it clear that friendship should serve useful ends for the family and society. Even some of the earliest writings on friendship evidence this tension. The following description offers one of the most idealistic depictions of friendship in the Confucian canon:

[Friendship is] when the Confucian shares an intent and conduct, and when one's achievements bring happiness to the other. Friends do not spurn each other because of higher or lower station, and when they do not see each other for long periods and hear gossip they do not give it credence. They walk together in the path of virtue, and when they share these things they are friends, when they do not, they part. This is the Confucian's way of forming friendship.<sup>10</sup>

Even in this idealistic vision, however, the requirement that friendship be useful is not far below the surface. It is firmly lodged in the notion of shared intent (*hezhi*). For the Confucian, that shared intent is a shared commitment to moral improvement and service of family and state. At the other extreme is another passage from a well-known early text, which states that if one serves one's parents diligently and yet does not enjoy a reputation for filial piety, it is the fault of one's friends.<sup>11</sup> It is a friend's duty to maintain our reputation for filial piety—which is, after all, more important than friendship in the society. An oft-quoted passage from a commentary to a poem in the *Book of Poetry* similarly asserts the utilitarian quality of friendship: "From the emperor to the commoner, all need friends to succeed."<sup>12</sup> Over time, views of the role of utility in friendship changed. Neo-Confucian authors, particularly those of the Song, placed greater emphasis on friendship's role in perfecting morality and serving the state. Confucian writers from the Ming (1368–1644) and

<sup>9</sup> Joseph P. McDermott, for example, notes that the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed heightened concern with the friendship bond. Some writers during that time, he observes, were able to use friendship as a moral base for the critique of imperial rule. McDermott, "Friendship and Its Friends in the Late Ming," in *Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History*, 2 vols. (Taipei, 1992), 1: 67–96. Wm. Theodore DeBary, in his discussion of late Ming thought, similarly discusses Li Zhi's focus on the friendship relationship as primary. DeBary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought," in DeBary, et al., eds., *Self and Society in Ming Thought* (New York, 1970), 199. And if the work *A New Account of Tales of the World* [*Shishuo xinyu*] is an indication of elite attitudes, there were many writers in the Six Dynasties period who extolled the value of friendship and elevated it above other bonds in the society. Liu I-ch'ing, *A New Account of Tales of the World, with Commentary by Liu Chün*, Richard B. Mather, trans. (Minneapolis, Minn., 1976), 6, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Wang Meng'ou and Wang Yunwu, eds., *Li ji jinzhu jinyi* (rpt. edn., Taipei, 1984), 2.957.

<sup>11</sup> Wang Su, *Kongzi jiayu* (rpt. edn., Taipei, 1977), 5.226.

<sup>12</sup> Kong Yingda, ed., *Mao shi zheng yi* (rpt. edn., Shanghai, 1927–36), 9/3.1a.

Qing (1644–1911) dynasties wrote during a period of increased competitiveness and social change. Their essays, it will be suggested, reflected those dual forces.

Third, the notions of hierarchy and equality presented in this essay require explanation. The hierarchy between two friends was neither clear nor absolute; instead, it was complex, at times even negotiated and situational. In a family, position and birth order tended to make hierarchy clear. Between friends, however, differences in such factors as social status, age, learning, and virtue all helped determine hierarchy. One might take as a superior friend a younger man, though he occupied a superior official position, for example. But although hierarchy was complex, it was still essential. Hierarchical differentiation best permitted friends to advance. Even the most idealistic Confucian male sought friendship with one of superior virtue, so that he could become more virtuous, or of superior learning, so that he could become better educated. For the more career-oriented, friendship with a superior meant an easier advancement in one's official life. When friendship was not based on mutual advancement, one possibility was the presence of an equal friendship. Equality, like hierarchy, was neither clear nor permanent, but its presence signaled retreat from the accepted notion that one should focus on advancement by hierarchy—a withdrawal that was dangerous to the Confucian view of human relations. Associated with it were friendships that were based on affection rather than self-improvement.

THAT FRIENDSHIP WAS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS is clear from the variety of writings that warned about its power for improving or contaminating the individual. Many authors warned of the contaminating power of friendship through analogies. The well-known expression, “He who touches vermilion will be reddened, while he who touches ink will be blackened,” was one way of expressing it.<sup>13</sup> To befriend a man of virtue was to “enter a room fragrant with orchids. After some time one does not smell them [but smells of orchids oneself].” In contrast, to befriend a small man is to “enter a place where fish is smelt. After some time one does not smell the foul odors, but is emitting them.”<sup>14</sup>

Confucian writers who discussed *youdao*, the “way of friendship,” sought to undercut the power of the friendship bond. While the five bonds were not necessarily ranked, writers made it clear that the fifth and last bond, friendship, was to be kept inferior to the others. Mourning rituals, those all-important signifiers of the relative importance various relationships held in society, mandated that friends not observe formal mourning for each other. One paid condolence calls on the family of a deceased friend, felt sad for the loss of him, but was not permitted to wear the traditional hempen gown on his behalf.<sup>15</sup>

In other ways, too, Confucian writers tried to lessen the power of friendship,

<sup>13</sup> Ouyang Xun, *Yiwen leiju* (rpt. edn., Shanghai, 1982), 21.393.

<sup>14</sup> Dai De, *Da Dai Li ji jinzhu jinyi*, Guo Ming, ed. (Taipei, 1975), 205.

<sup>15</sup> In the *Li ji*, one of Confucius's best-known disciples reported that at the grave of a friend he would live in a plain hut but not cry. *Li ji jinzhu jinyi*, 1.84. An exception was in the late Ming, during the time when there was increased interest in the friendship bond. Xie Zhaozhe, *Wu za zu* (rpt. edn., Beijing Xiaoshuo Daguan, n.d.), 14.4343–44. Xie suggests that extremely close friends might mourn as brothers.

particularly when it did not serve the needs of the hierarchical state-family. Society functioned when filial piety (*xiao*—the devotion of child to parent) was transformed into loyalty (*zhong*—the devotion of son to ruler). There was no place for friendship in this equation, save when that friendship might help one serve a ruler or parent. In their arguments, writers stressed that friendship should serve the larger needs of the society or help in the advancement of the individual; it should not serve emotional needs. This perspective on friendship can be traced to the writings of classical authors, although it would achieve much greater force in later periods. In the *Analects*, Confucius steers a middle path, recognizing the emotional aspect of friendship but deemphasizing it all the same. The second sentence of the *Analects* asks, “To have friends coming from distant places—is that not delightful?”<sup>16</sup> At the same time, Confucius is careful to emphasize friendship’s inferiority to other social relations. The text juxtaposes, for example, Confucius’s treatment of the ruler with his treatment of a friend. When the ruler called for him, he left immediately to answer his call without even waiting for his ox to be yoked. But when a friend sent him a gift, even if it were a valuable gift such as a carriage and horses, he would not bow in thanks.<sup>17</sup> Rulers, like fathers, deserved a particular deference—for such hierarchy was basic to the effective functioning of family and state. The only gift for which he bowed was a gift of sacrificial meat, because such a gift served the requirements of ritual.<sup>18</sup> And when the Master twice enjoins his readers to “Have no friends not as good as yourself,” he emphasizes that the purpose of friendship is the individual’s advancement, and indoctrination into the Confucian way.<sup>19</sup> Friendship was to be integrally related to the goals of the state and family, a point made clear by the great Confucian philosopher Mencius.<sup>20</sup>

Neo-Confucians went further in stressing that friendship was only to serve the goals of the individual’s learning of the Confucian way. In their hands, even the second sentence of the *Analects* is drained of its emotional content. For the renowned Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (1130–1200), the joy in having friends come from afar is one’s personal joy at having his virtue perfected.<sup>21</sup>

In other ways, Neo-Confucians lessened the extent of the friendship bond. The classic record of Han dynasty Confucianism, *The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, had noted that one could share property with a friend, with parents’ consent, and die for a friend, if parents are no longer living.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, mention of friendships in which one friend was willing to die for another are not uncommon before the Song. Thereafter, they all but disappear.<sup>23</sup>

The Neo-Confucian perspective on friendship remained the orthodox position

<sup>16</sup> Confucius, *Analects*, 1: 1.

<sup>17</sup> Confucius, *Analects*, 10: 14, 10: 16.

<sup>18</sup> Confucius, *Analects*, 10: 16.

<sup>19</sup> Confucius, *Analects*, 1: 8, 9: 25.

<sup>20</sup> To paraphrase Mencius: A lower-level official gained the confidence of the ruler by earning the trust of his friends. And he gained the trust of his friends by serving his parents well. Mencius, *Mengzi xinyi*, 371; Legge, *Works of Mencius*, 302.

<sup>21</sup> See Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch’ien, *Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology*, Wing-tsit Chan, trans. (New York, 1967), 168.

<sup>22</sup> Ban Gu, *Bohu tong shuzheng*, 2 vols. (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1994), 1: 377–78; Pan Ku, *Po Hu T’ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, Tjan T’joe Som, trans., 2 vols. (Leiden, 1949–52), 2: 562–63. The *locus classicus* of dying for a friend is the *Li ji*.

<sup>23</sup> These friendships were generally designated by the term *wenxian jiao*. The term appears in



through the dynastic period. Five hundred years later, Weng Fanggang (1733–1818) agreed that the function of friendship was essentially education. He stated that “the *junzi* [or ideal Confucian] takes good care in establishing friendships, for it is through friendship that the temperament is transformed, doubtful interpretations are analyzed, and one’s information is broadened.”<sup>24</sup>

In this view of friendship, writers stressed that care should be taken not to demean oneself when trying to make a friend. In doing so, they hearkened back to a statement in the *Analects* that one owes a friend only a faithful admonition and should not disgrace oneself through overly strenuous efforts to reform him.<sup>25</sup> Intensity in friendship was frowned on, a position epitomized in the well-known Confucian dictum that the friendship of the *junzi* was “as insipid as water, while that of the small man is sugary like rich wine.”<sup>26</sup> And people should not take on other friends as charity cases. For, as Wang Wan (1624–1691) noted, although Confucius’s dictum that one should have no friend not as good as oneself left open the possibility of making a friend by first improving him, only a *junzi* would be equal to that task.<sup>27</sup> This was far indeed from a willingness to share property with a friend or die on his behalf.

In seeking to undercut the emotional power of the friendship bond, Confucians reinterpreted other relevant passages from ancient texts to drain them of their emotional depiction of friendship. A passage from the *Book of Changes* (*I Ching*), for example, reads,

When three people journey together,  
Their number decreases by one.  
When one man journeys alone,  
He finds a companion.<sup>28</sup>

The surface meaning of the text is that intimacy in friendship can only be between two people. As Richard Wilhelm noted of this passage, “When there are three people together, jealousy arises. One of them will have to go. A very close bond is possible only between two people. But when one man is lonely, he is certain to find a companion who complements him.”<sup>29</sup> To Zhu Xi, the passage was a commentary on the changes of *yin* and *yang* lines in the *Book of Changes*, and there is no mention of friendship. The three people journeying together represent three *yang* lines, the

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dynastic histories before the Song, but only once in the *Song History* and never in post-Song dynastic histories.

<sup>24</sup> Weng Fanggang, “You shuo,” in *Fuchuzhai wenji* (rpt. edn., Tongwen tushuguan, n.d.), 10.5a.

<sup>25</sup> Confucius, *Analects*, 12: 23.

<sup>26</sup> This expression appears in the “Biao ji” section of *Li ji*. See *Li ji jinzhū jīnyī*, 2.866. It is also discussed in the “Shan mu” section of *Zhuangzi*. See *Zhuangzi jinzhū jīnyī* (Beijing, 1988), 512; Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York, 1968), 215.

<sup>27</sup> Wang Wan, “Jiaodao shuo,” in *Yao feng wen chao* (rpt. edn., Taibei, 1983), 9.18a.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Wilhelm and Cary F. Baynes, trans., *The I Ching or Book of Changes* (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 160. *Zhou yi*, in *Sishu wujing* (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1985), 37.

<sup>29</sup> Wilhelm and Baynes, *I Ching*, 160.

tendency of which is the loss of one of them; the one man journeying alone represents one *yang* line, the tendency of which is to add a complementary *yin* line.<sup>30</sup>

Writers who sought to undercut the power of friendship argued that it should be kept hierarchical, and they did this chiefly by analogizing the friendship relationship, or basing it on, one of the other hierarchical relationships in the society, such as ruler-minister, elder-younger brother, teacher-student, or husband-wife. In each case, the message is that friendships should be hierarchical, generally to serve the advancement of the individual. With the friendship relationship made analogous to one of the other bonds, a potentially equal relationship was made hierarchical.

One way in which Confucians reinforced the hierarchy of friendship was by stressing that it should be modeled on the inherently hierarchical fraternal bond. This viewpoint is embodied in what is likely the most frequently quoted Chinese proverb on friendship: "When at home, you have your brothers; when abroad, you have your friends." Wang Youliang (1742–1797) discussed this notion extensively in his essay "Correct Friendship." Wang was one of those filial prodigies whom Confucianism lauded. While he was still a child, he was known for the sacrifices he had made for parents and elder brothers.<sup>31</sup> Although the purpose of Wang's essay is to decry the practice of sworn brotherhood, he does so with a lengthy discussion of the relationship between friendship and brotherhood. The essence of his argument is that creating a sworn brotherhood confuses friendship with brotherhood, while actually their natures are parallel. Friendship, he argues, is close to the teacher-student relationship but is closer still to the relationship of brothers.<sup>32</sup> Brothers, like a family of geese, Wang wrote, were naturally to fly one behind the other, in hierarchical formation. This same hierarchically based harmony should apply in the case of friends.<sup>33</sup>

In other ways, too, Wang saw friendship as distinct from and yet parallel to what he considered to be the more important fraternal bond. Elder brothers protect their younger brothers and help them become established in the world. In the same way, superior friends help us become established in the world. Just as a son with no brothers leads a lonely existence, one will not become established without friends. Quoting the well-known dictum on friendship, he wrote, "When at home, you have your brothers; when abroad, you have your friends," and explained: "For men with no brothers, there are none who have established themselves who have not had friends to help them." Friendship must always remain subordinate to brotherhood, however, because while the former represented the will of men, the latter represented the will of heaven.<sup>34</sup>

Friendship constructed as the bond of teacher and student was expressed in a well-known statement in the *Analects*: "When three people move together, surely there is one who can teach me."<sup>35</sup> Indeed, it was when a friend functioned as a

<sup>30</sup> Zhu Xi, *Zhu zi yulei*, Li Jingde, ed. (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1988), 1834. See also commentary by Zhu Xi in *Zhou yi*, 37.

<sup>31</sup> *Qingshi liezhuan* (Beijing, 1928), 72.4a.

<sup>32</sup> Wang Youliang, "Zheng you," 68.12a.

<sup>33</sup> For the *locus classicus* of the brothers' obligation to move hierarchically, like the flight of geese, see the Wang Zhi chapter of *Li ji*.

<sup>34</sup> Wang Youliang, "Zheng you," 68.12a.

<sup>35</sup> Confucius, *Analects*, 7: 22.

teacher that the individual came closest to fulfillment of the Confucian way. Confucians construed friendship as a relationship that would result in self-development—a point of view epitomized in some of the *Analects*' most famous statements on friendship.<sup>36</sup> As Tu Wei-ming has noted, the “way of the friend” and “way of the teacher” were “intimately connected,” and “Friendship as well as the teacher student relationship exists for the sake of communal self transformation. Its purpose is moral education.”<sup>37</sup>

The friendship relationship was also made analogous to the ruler-minister relationship, in which both partners were obliged to offer advice to each other.<sup>38</sup> As one source expressed it, “If the ruler does not admonish his minister, then good government is lost. If the gentleman does not instruct his friend, then virtue is lost.”<sup>39</sup> Analogizing the friendship relationship to that of ruler and minister not only kept the relationship hierarchical, it also drained it of a close emotional bond. The relationship of parent to child was characterized by love (*qin*), while that between ruler and minister was characterized by the still powerful but unemotional righteousness (*yi*). It was the parent-child relationship that was supposed to be the emotional one.<sup>40</sup>

On some occasions, friendship was made analogous to the relationship of husband and wife. In such descriptions, we find what we generally take to be homosexuality. Such friendships were often described by reference to two famous men from the Zhou dynasty (1111–255 BCE) who “loved each other the moment they set eyes on each other,” and whose love is described as that of “husband and wife.”<sup>41</sup> While not a Confucian story per se, the story has Confucian overtones—the friends make contact initially to study together, even though the relationship becomes one in which they “share the same pillow.” For Westerners, many of whom are accustomed to seeing the boundary between “safe” and “dangerous” relationships at the sexual divide, where platonic love (*agape*) becomes erotic love (*eros*), the Chinese case suggests a different boundary. To Chinese authors, such relationships are not dangerous, because they do not upset hierarchical relations. This finding supports current scholarship on Chinese homosexuality, which suggests the centrality of hierarchy. As Matthew Sommer's work suggests, hierarchy, whether of gender or another social relationship, was integrally related to the ways in which homosexuality was popularly perceived.<sup>42</sup> This same focus on hierarchy was noted by Bret Hinsch, who observed that homosexual relationships tended to be described

<sup>36</sup> One such comment began: “Friendships with the upright, the trustworthy, and the learned are beneficial.” Confucius, *Analects*, 16: 4. Another such comment was, “The ideal Confucian gathers friends with learning, and with learning develops his benevolence.” *Analects*, 12: 24. For more analogies of friendship to the teacher/student relationship, see Chen Yaowen, *Tian zhong ji* (rpt. edn., Shanghai, 1991), chap. 20.

<sup>37</sup> Tu, *Confucian Thought*, 139.

<sup>38</sup> See Xiong Gongzhe, ed., *Xunzi jinzhu jinyi* (Taipei, 1975), 568.

<sup>39</sup> Lu Yuanjun, ed., *Shuo yuan jinzhu jinyi* (Taipei, 1977), 93. Zhu Xi makes the same point. Chu and Lü, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, 267.

<sup>40</sup> Zhuzi yulei, 262.

<sup>41</sup> For a Song dynasty retelling of the story, see Li Fang, et al., eds., *Taiping Guangji* (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1959), 389.3104; for a Ming retelling, see Chen Yaowen, *Tian zhong ji*, 20.39a.

<sup>42</sup> Matthew H. Sommer, “The Penetrated Male in Late Imperial China: Judicial Constructions and Social Stigma,” *Modern China* 23 (April 1997): 168.

in terms of “social relationships rather than erotic essence.”<sup>43</sup> Placing his own findings in the context of those of Hinsch and Sommer, Michael Szonyi finds that, despite what may have been an increasing judicial and literary intolerance of homosexuality in late imperial Chinese society, homosexual practice continued because, in reality, homosexuality was not fundamentally upsetting to the social order when it did not upset hierarchical relations in the society and when it did not interfere with a son’s duties to produce heirs. “The understanding of homoerotic desire in Qing society was thus not just a matter of bodies desiring bodies, but involved the relative ages and social positions of those involved, as well as the issue of social and familial responsibilities.”<sup>44</sup> Homosexuality was not as threatening to the system as non-hierarchical relationships were.

WARINESS OVER THE FRIENDSHIP BOND intensified over time, as noted above. The position that friendship should be hierarchical seems, like the argument that it should not be an emotional tie, to have become more prominent among Neo-Confucians. Mencius, for example, while connecting friendship with good order in family and state, had explicitly addressed the issue of hierarchy and declared that the only requirement of friendship was that it be maintained with the virtuous.<sup>45</sup> Despite this argument, for subsequent Confucian writers, hierarchy was synonymous with good order. In the competitive atmosphere of the Ming and Qing dynasties, when a successful official career was increasingly elusive, equal friendships were increasingly threatening. To seek equal friendships implied stagnation in social relations and withdrawal from the competition through which men advanced. It was perceived as dangerous for aspiring officials to seek friendship with those who were, like themselves, still commoners. Taken to its logical extreme, such advice amounted to a system of friendship analogous to hypergamous marriage, in which there was tremendous pressure to choose friendship only with one’s superiors. Confucians who made such arguments referred back to some of the same passages in earlier texts as their predecessors in the Song, but these passages took on new meanings. Authors began to consider questions such as whether elite youths could befriend commoners. And their focus on the utility of friendship was expressed as advancement in official life, rather than with moral improvement.

One such writer was the well-known Fang Zongcheng (1818–1888).<sup>46</sup> His essay on friendship examined two seemingly contradictory passages from *Mencius*, one that takes a negative view of even honest commoners, because they live by the approval of others, and another that takes a positive view of them, for their refusal to sell

<sup>43</sup> Bret Hinsch, *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 21.

<sup>44</sup> Michael Szonyi, “The Cult of Hu Tianbao and the Eighteenth-Century Discourse on Homosexuality,” *Late Imperial China* 19 (June 1998): 11.

<sup>45</sup> In response to an inquiry on the nature of friendship, Mencius responded, “Friendship should be maintained without any presumption on the grounds of one’s superior age, or station, or the circumstances of his relatives. Friendship with a man is friendship with his virtue, and does not admit of assumptions of superiority.” *Mencius*, 5: 3 (adapted from Legge, *Works of Mencius*, 140).

<sup>46</sup> Another was Wang Wan (1624–1691), whose writings were referred to above, n. 27.

themselves for the sake of a superior's approval. Fang first reconciles the contradiction by asserting that the commoners to be looked up to, whom Mencius referred to as "the villagers who have regard for themselves," were distinguishable by their willingness to stand up for their principles, even if it meant incurring others' disapproval. Fang continues to argue, however, that when it comes to those who are pursuing an official position, the more appropriate quotation from Mencius is one that advises the scholar to begin with the virtuous scholars in one's villages in making friends. Those aspiring to office, in other words, should not pursue friendship with commoners.<sup>47</sup>

While the competitiveness of Ming and Qing China reinforced and accentuated the hierarchy of friendship, it also led some writers in the opposite direction, toward friendship as a refuge. Such a movement was evident in the writings of Han Tan (1637–1704), an official and scholar from Suzhou. While still suggesting the dangers of friendship with those who are not yet officials, he nonetheless observed that one could have a beneficial friendship with a non-official who, in addition to sharing one's intent, was willing to endure the same hardships (literally, "go through wind and rain night and morning" together).<sup>48</sup> In returning to the idea of sacrifice in a friendship, Han Tan was sliding toward an unhierarchical understanding of friendship. A similar dynamic was at work in the writings of Yu Yue (1821–1907). In an essay on the friendships that should not be discontinued, Yu argued that those made while enduring hardships, while poor, and while traveling, and with those willing to die on one's behalf must always be maintained.<sup>49</sup> Some essays, such as one by Weng Fanggang, whose works are referred to above, maintained a complex view of friendship that was at once idealistic and utilitarian, hierarchical and egalitarian. It evidenced sympathy for the Neo-Confucian emphasis on friendship for the purpose of moral cultivation but also acknowledged the role of friendship in advancing the official career. And it began with the egalitarian view of friendship as being like two hands that must obey each other.<sup>50</sup>

The writings of Weng, Han, and Yu may be indicative of a move toward companionate friendship, akin to the companionate marriage found by Dorothy Ko. She observed a limited rise in this phenomenon in seventeenth-century China, the groundwork for which was laid in the sixteenth, amid the breakdown of traditional notions of hierarchy. Her depiction of the Confucian wariness of companionate marriage applies equally to companionate friendship: "A focus on individual compatibility and emotional needs, however, was the very concern that the Confucian familial system sought to discourage."<sup>51</sup> Friendship, when chosen not for one's advancement in morality or career, might serve as a refuge from the hierarchy of the Confucian system. When writers advocated friendships that were not based on either moral cultivation or career advancement but on enduring hardships

<sup>47</sup> Fang Zongcheng, "Shang you shuo," in *Baitang ji cibian*, in *Baitang yishu*, 18 vols. (rpt. edn., Taipei, 1973), 12: 4.11a-b.

<sup>48</sup> Han Tan, "Ou you lun," in *Qing jingshi wenbian* (Shanghai, 1992), 6.3a.

<sup>49</sup> Yu Yue, "Fanjue jiaolun," in *Binneng waiji* (Chunzaitang quanshu edn., 1902), 1.14b–16b.

<sup>50</sup> Weng Fanggang, "You shuo," 10.5b.

<sup>51</sup> Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 179.



together, they edged closer to the self-sacrificing forms of friendship not evident since before the Song.

THROUGHOUT CHINESE HISTORY, powerful friendships, particularly those involving self-sacrifice, were often labeled as Guan-Bao friendships. Guan Zhong and Bao Shu were officials of the Zhou period. The basic account of their friendship appears in Sima Qian's *Historical Records*.<sup>52</sup> As childhood friends, Guan and Bao frequently got small jobs together. Because Guan's family was poor, Bao would let him take more of their earnings. As young men, they served competing would-be rulers of the state of Qi. When Guan was imprisoned, Bao came to his help by recommending him to his own leader, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leadership.

The lore surrounding the friendship of Guan Zhong and Bao Shu was widespread. In one account, for example, Guan agonizes so over Bao's illness that he refuses to eat or drink.

Once when Bao Shu was sick, Guan Zhong on his account would neither eat nor take water nor broth. As a blood relative he suffered over him. [Critics said], "Bao Shu is sick, and yet your not drinking water or even broth on his account can be of no use to him, and it will also lead to your injury. Moreover, Bao Shu's relationship to you is neither of ruler to minister nor of father to son. On his account to drink neither water nor broth, does this not lose what is right?"<sup>53</sup>

As this quotation indicates, sacrificing one's health for the sake of filial piety or loyalty to the emperor would be acceptable, but friendship never warranted such an extreme action.

Guan Zhong and Bao Shu were equals as friends. They expressed that equality (so accounts of their friendship read) by rejecting in their dealings with each other the hierarchical values their society held dear. When Guan Zhong sacrificed his health to worry over Bao Shu, he subverted the hierarchical values of family loyalty. When Bao Shu sacrificed his career to have Guan Zhong promoted above him, he betrayed his family (to whom he bore the absolute responsibility of success in office) and the competitive system of advancement itself.<sup>54</sup>

In subsequent accounts of Guan-Bao friendship, what marked these relationships was a man's willing sacrifice of either his official position or family obligations for the sake of his friend.<sup>55</sup> In the preface to a poem written during the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420), for example, Vice Censor-in-Chief Fu Xian celebrated his friendship with Lu Hongji, an official who occupied the important post of

<sup>52</sup> For a translation, see Evan Morgan, *A Guide to the Wenli Styles and Chinese Ideals* (London, 1912), 118–27.

<sup>53</sup> Wang Qinruo, *Cefu yuangui* (rpt. edn., Taipei, 1967), 881.10432.

<sup>54</sup> The foregoing of career success is at the center of another well-known friendship, that of Chen Zhong and Lei Yi, who lived during the second century CE. When Lei Yi passed the governmental examination, he sought to yield it to Chen Zhong, but he was not permitted to do so by the examiners. Following their refusal, he feigned madness, and in the end both men were awarded the degree.

<sup>55</sup> For examples of Guan-Bao friendship, see *Pianzi leibian* (1727 edn.), 166.9b. For discussion, see Chen Yaowen, *Tian zhong ji*, 20.22a–23a.

Frontrider to the Heir Apparent. Through a court intrigue, Fu had been disgraced in office. Rather than shunning his friend, Lu brought his case to the heir apparent. In the poem, Fu wrote, "Contented in the affection of my friend / I yearn to follow in the enduring footsteps of Guan and Bao."<sup>56</sup>

In finding the basis for such relationships, writers such as Fu Xian referred back to the fraternal bond. Guan-Bao friends were described as *tongsheng*, literally, as born together. The phrase had two meanings. First, it meant "having the same father," that is, as if the friends were actually brothers. Second, it meant as if born "in the same year." Thus, although their relationship had the power of brotherhood, it could surpass that relationship by achieving equality. Brothers were born one after another, and so there had (even in the case of twins) to be an older and a younger brother. Guan-Bao friends were like brothers who were of identical ages and therefore equals.<sup>57</sup>

The Guan-Bao friendship would seem to be the clearest example of a dangerous friendship, because of its power to subvert the hierarchical basis of Confucian human relations. Yet it somehow managed to remain an expression of orthodox friendship, and writers describe friendships as Guan-Bao with no sign of disapproval. The explanation for this seeming anomaly lies in the story of Guan Zhong and Bao Shu itself. All who knew the classical allusion understood that their friendship was that of young men; later, they grew apart, and Guan Zhong went on to be a famous, friendless official who put his career second to no one. Late in life, when Guan Zhong was sick, the duke of Huan asked him who should take his place, proposing Bao Shu. Guan Zhong praised Bao Shu but went on to say he would be inappropriate for the job, thus revealing that, in the end, loyalty to his ruler is more important than friendship.<sup>58</sup> Guan-Bao friendship is portrayed as a life stage, and in most cases a single act of sacrifice, on the way to becoming a mature individual. When friends later went on to act in their own interests, it was not considered betrayal of friendship but life course—loyalty to the ruler overpowering loyalty to the friend. In the Guan-Bao friendship of Song Sheng and Li Biao, for example, Song Sheng sends his friend and subordinate official to an undesirable post, to avoid showing favoritism.<sup>59</sup> By describing a friendship that would ordinarily threaten the system as Guan-Bao, Confucian discourse gave expression to friends' desires for equality. At the same time, that discourse limited those relationships by implying that Guan-Bao friendships were merely life stages or even single actions of self-sacrifice.<sup>60</sup>

In other ways, too, discourse that admitted the possibility of equality in friendship simultaneously worked to limit its extent. Consider, for example, the well-known literary allusions describing intense friendship. These tend not to celebrate, or even

<sup>56</sup> Fu Xian, "Ganbie fu," in *Fuzhongcheng ji*, in *Han Wei liuchao baixianji ji* (rpt. edn., Taipei, 1963), 2a.

<sup>57</sup> *Zhongwen da cidian*, 3372.70. For descriptions of Guan-Bao friends as *tongsheng*, see Fu Xian, "Ganbie fu," 2a; and Shen Yue, *Song Shu* (rpt. edn., Shanghai, 1994), 93.295.

<sup>58</sup> W. Allyn Rickett, trans., *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China*, vol. 1 (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 383.

<sup>59</sup> Wei Shou, *Wei shu*, in *Ershiwu shi* (Shanghai, 1986), 62.160.

<sup>60</sup> Guan-Bao friendships might be purged of their subversive qualities in other ways. In one instance, filial piety was noted as ultimately taking precedence over Guan-Bao friendship. Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu jinzhuzhi jinyi*, Zhang Huikang and Yi Mengchun, eds. (rpt. edn., Changsha, Hunan, 1998), 311.879.

describe, enduring relationships of equality. Instead, they describe the unfulfilled longing for friendship, for a true equal, or even for true understanding as a fleeting moment. One such allusion, from the *Book of Songs*, is to the mournful cry of the bird in search of its companion.<sup>61</sup> Another, from the *Record of Rites*, is to the quest for the *zhiyin*, the one who hears the same resonance in a musical note as his friend. Both seem to describe unfulfillment, a relationship that is unattainable or does not persist, instability.<sup>62</sup>

This instability was also evident in friends' literary exchanges. The main genre for the expression of affection between males, for example, was the *songbie* poem, written upon a man's departure to a far-off place, usually on official business. Here, what is relevant is that the expression of friendship becomes most possible when the men are taking leave of each other. It is thus a celebration of what is already changing. At faraway posts, they will remain friends but most likely will not be able to make sacrifices for each other. The *songbie* genre, moreover, reaffirms the primacy of loyalty to the state, as it celebrates friendship. It is, after all, one's (implied) more important official duties that are taking one away from one's friend.

THIS ESSAY HAS SUGGESTED some of Confucian authors' wariness about the friendship bond. Friendship could be accepted, so long as it was subordinate to and supportive of the other relations in society. To accomplish this, it was to be kept hierarchical. Hierarchy in friendship helped reinforce hierarchy in other social relations. When a young man treated older friends with deference, he reinforced an important source of social cohesion: the respect for elders. Hierarchy was also the means by which the society advanced. When a young man treated his social superior with deference, he enhanced his own opportunities and, by extension, promoted the welfare of his family.

This essay has also allowed us to explore the qualities of friendship, and even the category of human relationship dubbed as friendship, in China; something that has not been done before. Utility, for example, was always a part of friendship in China, even while crass utility was eschewed and even if the ends of friendship differed over time. And it was utility that made for the highest forms of friendship, those that ultimately bolstered the family and the society. How different this was from Aristotle's notion of friendship, which shunned friendships based on utility as merely incidental.<sup>63</sup>

I conclude with a question posed to me by a reader of an earlier version of this article, who asked, if Neo-Confucians were so concerned with the potentially deleterious effects of friendship, why did they not recommend that men do away with it entirely? The answer has to be that this could not be done because many in

<sup>61</sup> "Fa mu," in *Shi jing* (Changsha, Hunan, 1993), 310–11; "The Woodman's Ax (165)," Arthur Waley and Joseph R. Allen, trans., *The Book of Songs* (New York, 1996), 137.

<sup>62</sup> *Zhiyin* appears first in the "Yue ji" section of the *Li ji*. *Li ji jinzhu jinyi*, 2.611. On such a use of *zhiyin*, see Gong Kui, "Da Chen Huazhong," in *Yunlin ji* (Siku Quanshu zhenben Series 3, vol. 278, 1972), 4b.

<sup>63</sup> "Now those who love each other for their utility do not love each other for themselves but in virtue of some good which they get from each other." *Nicomachean Ethics*, VIII.3. Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, David Ross, trans. (New York, 1925), 195.

the society hungered for friendship, for the joys it provided, and for the relief it offered from the demands of living in a *guojia*, a state-family. If it could not provide the “haven of egalitarianism” it does in modern Greece, it could at least be a “sentimental alternative to maternal love and the amity of kinship.”<sup>64</sup> And the friendship relationship, properly managed, could serve the needs of the state-family. The conceptualization of male friendship in China was, functionally speaking, geared toward the management of relationships between men. Friendship had its potential for good, but it was a dangerous human relationship.

<sup>64</sup> Evthymios Papataxiarchis, “Friends of the Heart: Male Commensal Solidarity, Gender, and Kinship in Aegean Greece,” in Peter Loizos and Evthymios Papataxiarchis, eds., *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 158.

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*AHR Forum*  
Fraternity and Fratricide in Late Imperial China

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ADRIAN DAVIS

OF ALL RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN in late imperial China, the bond between brothers was the most important and the most celebrated. In addition, the fraternal bond was the implicit model for all other types of male homosocial relations, such as the friends discussed in Norman Kutcher's article and the sworn blood brothers examined by Lee McIsaac in this *Forum*. Fraternal relations were at the core of the highly articulated and state-sponsored conceptualization of kinship relations. Confucian thinkers linked the idea of *ti* (loving fraternity) to that of *xiao* (filial piety), meaning that younger brothers were supposed to display the same obedience to older brothers as they showed to their father or sovereign. Thus the Song dynasty writer Yuan Cai argued that "the relationship of a son to his father or a younger brother to his elder brother is like that of a soldier to his officer, a clerk to the official above him, or a bondservant to his master: that is, they may not consider themselves peers who may dispute points whenever they please."<sup>1</sup> While Yuan also encouraged parents and older brothers to handle their power responsibly, he insisted that children and younger brothers should accept even unjust demands: "if a senior's words or actions are unmistakably remiss, all that the junior may do is voice some suggestions in a tactful way. If the senior compounds his mistakes by offering twisted excuses, the junior should listen even more submissively and not argue with him."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the great Song thinker Sima Guang, in his *Jia Fan* (Family Rules), argued that, even in "cases where the deference and submission of the junior was not matched by fairness and kindness from the senior," there should

The research for this article was made possible by a grant from the Committee on Scholarly Communications with the People's Republic of China, as well as a faculty research grant from Franklin & Marshall College. An earlier version was delivered at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 5, 1996. I would like to thank my co-participants on the panel, Norman Kutcher and Lee McIsaac, and the commentators, Susan Mann and Gail Hershalter, as well as members of the audience, for their insightful comments. An even earlier version formed a chapter of my dissertation; I would like to acknowledge my adviser, Philip A. Kuhn, for his many useful comments. Abby Schrader, Maria Mitchell, David Schuyler, Jonathan Karp, Ted Pearson, Kathy Brown, Renee Sentilles, Carla Willard, and Tim Roseborough also provided me with criticisms and suggestions. I have also benefited from the comments of the *AHR*'s editors and anonymous reviewers. None of the above are responsible for any errors that this article might contain.

<sup>1</sup> Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Family and Property in Sung China: Yuan Ts'ai's Precepts for Social Life* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 185.

<sup>2</sup> Ebrey, *Family and Property*, 185.



be “greater submission to the point of extreme self-abnegation,” for “in these cases one had a special opportunity to display one’s filial piety or fraternal submission.”<sup>3</sup>

This dominant model of hierarchical fraternal relations exercised great influence in late imperial Chinese society. The late imperial Chinese state promoted and defended it (along with other aspects of the family system) through its laws. Yet the influence of a hierarchical conception of fraternity, of which these laws are but one, albeit major, example, should not blind us to the fact that there were other conceptions of fraternal relations operating in late imperial China. Above all, the fraternal bond was complicated by the general rule that brothers had an equal claim to the assets of their family. This contradiction between status inequality and economic equality has led many anthropologists to identify fraternal relations as, in Arthur Wolf’s words, “a structural weakness at the very center of the Chinese kinship system.”<sup>4</sup> Wolf pointed out that the mourning clothes worn when a brother died indicated that the “seniority enjoyed by an older brother” is “slight” and that “the relationship is essentially one of equality.”<sup>5</sup> Maurice Freedman argued that the “fraternal relationship was one of competition, and potentially of a fierce kind”<sup>6</sup> over “scarce resources,” and was “one of the most fragile bonds in Chinese society, Confucian moralizing notwithstanding.”<sup>7</sup> Myron Cohen’s work expanded on this theme, stating that “all Chinese families were under a constant tension produced by the conflict between unifying forces and those making for fragmentation” and that the “major divisive force [in the family] was generated precisely by the equal rights to the chia [*jia*] estate held by the brothers.”<sup>8</sup>

The dual nature of the way fraternity was constructed in late imperial China—its inclusion of hierarchical and equal elements—made a certain amount of tension between brothers virtually inevitable. This article will examine one extreme expression of tension, cases of fratricide, to uncover both the specific issues that led to conflict among brothers as well as the concepts of fraternity that were expressed by individuals. Fratricide cases demonstrate that the hierarchical model of fraternity was not the only conceptual formulation of fraternal relations circulating in late imperial Chinese society. At first glance, nothing might seem further removed from “fraternity” than “fratricide”; however, fratricide cases allow us to examine both fraternal relations and the competing meanings and definitions of fraternity. While hardly designed for this purpose, the investigation and trial of the murder of brothers provided a context in which men articulated their understanding of the fraternal relationship. These cases thus reveal the multiple meanings assigned fraternity within late imperial society.

Although the extreme violence that marked these instances of fraternal conflict was clearly unusual, the issues that prompted them were far from uncommon. The cases most often arose out of disputes over the division of property, clashes over the support and treatment of parents, and concerns over how a brother’s behavior

<sup>3</sup> Ebrey, *Family and Property*, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur P. Wolf, “Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress,” in Maurice Freedman, ed., *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1970), 206.

<sup>5</sup> Wolf, “Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress,” 198, 199.

<sup>6</sup> Maurice Freedman, *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung* (London, 1971), 46.

<sup>7</sup> Maurice Freedman, “Introduction,” in Freedman, *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, 3–4.

<sup>8</sup> Myron Cohen, *House United, House Divided: The Chinese Family in Taiwan* (New York, 1976), 73.

might affect the reputation of the family. Underneath each of these conflicts, however, was also a difference of opinion over the definition of fraternity; often, brothers fought not only over specific issues but also because they saw the fraternal bond differently. Some were threatened by the rejection of a hierarchical relationship between older and younger brother. Others identified the salient threat to the fraternal relationship as the misuse of hierarchical authority to obtain personal advantage; still others grew angry over a brother's persistent refusal to conform to other norms of social behavior (especially filial piety and adherence to the law), which weakened the social status of all members of their family. The language, explanations, and descriptions found in the testimonies of these murderous brothers thus tell us more than the immediate cause of their conflict. They also give us an indication of the diversity of ways in which "fraternity" was defined in late imperial China. Both younger and older brothers acknowledged the widely promoted and culturally dominant model of hierarchical fraternity. Yet they also invoked other principles, which modified or undermined that model. Some spoke of a collective conception of fraternity, while others stressed the individual interests and separate identities of brothers.

THIS ARTICLE EXAMINES CLOSELY three fratricide cases that were tried during the Yongzheng (1723–1736) and Qianlong (1736–1796) reigns of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). The details of these cases are very similar to many other cases of fratricide I have examined as part of a larger study of intra-familial homicide in eighteenth-century China.<sup>9</sup> While it is obviously impossible to make broad generalizations about fraternal relations in late imperial China from such a small number of cases, I argue that these instances of fraternal conflict contain important clues about the contested nature of fraternity in Qing China. Given the paucity of other materials that reveal the quotidian details of family life during this period, I believe that, notwithstanding the problematic nature of legal documents, these cases serve as a useful counterpoint to the more widely disseminated and promoted discourse that celebrated hierarchical fraternity.

Qing law both singled out intra-familial crime and encouraged the production of voluminous records of homicide. The Qing code adjusted punishments for crimes such as cursing, assault, and murder if a familial relationship existed between the perpetrator and the victim; junior or younger relatives were given especially severe punishments for harming their senior or older relatives. Thus younger brothers (and sisters) who struck, injured, or killed their older siblings were punished far more severely than older brothers and sisters who assaulted or murdered their

<sup>9</sup> This analysis of fratricide is part of a larger study on intra-familial homicide. See Adrian Davis, "Homicide in the Home: Marital Strife and Familial Conflict in Eighteenth-Century China" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1995), 147–81, chap. 5. Cases are drawn either from memorials (*xingke tiben*) in the collection of the First Historical Archives in Beijing, or included in Zhang Weiren, ed., *Mingqing Dangan* (Taipei, 1987), a multi-volume compilation of Qing documents. Archival cases all date from the following years in the Qianlong emperor's reign—the first year (1736–37), tenth (1745–46), twentieth (1755–56), thirtieth (1765–66), thirty-fifth (1770–71), fortieth (1775–76), or fiftieth (1785–86). In referring to an archival document in the notes, I list the archival catalog listings under which a memorial can be found, as well as the date and author of the document.

younger siblings.<sup>10</sup> The discrepancy in punishment between siblings was starkest in cases of murder. Killing an older sibling was punished with beheading or, when it was premeditated, with death by slicing;<sup>11</sup> by contrast, older brothers and sisters who killed a younger sibling were usually sentenced to penal servitude or banishment.<sup>12</sup> Not only Qing codified law but also the jurisprudence developed over the course of the dynasty stressed the intense importance of distinguishing between older and younger brothers in determining punishment. This is especially evident in the casebooks that Qing magistrates relied on for dealing with complex situations.<sup>13</sup> These collections clearly demonstrate that Qing courts were usually unwilling to reduce the sentence of a younger brother convicted of murder.<sup>14</sup> Only in cases where there was no intention of doing harm or when the younger brother acted completely in self-defense did judges show some flexibility.<sup>15</sup> Nor were judges usually willing to allow a younger brother guilty of murdering his older sibling to be eligible for *liuyang*, the procedure by which a person was exempted from punishment because he was the only one available to take care of his elderly parents.

Other provisions in the Qing dynasty legal code regarding homicide generated an immense documentary record of murder. All homicide cases had to be reviewed by each level of the Qing bureaucracy; all executions had to be approved by the emperor.<sup>16</sup> For each homicide case, a routine memorial of the Qing Board of Punishments (*xingke tiben*) was produced. These memorials essentially consist of a series of reports issued by increasingly important officials—first by the county magistrate who originally dealt with the murder, then by officials at the prefectural and provincial level who reviewed the magistrate's actions and verdict, and finally by the Board of Punishments in Beijing. These are extremely rich documents. They contain, for example, a record of the original report of the homicide, an autopsy report, and an account of the investigative process carried out by the county magistrate. Most important, they include long, detailed testimonies given by the

<sup>10</sup> Younger brothers and sisters who hit their older siblings were punished with ninety blows of the heavy bamboo and two-and-a-half years of penal servitude; if they injured them, this punishment was increased. If the injury was caused with a knife, or if the injury had resulted in the breaking of a limb or the blinding of an eye, they were sentenced to strangulation. *Daqing Luli Huitong Xinzuan* (Taipei, 1964), 4: 2795.

<sup>11</sup> *Daqing Luli Huitong Xinzuan*, 4: 2795.

<sup>12</sup> Older brothers and sisters were punished only when they killed a younger sibling; they were given one hundred blows of the heavy bamboo and three years' penal servitude if the killing had not been intentional, and banishment to a place 2,000 *li* (a unit of measurement equivalent to about a third of a mile) away if the killing had been deliberate. *Daqing Luli Huitong Xinzuan*, 4: 2796. However, if the purpose of an intentional killing of a younger sibling was to obtain property or office, or, if as a consequence of a long-term feud or conflict, the older sibling intentionally took a weapon and killed the younger sibling, then the punishment was strangulation. *Daqing Luli Huitong Xinzuan*, 4: 2798.

<sup>13</sup> Most Qing magistrates had little formal legal training or detailed knowledge of the law. Often, they relied on legal secretaries (always male) for advice. See Wejen Chang, "Legal Education in Ch'ing China," in Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994).

<sup>14</sup> See the case of Chen Chaosui in *Xingan Huilan* (Taipei, 1968), 10: 4455.

<sup>15</sup> See the case of Zhou Yongtai in *Xingan Huilan*, 10: 4468.

<sup>16</sup> For a fuller treatment of Qing legal procedure, see Zhang Weiren, *Qingdai Fazhi Yanjiu* (Taipei, 1983); Shiga Shuzo, "Criminal Procedure in the Ch'ing Dynasty—with Emphasis on Its Administrative Character and Some Allusion to Its Historical Antecedents (I)," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 32 (1974): 1–46; Shiga Shuzo, "Criminal Procedure in the Ch'ing Dynasty—with Emphasis on Its Administrative Character and Some Allusion to Its Historical Antecedents (II)," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 33 (1975): 115–38.

witnesses, village leaders, and relatives of the victim, and confessions by the murderer.

The use of these legal records is obviously problematic, especially with regard to their representativeness and accuracy. To begin with, the cases document only those murders that came to the attention of the authorities; many people sought to avoid reporting crimes and instead settled them privately. Also, magistrates and other judicial officials had a great capacity to affect the nature of the record, since the Qing legal system authorized the use of certain forms of torture to extract testimony. In addition, there were many factors that would encourage defendants and witnesses to alter their statements, adjust their account of their actions, or structure in a particular way the “facts” they were recounting. Defendants hoped to minimize evidence of their guilt; witnesses and others giving testimony sought to avoid being entrapped or revealing their own involvement in criminal activity. No doubt, then, in some of these cases, defendants distorted evidence, witnesses falsified testimonies, and magistrates handed down unfair verdicts.<sup>17</sup>

However, countervailing factors minimized or reduced the effects of non-reporting, judicial manipulation, and misrepresentation and concealment in testimonies. Homicide was almost certainly reported more consistently than other crimes, for concealing a murder was punished severely, especially if the victim was a close relative.<sup>18</sup> The initial investigation and trial of a case of homicide, carried out by the county magistrate, was always followed by a full retrial of the murder at the prefectural level. Since the verdict was then reviewed at all levels of the government hierarchy before sentence was carried out, magistrates had to be careful to avoid outright deception and manipulation of evidence, which might be discovered at these higher levels. While defendants and witnesses may have tried to deceive the magistrate, false testimony by witnesses was harshly punished, and it is clear from the cases that magistrates made great efforts to compare testimonies in order to uncover lies and resolve discrepancies.

Moreover, as scholars working on legal records from other areas of the world have shown, testimonies can also be revealing even when they do not represent an absolutely accurate account of events, for the ways in which criminals attempt to explain and sometimes justify their behavior can be as significant as the behavior itself. Falsehoods can be useful evidence; as Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero note, “lies can often tell more about the past than apparent truths . . . [N]ot just any lie will do in testifying about a crime. Usually lies must have the ring of credibility.”<sup>19</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis has shown that the “pardon tales” written by sixteenth-century French men and women accused of crimes contain clues about the cultural framework within which these requests were produced.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, in his study of crime in colonial Mexico, William Taylor notes that the motives and explanations expressed in testimonies, even if not true, “give us clues to folk

<sup>17</sup> See Susan Naquin, “True Confessions: Criminal Interrogations as Sources for Ch’ing History,” *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 11 (March–April 1976), for another discussion of these issues.

<sup>18</sup> William C. Jones, trans., *The Great Qing Code* (Oxford, 1994), 283.

<sup>19</sup> Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, “Afterword: Crime and the Writing of History,” in Muir and Ruggiero, eds., *History from Crime* (Baltimore, 1994), 230.

<sup>20</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 1987).

explanations and norms” and let us know “how the people interpreted their situations and what was considered proper or expected social behavior in different circumstances.”<sup>21</sup>

CASES OF FRATRICIDE illustrate Taylor’s point, for they expose the ways in which men in late imperial China interpreted the concept of fraternity. This interpretation was highly varied and complex; indeed, even promoters of the Confucian ideal of fraternity, such as Yuan Cai, acknowledged that “sometimes they [brothers] are not harmonious,” and “with brothers it is often the result of disputes over property.”<sup>22</sup> The fratricide cases bear this out, for among the most common sources of tension between brothers was the division of jointly held family property—both how the land and other assets should be split and who had the authority to supervise the division. One example is the case of Xie Biao, a Sichuanese peasant who killed his older brother, Xie Kui, during a fight over ownership of a piece of land.<sup>23</sup> Xie Kui had managed his and his siblings’ land after their father died. Because of his incompetence and extravagance, he had soon lost the bulk of their property. Fearing even further losses, his two younger brothers, Xie Jian and Xie Biao, asked their older sister to supervise an equitable division of their estate; she was able to persuade all three brothers to agree to a split. Xie Kui and Xie Biao each received slightly more land than Xie Jian because their families were larger.

Xie Kui, however, fared no better on his own, and had soon sold off all the land he had received. He then began to covet a portion of the land that Xie Biao had been given. On October 28, 1738, as Xie Biao was plowing this very land, Xie Kui confronted him and demanded to be allowed to cultivate the land himself. They argued for a while and then separated; later that day, however, Xie Kui went to Xie Biao’s house to pursue the argument. In the course of the ensuing fight, Xie Biao killed his older brother by striking him on the head with a rock. Terrified that his crime might be discovered, Xie Biao hid his brother’s corpse in a nearby grove. When Xie Biao’s wife came home, he made her help him move Xie Kui’s body to a more secure hiding place: a cave in a nearby hill, whose entrance Xie Biao blocked up. However, his attempt at concealment failed; his sister became suspicious about her older brother’s disappearance, especially when she saw some bloodstained stones around Xie Biao’s house. She relayed her suspicions to the village leader Ao Fenghe, who then interrogated Xie Jian and Xie Biao. Xie Biao confessed to his crime; he was later sentenced to beheading.

This case is one of many in which fraternal conflicts over land or other property were intensified when older brothers like Xie Kui presumed on their elevated status and position to demand a greater share of the family estate, or to insist on a renegotiation of the division of that estate. Clearly, younger brothers sharply—indeed, violently—resented and rejected attempts by their older brothers to obtain economic advantage. Just as clearly, however, the evidence in the cases also shows

<sup>21</sup> William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford, Calif., 1979), 91.

<sup>22</sup> Ebrey, *Family and Property*, 181.

<sup>23</sup> Zhang, *Mingqing dangan*, 93: 52561–77.



that older brothers often felt that their status did entitle them to demand a greater share of the estate or to a larger role in deciding how it would be divided. Thus conflict over land and property also involved a dispute over the extent as well as the economic significance of the power balance within the fraternal relationship. Younger brothers tended to resist the extension of the hierarchical nature of fraternity into the realm of property rights, while older brothers at times presumed on their seniority to justify their demand for a greater portion of the familial estate.

THE ABOVE CASE involved brothers fighting over their individual interests. In other instances, the brother's relationship to the family—particularly a perceived lack of filial piety or economic support of parents—was the reason for tension. Settlements of property division in late imperial China often involved provisions for the maintenance of parents, either by setting aside the income from some land for this purpose or by rotating the responsibility for support of parents. Neglecting or avoiding this responsibility challenged norms of filial piety, a key value in late imperial China. Even when property was not at stake, violation of filial piety—by yelling or cursing at parents, refusing to obey their demands, or generally behaving “improperly”—was a volatile issue for brothers. In some cases, parents would be actively involved in these disputes, either participating in the fight or demanding that one of their sons punish the one they saw as “disobedient.”

Unfilial behavior was, for example, the spark that set off a Cantonese case from 1735, that of Liao Mingxian.<sup>24</sup> Liao Mingxian was one of three sons (the other two were Liao Mingyang and Liao Mingru) of Liao Riying. After their father died, the brothers split the estate and lived separately, while their mother lived and worked at Liao Mingxian's home. Trouble began with the death of Liao Mingru's wife, which left him with two children to raise on his own. He tried to persuade his mother to move from Liao Mingxian's house to his, but she was not swayed. Then, on May 7, 1735, Liao Mingru went to ask his mother to watch his children while he went to work in the fields. Because there was a lot to do at Liao Mingxian's at the moment, she refused his request, suggesting that he find someone else. Liao Mingru then flew into a fury and cursed his mother, saying that she favored Liao Mingxian, since she was willing to work for him but not to take care of Liao Mingru's children. Liao Mingxian, who was cleaning fish nearby, overheard his older brother curse their mother, got upset, and reprimanded him for his remarks. Unable to bear his younger brother's criticism, Liao Mingru put down his infant son and grabbed a carrying-pole to beat Liao Mingxian. Taking the knife that he had been using to clean fish, Liao Mingxian stabbed his older brother Liao Mingru in the right side of the throat; Liao Mingru fell on the ground and died soon after. Panicked, Liao Mingxian dropped the knife and fled.

Their mother desperately tried to conceal Liao Mingxian's crime. Her oldest son, Liao Mingyang, wanted to report the murder, but she stopped him by saying that she had already lost one son that day, and, if they reported the crime, Liao Mingxian

<sup>24</sup> *Xingke tiben* by Yang Qiubin (governor of Guangdong), dated Yongzheng 13.12.13 [January 25, 1736], catalog number 2-78-1-109.

would also be killed. Liao Mingyang relented and agreed to follow her orders to buy wood for a coffin and prepare Liao Mingru's corpse for burial. Then, when the head of their security group (*baozhang*), Li Xingrang, and neighbors Liao Zongpu and Li Yajun learned of what had happened and wanted to report the crime, she stopped them by threatening to commit suicide. Ultimately, however, despite her efforts, the crime was reported to the county magistrate of Xinhui County. While the magistrate was lenient toward the mother and eldest son, and did not sentence them to any punishment for attempting to conceal the crime, the mother's predictions about her youngest son's fate were accurate: Liao Mingxian was sentenced to immediate beheading.

This case illustrates some of the ways in which the relationship to parents mediated relations between brothers. The conflict between the Liao brothers revolved around access to the valuable labor of their mother, as well as the more abstract, yet perhaps more visceral, issue of filial respect and piety. Charges of unfilial behavior were one way in which the fraternal hierarchy could be challenged, especially when the charge was backed up by the parent. Younger brothers in these cases suggested that the older brother had forfeited his prerogatives and authority because of his lack of filiality. The shared responsibility for and obedience toward parents also emphasized the collective nature of fraternity, which made brothers responsible for and affected by their siblings' actions.

THE COLLECTIVE AND SHARED NATURE of fraternity is also clear in another scenario found fairly often in fratricide cases—the calculated elimination of a brother because his actions were becoming an embarrassment or a threat. In particular, criminal or equally outrageous behavior on the part of a brother that seemed to threaten the overall position or reputation of the family could lead to informal clan “justice.” One example is the murder of Xu San. By the time of his killing, Xu San had already committed several robberies and thefts; he had an “arrest record” and had been punished by the county magistrate court.<sup>25</sup> His older brother, Xu Dabin, testified that he had tried on numerous instances to persuade his brother to change his ways, all to no avail. Frustrated, Xu Dabin told his maternal uncle, Song Da, that he was worried about suffering for Xu San's crimes and wanted to kill him to eliminate that threat. The document does not make clear the exact substance of Xu Dabin's worries; the language that he uses (*qianlei*—to drag into trouble, or to involve) suggests a concern that he might be liable for any thefts that Xu San committed.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps, too, Xu Dabin was angry that his younger brother refused to listen to his remonstrations. Whatever the case, Song Da convinced Xu Dabin to be patient and to try harder to reform Xu San.

Xu San remained deaf to his brother's sermons. On February 26, 1722, both brothers turned up at a new year's celebration at Song Da's house.<sup>27</sup> That night, for some unspecified reason, Xu Dabin's patience snapped, and he decided to carry out his plan to kill Xu San. He asked Song Da for help. “Xu San,” he said to him, “is

<sup>25</sup> Zhang, *Mingqing dangan*, 40: 22523–36.

<sup>26</sup> Zhang, *Mingqing dangan*, 40: 22530.

<sup>27</sup> The date was the eleventh day of the first month in the Chinese calendar.

a thief and will not change. I will be hassled because of him. Killing him would be good. However, the only problem is that I can't do it by myself. There is no one to help me."<sup>28</sup> Song Da agreed to help, and together they convinced Xu Dabin's neighbor, Pu Chengyou, to join them. Xu Dabin inveigled his brother into going with him to Helaizi Bridge, where Pu Chengyou was lying in wait. Pu Chengyou knocked Xu San to the ground, and then Xu Dabin strangled him with Pu Chengyou's sash. Xu Dabin had Pu Chengyou tie Xu San's feet with the sash, and they tossed his corpse into the river. Two days later, the corpse was discovered by the head of the local security unit, Zhang Shengxian, and by Zhuang Rui. Later, a villager, Jin Meichen, overheard Xu Dabin's wife saying that the corpse resembled her brother-in-law Xu San. Jin went to look at the corpse, recognized it, and reported the crime. Xu Dabin was sentenced to banishment; his accomplices received lesser sentences.

Like challenges to parental authority, then, criminal behavior was an issue that prompted brothers to see fraternity as a collective concept, which created connections between brothers that could not be severed because of individual interests. Brothers were, in the minds of the participants in these cases, forever bound to one another; like it or not, they could not avoid the effects that a sibling's behavior or actions might have, both on themselves and on their larger family. This attitude led both younger and older brothers to claim the right to discipline a sibling who was violating social or familial norms.

FRATERNAL DISPUTES IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA revolved mostly, as we have seen, over the issues of ownership of property, relationship to parents, or criminal or other inappropriate behavior. However, while these immediate concerns were very important, the underlying conflict found in these cases was also vital. On a deeper level, these cases involved the question of the meaning assigned to and responsibilities incumbent upon fraternity in late imperial society.

What did fraternity mean to men in late imperial China? Certainly, it appears that older and younger brothers tended to see it differently. The demands and actions of the older brothers in many of these cases indicate that they believed fraternity meant they had the right to command and their younger brothers had the obligation to obey. This hierarchical notion of fraternity is similar to what was enshrined in state law and the dominant ideology of Neo-Confucianism. By contrast, some younger brothers saw the elevated status of older brothers to be relatively limited; in particular, a few resisted and fiercely resented any notion that this status might give older brothers economic privilege within the family. Thus, when an older brother demanded a larger share of the family estate, and a younger brother resisted it, as was the case with Xie Kui and Xie Biao, in one sense they were fighting over property. But, on another level, they were arguing over the extent to which the definitions of older and younger brother determined their position in relation to that property. In a sense, one could argue that they were grappling with

<sup>28</sup> Zhang, *Mingqing dangan*, 40: 22528.

the question of whether fraternity implied difference—as in the stark contrast between older and younger brothers promoted in Confucianism—or similarity.

However, the diversity of opinion over fraternity cannot simply be understood as a clash between older and younger brothers who, primarily out of self-interest, came to different understandings over what being a brother implied. Another conflict besides the question of difference versus equality is that between a collective notion of fraternity and a more individualistic notion. While in conflicts involving property rights, both younger and older brothers in these cases jealously guarded their individual interests from demands of other members of their family and clearly enforced boundaries between communal and personal property (or blurred the boundaries for their own benefit), in disputes over the behavior of a brother, men instead asserted a common identity that gave one brother the right to intervene in the affairs of the other, demand that he change his behavior, and discipline him if he failed to comply. In these cases, brothers sought to justify or to explain their fratricides by referring to obligations they owed to their entire family, as well as criticizing their brother's failure to adhere to those obligations. Thus both collective and individualistic conceptions of fraternity were invoked, by younger and older brothers alike. Similarly, the right to use force to deal with fraternal conflict was claimed by both younger and older brothers. Brothers argued that it was necessary to correct or punish criminal or unfilial behavior on the part of a brother. Brothers in these cases positioned themselves as the defenders of orthodox behavior. In most of their testimonies, they identified egregious actions—criticizing a parent, criminal behavior—as the cause of what had led them to violence. Nor was the assertion of this right to punish confined to the brother on trial; there are examples of parents and other relatives actively encouraging both younger and older brothers to deal harshly with their misbehaving sibling. Thus many of these quarrels represented a struggle over the degree of control one brother (usually, though not always, the older) could exercise over another.

While the law and the dominant ideology of Neo-Confucianism promoted a hierarchical fraternity, when we look beyond the realm of legal decisions and judicial reasoning, we encounter a world in which far more flexibility and variety existed in the definition of fraternity. Recent work on gender relations and roles in late imperial China has also focused attention on the complex and shifting connections between models of normative behavior as defined by orthodox Neo-Confucianism and the actual experiences of men and women who lived lives that appear, at least at first, to depart from these models. Dorothy Ko's recent book on learned women in seventeenth-century China, for example, explores how these women studied, interacted, and traveled without—in their view—violating Confucian norms of feminine behavior.<sup>29</sup> Matthew Sommer's work on sexual relations between men in the late imperial period has also demonstrated the ways in which men involved in these relations both upheld and transgressed normative models.<sup>30</sup> Fraternity, like gender, can be understood as a social category that takes shape and

<sup>29</sup> Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford, Calif., 1994).

<sup>30</sup> Matthew H. Sommer, "The Penetrated Male in Late Imperial China: Judicial Constructions and Social Stigma," *Modern China* 23 (April 1997).

acquires meaning in the interaction of models and realities, and in the space between desired norms and actual practices.

The conception of fraternity that emerges from a study of these cases is thus not one that simply rejects the official, hierarchical model. Certainly, there is abundant evidence that this official model was believed in and adhered to by some, particularly those who stood to benefit from it. But other evidence suggests there was another conception of fraternity—one that rejected any misuse of hierarchical authority, both in material and more broadly social terms. The question, then, was not whether, as in the case of the male friendships Norman Kutcher discusses, the relationship between brothers should be equal or hierarchical; rather, the conflicts were over the extent of the prerogatives that hierarchy conferred. The contested nature of fraternity in late imperial China bears out Pierre Bourdieu's point that "the closest genealogical relationship, that between brothers, is also the point of greatest tension."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, 1977), 39.

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*AHR Forum*

“Righteous Fraternities” and Honorable Men:  
Sworn Brotherhoods in Wartime Chongqing

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LEE McISAAC

MEN IN CHINA have often relied on the language of brotherhood to establish ties to other men with whom they were not related by blood. These relationships, customarily sealed with a blood oath or in a solemn initiation ceremony, have provided protection, assistance, and friendship. In the late imperial and Republican periods, they also became the basis for a range of primarily non-elite associations, including secret societies, bandit groups, and urban gangs. These organizations varied in size, structure, and activities, but all brought together unrelated males in a fraternal relationship based on loyalty and mutual obligation by means of a blood oath.<sup>1</sup> Collectively, they point to the power of the fraternal bond in China to draw together unrelated men for shared purposes.

Given the variety of models men had for relationships with other men, two of the most prominent of which are explored in the other articles in this *Forum*, why was the fraternal model used by men to establish relationships with other men? As Adrian Davis demonstrates, the bonds of brotherhood in China were not necessarily strong and were, in fact, often fraught with tension.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, within a social scheme in which kinship was identified as the primary basis for close relationships, family ties provided a powerful idiom for establishing close relationships. Unlike friendship, which, as Norman Kutcher points out, was seen by Confucians as an inferior and ambiguous relationship, kinship entailed clear obligations and loyalties that were not built in to ideas about relations between friends. Within this context, fraternal association provided an effective bond between unrelated men because it used quasi-kin relations to extend the bonds of

An earlier version of this article was presented at the 1996 annual meeting of the American Historical Association. I am grateful to the other members of the panel, Norman Kutcher, Adrian Davis, Susan Mann, and Gail Hershatler, as well as to the members of the audience, for their comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank the editors at the *AHR* and the anonymous reviewers whose criticisms helped me to refine my argument and avoid some errors. Research was funded, in part, by generous grants from the Committee on Scholarly Communication with China and the University Committee on Research and Scholarship at the University of Vermont.

<sup>1</sup> David Ownby has recently argued that, because of this fundamental similarity, these varied organizations should be seen as a continuum of all-male associations rather than as unrelated and distinct groupings. Ownby, *Sworn Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China: The Formation of a Tradition* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Others have similarly noted that the fraternal bond was in reality “one of the most fragile bonds in Chinese society.” Maurice Freedman, *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1970), 3–4.

loyalty and obligation beyond the family and to create new relations that had the strength and force of kinship.<sup>3</sup> In addition, as Kutcher suggests, friendship was not an ideal model for relations among men because of the perception that it was dangerous to the state. As a model for close relations, brotherhood was perhaps simply safer than friendship.

Scholarly interest in China's fraternal organizations has focused primarily on their political and economic roles. Without seeking to minimize their effectiveness as a basis for political mobilization or their importance as a survival strategy for poor and marginalized men, this article seeks to shift the focus of study of fraternal associations away from their economic and political functions toward the nature of the fraternal bond itself. As a survival strategy, fraternal associations were but one of a number of different groups formed by non-elite men.<sup>4</sup> Yet, unlike the native place and occupational organizations with which they often overlapped, fraternal associations were clandestine and utilized specific rituals, codes, and symbols that imbued them and the relationships they encompassed with special meanings and gave them a unique significance in the eyes of those who participated in them (as well as those who did not).<sup>5</sup> As Mary Ann Clawson noted in her study of Freemasons in America, "fraternalism, as an institution explicitly defined by ritual, especially demands to be analyzed as a historically-shaped symbolic form. Its significance resides not only in the social networks it created, reinforced, or displayed, but in the meanings it articulated, the cultural context it provided for social action."<sup>6</sup>

This article examines two major forms of fraternal association among men who worked in factories, coal mines, and on the docks in Chongqing (Chungking) during World War II, when that city served as the wartime capital of the Nationalist government, and explores the meanings they ascribed to the sworn brotherhood relationship. As a city with rapid population growth, a large immigrant population of rootless and marginalized men, a high level of violence, and weak state control, wartime Chongqing was characterized by precisely the sort of political and social context scholars have associated with the emergence of sworn brotherhoods throughout China.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the population of the city was predominantly male. Accurate statistics are not available, but it is possible to get a sense of the extent to which men may have outnumbered women in the city's wartime population from censuses conducted by the Municipal Police Department. According to these surveys, the city's overall sex ratio in 1937 was 140 (277,808 men and 198,160

<sup>3</sup> Mary Ann Clawson has pointed out that constructed brotherhood is a common form of association in societies in which kinship has remained a primary basis for solidary relationships. Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 15.

<sup>4</sup> Working-class women similarly formed "sworn sisterhoods" (*jiemei hui*) for purposes of mutual assistance and protection. The most comprehensive discussion of these organizations is in Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949* (Stanford, Calif., 1986), 209-17; See also Gail Hershatler, *The Workers of Tianjin, 1900-1949* (Stanford, 1986), 175-77.

<sup>5</sup> In their clandestine nature and reliance on ritual, China's fraternal organizations resemble those in North America and Europe. See, for example, Mark Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (London, 1980), 40-61.

<sup>6</sup> Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 11.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Ownby, *Sworn Brotherhoods and Secret Societies*, 12-20; Liu Ch'eng-yun, "Kuo-lu: A Sworn Brotherhood Organization in Szechwan," *Late Imperial China* 6 (June 1985): 59-61.

women). By 1945, the ratio had risen to 155 (637,218 men and 412,232 women). Sex ratios were most sharply skewed in the city's working-class districts. In the Xiaolongkan-Ciqikou District, where most of the large arsenals, steel mills, and textile mills were located, men still outnumbered women by more than two to one in January 1945 (the exact ratio was 208).<sup>8</sup>

Within the hostile and alien environment of this rapidly growing city, ambitious leaders of urban gangs found in the idiom of brotherhood a powerful tool for mobilizing loyal bands of followers and providing them with a social identity, which could be and often was used to build and enhance the power base of gang bosses. At the same time, individual men, many of them recent immigrants to the city, formed ties that provided them with mutual assistance and protection, as well as friendship and camaraderie, by "swearing brotherhood" (*jiebai xiongdi*) with other men. The flexibility and adaptability of the fraternal relationship to these varied uses resulted in two distinct forms of sworn brotherhood: the hierarchical and exploitative gang known locally as the Robed Brothers and the informal groups of sworn brothers known as "gold and orchid" brotherhoods (*bai lanjiao*).

Despite differences in size, structure, organization, and the nature of the relationships they encompassed, both forms of sworn brotherhood were based on the same model of fraternity. This was not the Confucian one described by Davis, with its emphasis on hierarchy and filial piety as essential fraternal values. Rather, Chongqing's sworn brotherhoods were modeled after the famous sworn brotherhoods depicted in popular works such as *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and especially *All Men Are Brothers* (*Shui Hu Zhuan*).<sup>9</sup> These fictionalized brotherhoods were voluntary communities of unrelated men who were drawn together, often through apparently chance encounters, by their shared commitment to the values of male friendship, loyalty (*zhong*), and righteousness (*yi*). Ranging in size from 3 to 108 members, these fraternities were further strengthened by a deeply felt sense of the congeniality that flows naturally among like-minded men. Their undying commitment to these virtues and to each other was affirmed in a solemn oath, which was typically accompanied by the drinking of wine in which the blood of each of the brothers or of a chicken had been mixed.

The immensely popular work *All Men Are Brothers* was a staple performance of storytellers and drama troupes in Chinese villages, towns, and cities from at least the late Ming dynasty.<sup>10</sup> The "righteous fraternity" described in this work was

<sup>8</sup> He Yaozu, *Chongqing yaolan* [Important sights in Chongqing] (Chongqing, 1945), 15, 19.

<sup>9</sup> Although *Water Margin* is a more accurate translation of *Shui Hu*, I have used Pearl Buck's translation because it echoes the Mencian quote, "Within the four seas, all men are brothers," which is invoked throughout the novel and highlights the centrality of male relationships in it. The importance of *All Men Are Brothers* and *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* as models for sworn brotherhoods has been noted by a number of scholars. See, for example, Dian H. Murray, citing Luo Ergang, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 169–70; and Brian Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919–1937* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 24–26.

<sup>10</sup> Parts of it were performed by storytellers in marketplaces as early as the Song dynasty. C. T. Hsia, *The Classic Chinese Novel: A Critical Introduction* (New York, 1968), 76. *All Men Are Brothers* has continued to be popular in the People's Republic of China, where it has served as a model for a number of stories and dramas and been used for propaganda purposes. See Bonnie McDougall, ed., *Popular Chinese Literature and Performing Arts in the People's Republic of China, 1949–1979* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 211, 214–17.

particularly important as a model for “gold and orchid” brotherhoods among workers in Chongqing.<sup>11</sup> Its approximately one hundred chapters describe the adventures of a band of outlaw men who lived in the Liangshan Marsh in Shandong province during the early twelfth century. Driven to become outlaws by the corruption of officials who ruled the society in which they lived rather than by any blackness in their own character, members of the brotherhood were portrayed as a group of heroes chosen by heaven to uphold justice and righteousness.

As a model for Chongqing’s sworn brotherhoods, these fictionalized brotherhoods provided more than a means of bringing together unrelated men. They also promoted values, ideals, and patterns of behavior that played a central role in shaping working-class culture in Chongqing. In particular, they projected a vision of manhood that differed radically from the one promoted by Confucian culture. Whereas Confucians have long viewed marriage and the production of sons to carry on the family name as the essential elements of manhood, sworn brotherhoods instead promoted a style of masculinity expressed through bold action and demonstrable commitment to the values of loyalty and righteousness. Because these qualities were often expressed through violence, Chongqing’s fraternal organizations also contributed substantially to the culture of violence that existed in the city.

Because of the clandestine nature and lack of centralized organization in sworn brotherhoods, evidence concerning membership is scant and primarily anecdotal, making it difficult to quantify the extent to which the city’s workers joined fraternal organizations. Even Communist labor organizers working among factory workers and boatmen in Chongqing during the war often found it difficult to know who belonged to sworn brotherhoods.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, my interviews with former workers, as well as written materials left by Communist labor organizers and reports written by factory foremen and managers, suggest that the majority of workers belonged to at least one of Chongqing’s fraternal organizations, while many participated in both types.

THE LARGEST AND MOST POWERFUL of Chongqing’s sworn brotherhoods was the Robed Brothers (*Paoge*). Often referred to outside of Sichuan as the Society of Brothers and Elders (*Gelaohui*),<sup>13</sup> it was an essentially patriarchal organization in which the central defining relationship was between an elder (*daye*) and his disciples. The origins of this group are obscure, but it seems to have evolved from the numerous bandit gangs that operated in eastern Sichuan and mountainous areas along the borders of Hunan and Shaanxi provinces from at least the middle of the

<sup>11</sup> Workers I interviewed in Chongqing uniformly stressed the importance of this work as a model for their “gold and orchid” sworn brotherhood relationships. Although the influence of *All Men Are Brothers* on the Robed Brothers was less explicit in the minds of workers, it was still present, as is evidenced in the promotion of the core values of loyalty and righteousness and the use of lodge names from the story.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, “Yuqu bannian lai gongyun gaikuang” [The conditions of the labor movement in Chongqing during the past six months], in *Sichuan gongren yundong shiliao xuanbian* [Selected compilation of historical materials on the labor movement in Sichuan] (Chengdu, 1988), 282.

<sup>13</sup> For a more complete discussion of the complex relationship between the Robed Brothers and the *Gelaohui*, see Lee McIsaac, “The Limits of Chinese Nationalism: Workers in Wartime Chongqing, 1937–1945” (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1994), 112–13.

eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Known to Qing officials as *Guolu*,<sup>15</sup> these were loosely structured sworn brotherhoods that functioned as mutual assistance organizations for male immigrants, many of them unmarried, who lived in an increasingly harsh social and economic environment without access to more traditional sources of assistance from kin or community.<sup>16</sup> Despite efforts of the Qing state to suppress these bands, by the middle of the nineteenth century some of these *Guolu* had evolved into an organization officials referred to in documents as *Gelaohui*. The brotherhood continued to grow and flourish in the warfare that engulfed Sichuan province during the first two decades of the Republican era (1911–1926). By the 1930s, the Robed Brothers had considerable power throughout Sichuan. In addition to their dominance of local markets,<sup>17</sup> they controlled extensive opium smuggling activities, protection rackets, and gambling operations. Thus, in many ways, the Robed Brothers resembled ganglike organizations such as the Green Gang, the Red Gang, and the Triads that were active in other areas of China.<sup>18</sup>

The organization itself was a loose collective of five autonomous lodges (*tang*) active throughout southwest China. Of these, only two, the Lodge of Benevolence (*ren tang*) and the Lodge of Righteousness (*yi tang*), were active in Chongqing.<sup>19</sup> Each lodge was further subdivided into independent branches (*gongkou*). The smallest of these branches had a few dozen members, while the largest had several hundred.<sup>20</sup> The focal point for each branch was a teahouse, which also served as an office for its elder.

Despite the claims of some former elders, hierarchy permeated the Robed Brothers at all levels.<sup>21</sup> Even the lodges themselves were hierarchically ordered. In Chongqing, the Lodge of Benevolence was generally considered to be superior and

<sup>14</sup> The linkages between the *guolu* bandit gangs of eighteenth-century Sichuan and the Republican-era groups known locally as *Paoge* are extremely tenuous, but most historians trace the origins of the Robed Brothers/Gathering of Elders to these earlier groups. See, for example, Liu Cheng-yun, "The Ko-lao hui in Late Imperial China" (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1983); Cai Shaoqing, "On the Origin of the Gelaohui," *Modern China* 10 (October 1984): 481–508; Zhao Qing, *Paoge yu tufei* [Robed Brothers and local bandits] (Tianjin, 1990); Barend ter Haar, "The Gathering of Brothers and Elders (Ko-lao hui): A New View," unpublished paper, n.d. I am indebted to Barend J. ter Haar for initially drawing my attention to this link. Personal communication with the author, July 25, 1993.

<sup>15</sup> There has been considerable disagreement about the meaning of this term, both among Qing officials reporting on these bands and also among scholars writing about them over the last two decades. Some scholars have suggested that it represents the term for "gamblers" in Sichuan dialect, while others have argued that it represents the pronunciation of *gelao* in Sichuan dialect. See Liu Cheng-yun, "Ko-lao hui in Late Imperial China," 19–20, for a full discussion of the various meanings of this word; also Cai Shaoqing, "On the Origin of the Gelaohui," 484.

<sup>16</sup> Liu Ch'eng-yun, "Kuo-lu."

<sup>17</sup> G. William Skinner, "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 24 (November 1964): 37.

<sup>18</sup> These other gangs also originated from sworn brotherhoods and secret societies that date back to imperial China. Their evolution into powerful criminal gangs in major cities suggests the strength of the fraternal model for building alternative power structures in late imperial and Republican China. See, for example, Martin, *Shanghai Green Gang*, 9–15.

<sup>19</sup> Others were the Lodges of Wisdom (*zhi tang*), Rites (*li tang*), and Sincerity (*xin tang*).

<sup>20</sup> Tang Shaowu, *et al.*, "Jiefang qian Chongqing de paoge" [Chongqing's Robed Brothers before Liberation], *Chongqing wenshi ziliao* [Materials on the culture and history of Chongqing] 31 (1989): 141. According to Tang, *et al.*, there were about 300 branches of the Lodges of Benevolence and Righteousness in Chongqing on the eve of the War of Resistance.

<sup>21</sup> In their article on the Robed Brothers, Tang Shaowu, *et al.*, assert that "with the exception of bowing in the [initiation] ceremony," hierarchical relations were absent in the brotherhood. Nevertheless, while relations between men who became followers of one elder may be described as



was associated more with the well-to-do members of society. Most ordinary workers joined the Lodge of Righteousness.<sup>22</sup> Within each lodge, the relationship between members was also hierarchically ordered. An elder occupied the highest position in the hierarchy. His immediate disciples were the elders at the apex of each branch. Each branch also had second, third, and fifth elders. (The fourth rank was omitted, apparently because in Chinese “four” and “death” are homonyms, and the number is therefore considered unlucky.)

It was to one of these elders that ordinary workers swore allegiance when they joined the Robed Brothers in a simple initiation ceremony held annually on the Double Fifth festival. In this ceremony, new initiates bowed to the elder, signifying their acceptance of his patronage and protection. When the bowing had been completed, everyone sat down to enjoy a banquet provided by the elder. The act of bowing, which also played a role in establishing relations of dominance and subordination in wedding ceremonies and in official audiences, established the hierarchical nature of the relationship between an elder and his followers. The banquet emphasized his paternalistic care for them. After this initiation ceremony, each member’s relationship with his elder was reaffirmed annually with the payment of a “gift” to him on his birthday. In some cases, “gifts” were also required on special occasions being celebrated by an elder.<sup>23</sup> These did not amount to a large sum of money, but for workers in Chongqing, many of whom lived on the margins of survival, even a small sum of money was significant.

Men from all levels of Chongqing society joined the Robed Brothers, but those from its lower levels comprised the bulk of its membership. Workers joined the brotherhood primarily to gain protection from the myriad dangers they faced in the city. As one former cotton fluffer explained, almost everyone in the city joined the Robed Brothers “to get by a little better . . . If you didn’t join, you’d have a hard time.”<sup>24</sup> Chief among workers’ concerns was avoiding conscription into the army. To meet quotas, conscription agents snatched able-bodied males wherever they could find them. In the countryside outside of Chongqing, peasants were taken from their homes while they slept. Coolies hauling goods along the roads to the city were forcibly conscripted, as were sailors on boats. Conscription agents even went into factories and mines to dragoon workers. Because the majority of these agents were Robed Brother elders, they were able to offer protection to workers who accepted them as their masters. Most workers who joined the Robed Brothers during the war did so to avoid conscription, a consideration that certainly played a role in the spectacular growth of the Robed Brothers during the war years.<sup>25</sup>

Workers also joined the Robed Brothers to gain protection against physical

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horizontal, the core relationship with their elder was decidedly hierarchical in nature. See “Jiefang qian Chongqing de paoge,” 127.

<sup>22</sup> Membership in the Robed Brothers was closed to certain occupational groups including hairdressers and pedicurists. By the late 1940s, members of these occupational groups had formed their own branch of the Robed Brothers in Chongqing.

<sup>23</sup> Workers I interviewed disagreed about the frequency with which gifts had to be paid to an elder. This disparity probably reflects variations among the elders themselves.

<sup>24</sup> Zhao Quanyi, interview by the author, November 5, 1992, Chongqing, China.

<sup>25</sup> Competition from the Green Gang and massive immigration also played a role. See McIsaac, “Limits of Chinese Nationalism,” 177–78.

attacks. This safeguard was especially important for sailors on the ships that plied the waters of Sichuan's rivers. Yang Huitang, a native of Wuhan who worked as a sailor on steamers during the war, recalled that membership in the gang was necessary in order to disembark safely at various river ports in Sichuan:

Most sailors joined the Robed Brothers . . . If you didn't, you couldn't get by. You'd get into tight spots, especially when you went to Luzhou or Yibin [two other river ports in Sichuan]. If you weren't a Robed Brother, when you arrived at the dock someone would ask if you wanted to die. They would kill you . . . They all had guns! . . . But if you joined the Robed Brothers, they wouldn't shoot you. Robed Brothers didn't shoot Robed Brothers.<sup>26</sup>

For men who worked in Chongqing's extensive transport industry and on its docks, membership in the Robed Brothers was a necessary prerequisite for getting a job. As in Tianjin and Shanghai, all aspects of Chongqing's transport industry were dominated by gang bosses. Each of them controlled a certain amount of territory, whether it was a dock, a street, or a neighborhood. All the goods that passed through that area had to be transported by workers who had sworn allegiance to the area boss.<sup>27</sup>

There was thus a decidedly coercive element to what drew workers into the Robed Brothers. Most joined to gain protection against the brotherhood itself, whether from the conscription agents who were its leaders or from members of the brotherhood who were defending their own territory (or, more accurately, that of their elder). Others joined in order to get jobs. In addition to protection and employment, the brotherhood provided workers with access to an extended social network on which they could draw for assistance, particularly in gaining the introductions that were necessary to get a job.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the brotherhood's extraordinary power and prestige in Chongqing provided workers who joined it with a measure of status.<sup>29</sup> But because the coercive element dominated, workers in Chongqing viewed membership in the Robed Brothers primarily as a pragmatic strategy to help them survive in a dangerous and hostile environment. The Robed Brothers was, essentially, an organization that relied on the social metaphor of brotherhood to establish a social hierarchy and build the political power of individual men.

THE SECOND FORM OF CONSTRUCTED BROTHERHOOD in wartime Chongqing, known as "gold and orchid" brotherhoods, reflected a somewhat different set of considerations among workers. While they relied chiefly on the Robed Brothers for protection in Chongqing's public spaces, they turned to their own immediate co-workers, often but not always, those with whom they shared native-place ties, to establish more intimate bonds on which they relied for loans in times of need such

<sup>26</sup> Yang Huitang, interview by the author, November 1, 1992, Chongqing.

<sup>27</sup> Very little systematic information about Chongqing's transport industry is available. Guilds that dated from the early years of the Republican period controlled certain aspects of it, especially along the docks, but the various territories into which the city was carved up by those who controlled the transport industry do not seem to have represented areas controlled by official guilds.

<sup>28</sup> Tang Yuanguai and Zuo Wenqing, interviews by the author, October 31, 1992, Chongqing.

<sup>29</sup> Gao Honglin, interview by the author, May 31, 1995, Chongqing.

as illness or unemployment, assistance in financing weddings and funerals, and support in conflicts with other urban groups. These brotherhoods also served as social cliques, and sworn brothers often socialized together in teahouses after work or went to markets and theater performances on days off.

Unlike the Robed Brothers, “gold and orchid” brotherhoods were formed spontaneously and voluntarily among men who “got on well together.”<sup>30</sup> These brotherhoods usually ranged from three to twenty members, although groups of eighty to a hundred were not uncommon. The personal and affective nature of the ties that provided the basis for these relationships was reflected in the phrase “pledging close friendship” that workers used to describe them. “Close friendship” (*lanjiao*) is shorthand for “the relation between gold and orchids” (*jinlan zhijiao*), a reference to a passage in the *Book of Changes* that states: “When two people have the same heart, their strength can cut metal.”<sup>31</sup> Words that are of the same heart have the fragrance of orchids.”<sup>32</sup> It is admittedly difficult to believe that groups of eighty men were bound together by strong ties of close friendship, but it is the ideal here rather than the reality that is important.

Brotherhood was pledged in a simple ceremony held in a secluded spot such as a temple or an out-of-the-way place in the factory. One worker recalled that he had sworn brotherhood with friends in the factory kitchen when no one was there.<sup>33</sup> This ceremony consisted simply of an oath of loyalty that was given by each member in turn, beginning with the eldest, who was thereafter referred to as “eldest brother,” and ending with the youngest. Thus hierarchy was also present in these brotherhoods from the beginning.<sup>34</sup> A variety of oaths were used, but all were modeled after the famous oath sworn in the Peach Garden by Liu Bei, Zhang Fei, and Guan Yu and described in *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, and all stressed the same essential virtues of loyalty to one’s sworn brothers and commitment to righteousness (*yi*):

We three, Liu Bei, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei, though of different families, swear brotherhood, and promise mutual help to one end. We will rescue each other in difficulty, and we will aid each other in danger. We swear to serve the state and save the people. We ask not the same day of birth, but we seek to die together. May Heaven, the all-ruling, and Earth, the all-producing, read our hearts, and if we turn aside from righteousness or forget kindness may Heaven and man smite us!<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Workers I interviewed in Chongqing all drew a sharp distinction between the Robed Brothers and the smaller sworn brotherhoods known as “gold and orchid” brotherhoods. The central difference they all identified was the more affective and voluntary nature of the bonds that drew together men in the latter form.

<sup>31</sup> Because *jin* is a generic term used to refer to metal, as in, for example, the five metals (*wu jin*) of gold, silver, copper, iron, and tin, it seems appropriate to translate it variously in this paragraph as both “gold” and “metal” in order to reflect the different contexts and uses referred to in these two sentences.

<sup>32</sup> *Ciyuan* [Dictionary of word origins] (Beijing, 1990), 2741.

<sup>33</sup> Ye Shaohua, interview by the author, May 31, 1995, Chongqing.

<sup>34</sup> As Davis and Kutcher point out in their articles, the principles of ranking and hierarchical ordering of members are fundamental to Chinese conceptions of ordered relationships, including that between brothers. The notion of fraternal egalitarianism that plays such an important role in European and American conceptions of brotherhood is completely absent in China, where hierarchical ranking and observance of it is often seen as fundamental to social stability.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted by Martin in *Shanghai Green Gang*, citing Lo Kuan-chung, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms: San kuo Chih Yen-I*, C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, trans., 2 vols. (Shanghai, 1925), 5–6. In the quote, romanization has been changed to pinyin.

Some wine (or water if wine was not available) was shared to seal the oath. Ideally, this wine would have the blood of a chicken or of each of the brothers mixed in, but this custom was not always followed in practice.

The simplicity of this ceremony masked its profound symbolic significance. Through the swearing of an oath of mutual loyalty and the sharing of a ritual drink, members joined the long tradition of sworn brotherhood associated with the famous fraternities of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and especially *All Men Are Brothers*.<sup>36</sup> For these participants, as for others in this tradition, the ceremony also marked the creation of a new community of friends who were committed to a common purpose. Whereas the initiation ceremony of Chongqing's Robed Brothers emphasized the subordination of an individual to his elder, the ceremony of the "gold and orchid" brotherhoods stressed mutuality of obligations and sentiments. Although hierarchy was still present in the latter in the ranking of members by age, the emphasis was on consolidating mutual obligations and shared values of loyalty and righteousness that defined the sworn brotherhood tradition.<sup>37</sup>

When men pledged brotherhood with one particular group, they were not bound exclusively to that group. They could and did swear brotherhood with other groups of men. Membership in different brotherhoods sometimes overlapped, thereby providing workers with interlocking networks on which they could draw for assistance (and further extending the sense of community that brotherhoods offered). If one individual belonged to two separate brotherhoods that had no other shared members, men in both groups who had never sworn brotherhood to each other would nevertheless honor obligations to their brother's brothers.

GIVEN THE PROMINENCE OF SECRET SOCIETIES in political rebellion and criminal activities during the late imperial era in China, it is not surprising that the relationship between sworn brotherhoods and violence has been a familiar theme in the literature on sworn brotherhoods. The motivations for this violence are usually located in the political or economic objectives of these organizations. However, what is less often acknowledged is that violence also played a central role in the sworn brotherhood ideology and in the meaning of the fraternal relationship itself. Despite many differences, both the Robed Brothers and "gold and orchid" brotherhoods shared a commitment to clearly defined values and the use of violence to demonstrate such commitment and protect the fraternal community. A full discussion of the many and varied roles violence played in these organizations is beyond the scope of this short article. Here, I will only suggest some of the ways in which violence was integral to the sworn brotherhood ideal projected by "gold and orchid" brotherhoods.

As the Peach Garden Oath suggests, violence was envisioned from the beginning

<sup>36</sup> This was mentioned by David K. Jordan as one of the appealing aspects of swearing brotherhood by men he interviewed in Taiwan. See Jordan, "Sworn Brothers: A Study in Chinese Ritual Kinship," in *The Chinese Family and Its Ritual Behavior*, Hsieh Jih-Chang and Chuang Ying-chang, eds. (Taipei, 1985), 236.

<sup>37</sup> These probably did not cancel out loyalties to one's family, but no information is available for studying the potential tension between obligations to sworn brothers and one's blood relations in Chongqing.

of the formal relationship as a means by which sworn brothers could demonstrate their mutual loyalty. Although the pledge to “rescue each other in difficulty” and “aid each other in danger” did not necessarily require violence, it was present as a possibility within the oath itself. Moreover, violence was implied as an ideal end for sworn brothers, in the sense that it would provide the simultaneous and united death they had pledged to seek.

Looking beyond the oath to the activities sworn brotherhoods engaged in, one sees that violence was also an essential component of the image of heroism projected in stories such as *All Men Are Brothers*. Above all else, members of the brotherhood described in that work were heroes chosen by heaven to defend justice and uphold righteousness in a world dominated by corrupt and venal officials and greedy and avaricious citizens.<sup>38</sup> Demonstrating the essentially honorable character of the members of the brotherhood through descriptions of their efforts to defend righteousness and uphold justice is a central preoccupation of this work. Violence is essential to this task, and the stories contain vivid and detailed descriptions of gory fights between the members of the brotherhood and the forces of evil they oppose. Violence is also one of the primary means through which men demonstrate their loyalty to their sworn brothers. It is important to emphasize that the glorification of violence in these stories is not for the sake of violence itself. Rather, it serves as the means by which vengeance is exacted, justice achieved, and men express their righteousness and loyalty to the brotherhood, thereby confirming their manhood.<sup>39</sup>

With the centrality of violence promoted by these stories, sworn brotherhoods modeled after them played a role in much of the violence that punctuated working-class life in wartime Chongqing. Conflict among workers in China’s wartime capital was rampant and often violent throughout the war years. Fights regularly broke out on the city’s docks, streets, and in factories, teahouses, restaurants, and inns. Seemingly trivial incidents involving individuals or small groups of workers frequently escalated into large-scale brawls in which dozens or even hundreds of workers faced off against each other. The weapons used in these confrontations ranged from bare hands and fists to wooden cudgels, pieces of factory equipment, knives, guns, and occasionally even heavy artillery when arsenal workers were drawn into the fray. Factory managers and police in Chongqing tended to blame sworn brotherhoods for many of these incidents, but this assessment does not seem to result from an actual investigation of the relationships among those involved.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, sworn brotherhoods were not the “cause” of all the violence that occurred in Chongqing, nor were they involved in every conflict. Nevertheless, a clear pattern in which “trivial incidents” between individuals regularly escalated, apparently spontaneously, into brawls involving dozens or hundreds of men clearly points to the presence of the kinds of social networks and ties of loyalty associated with sworn brotherhoods. Moreover, the prominence of

<sup>38</sup> Robert Ruhlman, “Traditional Heroes in Chinese Popular Fiction,” in Arthur F. Wright, ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford, Calif., 1960), 166–73.

<sup>39</sup> Hsia, *Classic Chinese Novel*, 96–97.

<sup>40</sup> Archival records of interrogations of workers involved in conflict do not record this question. Of course, this may also reflect an awareness that these kinds of activities on behalf of other men would only be undertaken by those who were sworn brothers.



issues of righteousness and vengeance in much of the conflict that occurred highlights the presence of values associated with the sworn brotherhood tradition.<sup>41</sup> The following example is typical of many others that occurred in Chongqing during the war years.

One afternoon in early March 1945, Zhou Kun, an unskilled worker at the Number 50 Arsenal, was drinking tea at the Yiletian Teahouse. Another customer at the teahouse did not have enough money to get back to town, so Zhou loaned him 500 *yuan* to cover the fare, accepting the other worker's hat as collateral. The traveler agreed to return the next day with an additional 200 *yuan* in interest to redeem the hat. The next day at the teahouse, Zhou met a friend of the hat's owner who had been sent to retrieve the hat. As agreed, the latter turned over 700 *yuan*, but Zhou apparently hesitated to return the hat. Mrs. Shi, the wife of the owner of the teahouse who was observing the scene, accused Zhou of "harboring evil intentions," and an argument between the two ensued that quickly turned into a brawl. Shi joined in, helping his wife to beat up Zhou. The fight ended only when some of the people who were standing around pulled them apart.

Zhou returned to the factory and gathered together a group of seventeen or eighteen of his sworn brothers, all of whom worked in the same workshop (and all but one of whom was from Sichuan). On the evening of March 6, the group, led by Zhou, proceeded to destroy the teahouse. They cut the electric lights and smashed tables, chairs, and tea bowls. Soy sauce spilled out of broken vats and flowed all over the floor. Shi's wife and other workers who were drinking at the teahouse were attacked. (Shi himself, sensing trouble when the workers had arrived, had gone off to report the attack.) Total damages amounted to almost 10,000 *yuan*.<sup>42</sup>

This conflict suggests the various roles violence played in Chongqing's sworn brotherhoods. First, by destroying the teahouse on Zhou's behalf, his sworn brothers demonstrated their loyalty to him, thereby fulfilling their original oath. While proving their loyalty did not necessarily require such drastic action, incidents such as this one provided, ironically, a relatively easy, accessible, and risk-free way for men with scant resources to demonstrate loyalty and righteousness.<sup>43</sup> Although such violence always involved the possibility of injury or even death, this element of danger actually served to remind men of the original Peach Garden Oath and the potential of dramatically fulfilling its ideal through a united death. Moreover, for Zhou himself, violence provided the only means by which he could reclaim the manhood he had lost in his altercation with Shi's wife. Although there are variations across cultures in the extent to which notions of masculine honor are dependent on

<sup>41</sup> Sworn brotherhoods also contributed to working-class violence in Chongqing by creating boundaries between insiders and outsiders. See, for example, a petition written by Lu Chaosui, a worker at Yu Feng Cotton Mill, to the Bureau of Social Affairs, June 1946, Archives of the Chongqing Municipal Bureau of Social Affairs, 16: *juan* 180/12, 39, Chongqing Municipal Archives. For a more extensive discussion of the role of sworn brotherhoods in violence in wartime Chongqing, see McIsaac, "Limits of Chinese Nationalism," 184–88.

<sup>42</sup> Report on investigation, Archives of the Number 50 Arsenal, *mu* 3, *juan* 105, 85–94, Chongqing Municipal Archives.

<sup>43</sup> The risks associated with demonstrating loyalty through, for example, providing financial loans to sworn brothers, were made clear to the sworn brothers of one man who had borrowed money from them in order to get married and then had died shortly after the wedding without repaying the loan. These men were left with no way to claim the money owed to them. See the report dated September 7, 1945, Archives of the Number 50 Arsenal, *mu* 3, *juan* 105, 182.

conflict and violence, studies of honor societies throughout the world highlight the importance of violence in the process of claiming and defending it.<sup>44</sup> In China, however, manliness is not commonly associated with violence, at least not within Confucian culture. Nevertheless, violence has not been entirely absent there as a means by which men could claim and defend their masculinity. In a study of village guardsmen and violence in the “bachelor subculture” of south China, James Watson pointed out that violence was the only means by which unmarried men could preserve and enhance their “male image.”<sup>45</sup> And in a recent work on images of masculinity in mainland Chinese fiction of the 1980s, Kam Louie has shown that these images relied on displays of physical strength and prowess.<sup>46</sup> Nor is the link between violence and expressions of manhood a new development in the twentieth century. Kimberly Besio has recently suggested in her study of changing depictions of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*’ hero Zhang Fei in Yuan and Ming fiction and drama that the values associated with martial heroes may have enjoyed wider popularity before the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, Confucianism in China has long emphasized marriage and the production of sons to carry on the family name as the essential element of manhood. For Confucians, the expectation that men would marry and produce sons was more than a desirable ideal, it was an obligation. As Mencius said, “There are three things which are unfilial, and the greatest of them is to have not posterity.”<sup>48</sup> But by the 1920s, poor and marginalized men found it increasingly difficult to realize this vision of manhood, as an agrarian crisis coupled with demographic changes resulted in the decline of peasant families in many areas of China. A full discussion of the complex economic and demographic factors that contributed to this “family crisis” is beyond my scope here.<sup>49</sup> Briefly stated, agrarian decline that may be traced back to the nineteenth century resulted by the early twentieth in increasing immiseration of the peasantry in many areas of China. As family resources dwindled, the size and complexity of agrarian households declined, and many peasant families found it difficult to maintain existing families and create new ones. In addition, practices such as concubinage and historically skewed sex ratios lowered the pool of prospective brides available for marriage to lower-class men. By the early twentieth century, the convergence of these economic and demographic factors resulted in extremely low rates of marriage among peasant men in many

<sup>44</sup> The literature on the concept of male honor is vast. See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, *Algeria, 1960*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, 1979); Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Honor in Early Modern France* (New York, 1993). For an overview of the concept of honor, see Julian Pitt-Rivers, “Honor,” in David Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 6 (New York, 1968).

<sup>45</sup> James Watson, “Self-Defense Corps. Violence and the Bachelor Sub-culture in South China: Two Case Studies,” *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology* (Taiwan, 1988), 216.

<sup>46</sup> Kam Louie, “Masculinities and Minorities: Alienation in ‘Strange Tales from Strange Lands,’” *China Quarterly* 132 (1992): 1119–35; also Louie, “The Macho Eunuch: The Politics of Masculinity in Jia Pingwa’s ‘Human Extremities,’” *Modern China* 17 (April 1991): 163–87.

<sup>47</sup> Kimberly Besio, “Zhang Fei in Yuan Vernacular Literature: Legend, Heroism, and History in the Reproduction of the Three Kingdoms Story Cycle,” *Bulletin of Sung-Yuan Studies* 27 (1997): 63–98.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in Judith Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983), 32.

<sup>49</sup> See Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution*, 79–97, for a more complete summary discussion of the causes and consequences of agrarian decline and its effects on peasant families and men in particular.

areas of China.<sup>50</sup> Surveys of marriage rates found that in some areas anywhere from 30 percent to nearly 100 percent of agrarian laborers were unable to marry.<sup>51</sup> In cities, where many poor peasants migrated in search of work, the gap between the numbers of men and women in the population could be especially striking, as it was in wartime Chongqing (see above). The difficulties men in Chongqing faced in meeting wedding expenses during the 1930s and 1940s is poignantly suggested by the fact that one of the central functions of "gold and orchid" sworn brotherhoods was to pool resources to meet wedding expenses.

For men living in a society that validated few alternatives to marriage and family life, widespread bachelorhood had deep emotional and practical ramifications and contributed to the growth of sworn brotherhood organizations. Their association with a long and glorious tradition, as well as their popular image as a refuge for just and righteous men who found themselves pushed to the margins of society, meant that fraternal organizations were uniquely suited to playing an important role in helping to fill this void. Edward Friedman noted in his study of a rural area in Guangdong province:

In a society where men are not complete unless they marry and have male heirs . . . village migrants who could afford neither wife nor home probably experienced themselves as immoral. The opportunity to join as a peer a brotherhood of valued comrades may have led to an experience almost of holiness in the fulfillment of the new affirmation . . . The virile life of an armed hero fulfilled deep, culturally defined masculine needs that were satisfied in no other way.<sup>52</sup>

While Friedman probably overstates the religious nature of the crisis of masculinity experienced by Chinese peasants in the Republican era, he is correct in pointing to the need for alternative values and ideals and the possibilities for them that participation in fraternal associations opened up in this social and cultural context. Through the practice of swearing brotherhood, workers in Chongqing claimed for themselves a social identity as honorable men whose role in defending justice and

<sup>50</sup> Population statistics for China are extremely unreliable before the 1950s, but anecdotal evidence and censuses suggest that men have often outnumbered women. A number of factors have contributed to the predominance of males in China's population, but one of the most important is the favoring of male children within the Confucian patriarchal system. Female infanticide was the most dramatic expression of the bias toward male children. In the nineteenth century, the killing of girl babies was routine in several parts of China, even within wealthy families (who were concerned about dowry payments). The practice of concubinage, through which wealthy men in China claimed a disproportionate share of women available for marriage, was another factor that reduced the pool of women. As a result, even before the beginning of the twentieth century, China had a permanent pool of unmarried and rootless men. For a discussion of China's population and sex ratios within it, see Ho Ping-ti, *Studies on the Population of China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 57–62.

<sup>51</sup> Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution*, 92–94, cites Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasant Life: A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley* (London, 1939), 53; Sidney Gamble, *Ting Hsien: A North China Rural Community* (1954; rpt. edn., Stanford, Calif., 1968), 28; Martin Yang, *A Chinese Village* (New York, 1945), 51; and Hu Chi-hsi, "The Sexual Revolution in the Kiangsi Soviet," *China Quarterly* 59 (July–September 1974): 479. As far as I know, no surveys of marriage rates were conducted in Sichuan during the 1930s and 1940s, but when Gregory Anthony Ruf interviewed villagers in western Sichuan during the 1980s, he found that "the low social status and weak economic power faced by most landless laborers made it difficult if not impossible to marry and reproduce" in Sichuan during the years before the revolution. Ruf, "Pillars of the State: Laboring Families, Authority, and Community in Rural Sichuan, 1937–1991" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1994), 110–11.

<sup>52</sup> Edward Friedman, *Backward toward Revolution: The Chinese Revolutionary Party* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974), 135.

upholding righteousness brought them from the margins of Chinese society to its center.

THE CHINESE STATE has viewed sworn brotherhoods as subversive organizations since the early Qing dynasty and has regularly banned them. However, as recent scholarship on secret societies and sworn brotherhoods has shown, despite the popular and historiographical association of secret societies with activities against the state, most sworn brotherhood organizations were not overtly political in nature. In wartime Chongqing, fraternal organizations encompassed a range of relationships and meanings for the men who joined them. But, for the most part, overtly anti-state activities were not one of their features.

Nevertheless, they did in many ways constitute a challenge to the political order being developed by the Guomindang state. Even as they adopted a largely Confucian vocabulary to define their values and ideals, probably as a way to legitimate their own existence, Chongqing's sworn brotherhoods shifted the social arena within which those values were to be practiced away from the family and state and toward the independently formed community of the fraternity. By providing an alternative to the models of kinship and society defined by Confucian ideology and promoted by the Chinese state, and by glorifying the bonds of loyalty and commitment to righteousness that had brought them together, fraternal organizations inevitably weakened the ties of loyalty to the family and the state that were the cornerstone of Confucian ideology. Moreover, sworn brotherhood constituted a powerful bond among men that enabled them to resist the intrusion of more formal forms of state power. This may be seen most clearly in the central government's difficulties in breaking the deeply entrenched local power of the Robed Brothers in Chongqing during the war, as the exiled government sought to establish its own power and legitimacy in an area in which its influence had previously been minimal.

Yet, by the 1930s, while they recognized the potential danger to state hegemony that was posed by even the smallest sworn brotherhood organizations, Chiang Kai-shek and other members of the Guomindang government also understood the extraordinary power and usefulness of the sworn brotherhood relationship in consolidating relations and building ties of loyalty among men, and used these relationships to build loyalty to themselves and state institutions. Thus, though fraternal organizations of all types were banned by the Guomindang state, Chiang Kai-shek relied on the practice of swearing brotherhood to consolidate his own ties with leaders of powerful gangs in Shanghai and Sichuan.<sup>53</sup> And, as Wen-hsin Yeh has demonstrated, Dai Li, chief of the Nationalist military intelligence service, effectively utilized the sworn brotherhood ideology to build a secret police that was fiercely loyal to him.<sup>54</sup> Thus, by the 1930s, even though members of the Guomin-

<sup>53</sup> Martin, *Shanghai Green Gang*, 21; Tang, *et al.*, "Jiefang qian Chongqing de paoge," 164.

<sup>54</sup> Wen-hsin Yeh, "Dai Li and the Liu Geqing Affair: Heroism in the Chinese Secret Service during the War of Resistance," *Journal of Asian Studies* 48 (August 1989): 545–62.

dang state recognized the potentially subversive aspects of the fraternal bond, some also recognized its power and used it for their own ends.

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*AHR Forum*  
Kinship, Male Bonds, and Masculinity in  
Comparative Perspective

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ROBERT A. NYE

AS SUSAN MANN EXPLAINS in her introductory essay to this *Forum*, the emergence of gender as a subject in Chinese history has been retarded by the real and symbolic power that has inhered in gender relations in China for a couple of millennia. The unbroken periods of dynastic peace that graced that vast and diverse land were the product of a system of political domination and moral orthodoxy that depended on and reinforced patriarchy, patrilineality, and patrimony. In dialectical fashion, historians of China first concerned themselves with the women whose positions at the bottom of the gender hierarchy were determined by sex before they turned their attention to the men who exploited and dominated them. The same order of discovery in North American and European history stimulated a singular interest in women's history and some understandable suspicion that the history of men and masculinity was a trumped-up apology for patriarchy.

The first efforts to find a common ground for the historical analysis of gender began in the 1980s and have continued apace, aided by imaginative work in cultural studies, the social sciences, feminist theory, and gay and lesbian studies.<sup>1</sup> Historians of China have been tapping into much of this work for some time; judging by the excellent essays in this *AHR Forum*, they are navigating the complexities of gender history with assurance and expertise, despite a still-modest foundation of monographic research. This work demonstrates that the study of the bonds that united men in varying degrees of harmonious rivalry is an excellent way to get purchase on a set of broader themes that illuminate men's relations to women and Neo-Confucian ideals of the family, as well as to assess their responses to the vicissitudes of the economy and state power. My own field of specialization is modern European history, most recently the history of sexuality. What follows is not comparative history in any strict sense but a modest effort to assess these contributions to the history of men and masculinity in China from a Euro-American perspective.

As historians of the West have learned, if one investigates some aspect of gender or sexuality as an isolated phenomenon, one risks distorting its meaning in socio-cultural context. Ironically, this danger is greatest, perhaps, in kinship studies, where the aim is to map kin, property, and power relationships in particular societies in comprehensive, interlocking patterns. As all these essays demonstrate,

<sup>1</sup> Joan W. Scott's book on these issues captures nicely the first moves in this direction during the 1980s. See *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988).

China's long-lived and ideologically reinforced kinship system seems to make it the *locus classicus* for investigations of this kind. Mann recounts in her essay the impact of Margery Wolf's *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (1972) on Chinese history, following generations of kinship and family studies that had failed to challenge the masculine prerogatives of China's patriarchal and patrilineal kin system. Important as this initiative has been, the potential weakness of a revisionist approach, as historians and anthropologists have been arguing lately, is that, by detaching the "emotional" domestic realm of women from a wider world of kin relations governed by male "interest," one risks reproducing the ideology of separate spheres as historical description.<sup>2</sup>

The parental bond or the mother-son dyad are not the only relationships infused with emotion, nor are male-male relations concerned only with exchanges of property and womenfolk from which all emotional commitment has been drained, though, as Pierre Bourdieu has pointed out, it does help to understand the stakes for which the patriarch is playing.<sup>3</sup> Rather, as Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean have argued, "centring analysis on a particular moment ignores the roles that other individuals play in the whole process of reproduction; it also places the centre of interest on reproduction in the dynamics of family life to the detriment of other aspects: production and reproduction of everyday life."<sup>4</sup> This insight has encouraged historians and anthropologists of Western societies to move beyond reconstructing the vertical lines of filiation and reproduction to explore the horizontal boundaries of family and kin relations, particularly siblings, godparents, more distant affines, and various fictive kin relations.<sup>5</sup>

This literal broadening of kinship studies has spawned queries about the continued utility of distinguishing between kinship, conceived as a rule-bound system that more or less automatically reproduces prescriptive emotions and duties, and voluntary relationships such as, perhaps particularly, friendship. Julian Pitt-Rivers, a distinguished anthropologist of Mediterranean societies, has argued that we would do well to consider all intimate relationships under the sign of "amity," a term he borrows from his teacher Meyer Fortes. He points out that there are forms of ritual kinship that partake of the nature of friendship, with its voluntary assumption of reciprocal rights and duties, and there are ways that non-kin relations can achieve the consubstantiality of kinship in love, fostering, or adoption that is the equivalent of blood itself. Indeed, we are often deceived, he suggests, by the apparent "naturalness" of bloodlines and the derivative imagery of ceremonial blood-brotherhood; for almost anything consumed collectively in a sacramental

<sup>2</sup> This is a central assumption of many of the essays in Jane Fishburne Collier and Sylvia Junko Yanagisako, eds., *Gender and Kinship: Essays toward a Unified Analysis* (Stanford, Calif., 1987).

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "Marriage Strategies as Strategies of Reproduction," in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Family and Society: Selections from the Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (Baltimore, 1976), 117–44.

<sup>4</sup> Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, eds., *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge, 1984), 19.

<sup>5</sup> See for an excellent summary of this point, Leonore Davidoff, "'Where the Stranger Begins': The Question of Siblings in Historical Analysis," in Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (New York, 1995), 206–26.

spirit can produce the figurative bonds of kinship.<sup>6</sup> Even though human societies have always believed that “like produces like,” they have not always imagined the bond, as we have learned to do, in terms of blood lineage or the union of gametes.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, “otherness” is a constantly negotiated and negotiable matter, and complementarity is ultimately a feature of the social duality of individuals, placing everyone, as Pitt-Rivers puts it, “between two aspects of his social relations, two personae of the same individual: the baby and the heir, the affine and the sibling, the bond-friend and the clansman, the blood-brother and the agemate, the lover and the spouse, the corpse and the ancestor, the kith and the kin.”<sup>8</sup>

These adaptable approaches to the study of kinship have proven themselves useful in Western historiography in the investigation of a variety of interrelated subjects, including gender, class, economic life, sexuality, and politics, together with the usual fare of historians of kinship: marriage, inheritance, and social reproduction. Kinship cannot be artificially extricated from any of these things but should be regarded as an “‘idiom’ through which a great many relations are conceptualized and a great many transactions are negotiated.”<sup>9</sup> In a traditional—and until recent times pre-industrial—society like China, there is considerable overlap in all the areas for which kinship is an idiom and therefore, one might imagine, less variability and choice in implementing the social strategies governed by its rules. This should not discourage historians of China from searching for local, temporal, or structural variations that indicate adaptations to transformations ranging from climate and demographic shifts to changes of political regime.

As Sabeian has shown in his monumental study of the Württemberg village of Neckarhausen, the kinship system underwent an extraordinary transformation within a few generations to accommodate economic, political, and demographic changes by performing new tasks, forging new obligations and rights, and legitimizing new endogamous alliances. One of his most interesting findings is that if we place less emphasis on the usual “jural” public/private divide in matters of social reproduction and consider instead the more informal role that women played in kinship construction, especially in implementing marital alliances, we obtain a fuller, richer account of kin relations that reunites interest and emotion as equal components in family strategies.<sup>10</sup>

Adrian Davis’s study of the miseries of the fraternal bond in late imperial China

<sup>6</sup> Julian Pitt-Rivers, “The Kith and the Kin,” in Jack Goody, ed., *The Character of Kinship* (Cambridge, 1973), 89–106.

<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Davidoff argues that notions of the primacy of “blood relations” is an early twentieth-century concept. *Worlds Between*, 108.

<sup>8</sup> Pitt-Rivers, “Kith and the Kin,” 103.

<sup>9</sup> David Warren Sabeian, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1998), 6.

<sup>10</sup> Sabeian, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*, esp. 449–510. See also his earlier work on Neckarhausen, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1990); and *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984). By way of exhortation, in his work on the Kabyle people, Pierre Bourdieu found that women employed a “heretical” matrilineal reading of kin relations that operated as a parallel language to official patrilineal discourse, forging bonds of kin intimacy against the grain. Bourdieu reminds the anthropologist that he or she is free to choose “all possible routes between two points in genealogical space: in practice, the choice of one route rather than another, the male or the female, which orients the marriage towards the other lineage, depends on the power relations within the domestic unit and tends to reinforce, by legitimating it, the balance of power which makes the choice possible.” *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, 1977), 43.

reveals the complexity and emotional texture of social life that lay beneath the mantle of Neo-Confucian ethical prescription and law. Bound together as the co-inheritors of esteemed parents, brothers were nonetheless unequal in status; the younger, though able to anticipate an equal share in the legacy, was obliged to suffer the authority of his elder(s). The mischief that arose as a consequence of this contradiction was also a feature of the systems of partitive inheritance that flourished in various parts of Europe.<sup>11</sup> The demise of the patriarch, who might have favored one brother over another, often marked the beginnings of conflict between (or among) them.

Davis takes the murderous conflicts that arose in the cases he investigates as evidence for the complex and “fragile” bond between brothers in late imperial China. The hierarchical nature of the bond made identity a simple matter of order, but the abuse of authority by the elder created tensions that unsettled the conventional prescriptions of submission and filial respect that the family’s emotional economy required. As Davis has found, the violence this tension provoked by younger brothers was not intended to overturn the system; its perpetrator was no rebel, even though he might have made an effort to evade punishment. Rather, the offender sought to defend the system and redress the wrongs done him by his brother’s unjust behavior. This seems also to have been the case with fratricidal brothers whose sibling had dishonored the clan, whether by lack of filial respect or some other deviance. Davis effectively demonstrates that the justifications offenders presented at their trials were essentially scripts drawn from the most literal readings of the Neo-Confucian system.

Unlike traditional China, Western societies did not require differential punishments for fratricide. However, special punishments for regicide and patricide were a common feature of Old Regime law codes, and in France the patriarch’s authority was inscribed in Napoleonic law in the form of differential punishments for husbands and wives who killed their spouses, women meriting the supreme punishment, men far less. Yet few women were actually put to death for their crime; like the example of the legally disadvantaged younger brother in China, wives in post-Napoleonic France who murdered their husbands justified their action as redress for their husband’s abuse of his authority, not as an attack on authority itself.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the situation in China, however, the presence of a jury system in parts of modern Europe permitted acquittals in such cases, which were, in effect, nullifications of what jurors took to be an injustice, whether in the law itself or its arbitrary application.

In contrast to Western systems of partitive inheritance, the Chinese system, at least as it is portrayed here, seems to have manifested less variation and flexibility. In the West, there were a number of strategies the patriarch could employ to minimize the fissioning of his property and still compensate the heirs, males and

<sup>11</sup> Jack Goody indicates this parallel (although in theory, partitive inheritance in Northern Europe was participated in by all siblings) in “Inheritance, Property and Women: Some Comparative Considerations,” in Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, eds., *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200–1800* (Cambridge, 1976), 36.

<sup>12</sup> For this phenomenon and its evolution in the nineteenth century, see Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law and Society in the Fin-de-Siècle* (Oxford, 1989); Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Stanford, Calif., 1996).

females alike, in some way. In many places, a father felt free to choose the most competent, or perhaps the most loyal, heir to inherit the bulk of his property. In both instances, brothers might have regarded the division of wealth as an injustice, but on the whole, despite the absence of a legal regime of disproportionate punishments, family solidarity kept open conflict in check. When the patriarch disappeared, the chances for conflict increased; siblings found it difficult at such times to continue living in the same household, although they often continued to offer one another help out of a sense of obligation forged in childhood.<sup>13</sup>

Even though it is still an underexamined subject, historians and anthropologists of Western societies consider a variety of factors when they appraise the nature of sibling bonds. The closeness of parent-child relations is one important measure, the assumption being that the intensity of sibling relations varies inversely with the emotional aloofness of the parents (this, of course, could ensure greater rather than less violence should love turn to hate).<sup>14</sup> Another is the change in sibling relations through the life cycle. Competitive feelings might peak at the death of a parent or parents but be amicable, even affectionate, both before and after, especially where marital strategies construct a grid of interfamilial or affinal alliances. As was also evidently the case in China, mothers and sisters could mediate the relations of male siblings in various ways, despite their lack of formal authority. Much also depended on age separation in birth order, the number of children, and a host of other accidents of birth, death, and marriage that make generalization difficult.<sup>15</sup>

What we can affirm is that everywhere the fraternal bond acknowledges the possibility of both equivalence and individuation.<sup>16</sup> There are moments when brothers express solidarity against outsiders or paternal authority, other times when their interests and their emotions are at odds. Brothers are always in a hierarchical relation, whether this is a jural relation, as in China, or a simple matter of majority or differential prospects, as in the West. The nominal egalitarianism of brotherhood is perfectly compatible with hierarchy, is surely provoked by it, and reciprocally. Davis's approach to the study of the fraternal bond acknowledges all these possibilities and shows how they operated in China to perpetuate the Neo-Confucian system of equality within hierarchy.

FRIENDSHIP IN CHINA seems to have been as ambiguous a relationship as the fraternal bond, equally a refuge and a danger. Providing they were fleeting, served some instrumental function of self-advancement, and did not supersede the more essential bonds of family or state devotion, friendships could flourish and even announce themselves to the world. Norman Kutcher's finely nuanced account of the Confucian and literary prescriptions for friendship suggests that in traditional

<sup>13</sup> There is still relatively little literature on inheritance and sibling relations in European society. For modern Brittany, see Martine Segalen, "'Avoir sa part': Sibling Relations in Partible Inheritance Brittany," in Medick and Sabeian, *Interest and Emotion*, 129–44. For eighteenth-century Haute-Provence, see Alain Collomp, "Family Tensions in Early Modern Haute-Provence," in Medick and Sabeian, 145–70.

<sup>14</sup> Segalen, "'Avoir sa part,'" 133–35.

<sup>15</sup> Davidoff discusses these complexities in "Where the Stranger Begins," 209–16.

<sup>16</sup> R. G. Abrahams, "Some Aspects of Levirate," in Goody, *Character of Kinship*, 168–69.



Chinese society friendship was more tolerable when it arose between men of different ages, educational attainments, or status and more threatening when the emotional attachment was itself the principal connection between them. Because he follows this relationship over some time, Kutcher is able to show that observers believed the dangers of intimate friendships increased in times of intensified competition for scarce positions, when instrumental relationships were more crucial than usual for self-promotion and as a guarantee of the excellence of the system. This pressure, in turn, seems to have increased for many men the attraction of friendship as an authentic refuge, judging from the number of them willing to write openly of its appeals.

Since Aristotle, a similar distinction between “instrumental” and “expressive” friendships has existed in the West; as in China, the tension between them has varied according to circumstance and has changed over time. Though far less celebrated in story and verse, the utilitarian type of friendship has been the dominant bond in male-male relations up to our own era. Kinship bonds have been, once again, the model for both. Until the nineteenth century or so, it was common to speak of kin generally as “friends,” but “friend” was also the term used to refer to a patron or dependent to whom one was not related by blood. Such usage suggests that the friendship bond was dominated by vertical ties that served the function of advancing personal and family interest, whether through inheritance or marriage strategies or the cultivation of patronage. By the nineteenth century, it appears that a “friend” was more likely to be a horizontal kin relation or a social peer, a reflection of the gradual democratization of economy and society.<sup>17</sup>

Friendships between relative equals did not erase the utilitarian functions such relationships continued to fulfill, but they certainly possessed the potential for greater intimacy than bonds between men of disparate age or status. It is hard to judge whether intimate male relationships posed a greater threat to the vertical or the horizontal model of utilitarian friendship. What is clear is that Western societies, as has been the case in China, have employed a variety of mechanisms to contain and discourage intimate friendships, while acknowledging them as bonds of great affective power and idealism. In the West, negative associations of male friendship with sodomy or effeminization have proven to be hugely effective disincentives, but equal weight should be given to the construction of affirmative ideals of manhood, virility, and, in the modern era, masculinity.<sup>18</sup> In industrializing societies, the image of the noble soldier-warrior was supplemented by a middle-class ideal of the male breadwinner, whose sacrifices for his family would enable his children, particularly his sons, a proper start in life. Such men could have close friendships with peers (as well as the usual network of utilitarian relations), but

<sup>17</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London, 1987), 33, 199.

<sup>18</sup> See, on these matters, Robert W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Oxford, 1995); Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York, 1996); D. M. Hadley, ed., *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (New York, 1999); Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996); Angus McLaren, *Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries, 1870–1930* (Chicago, 1997); Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

these were deemed inferior to the joys of domesticity, which enjoyed cult status throughout much of nineteenth-century middle-class society.<sup>19</sup>

The danger of the intimate male bond is explicitly acknowledged in the expression that one is willing to die for one's friend(s). The ubiquity of this formula, in Chinese and Western society alike, deserves more attention than it has received. When uttered as an oath by warriors, it is an affirmation of the dangers and solidarities of battle. When it is sworn by blood brothers or by members of a secret society, it dramatizes the potential peril of standing in opposition to a corrupt or unenlightened society. When it is promised between friends or honored as an ideal of friendship, it asserts both the depth of the relation and the threat true intimacy poses to every other social bond.

In this connection, Kutcher makes the very interesting point that the husband/wife analogy to friendship was a reference to male same-sex love that did not, if a man fulfilled all his other obligations within the social hierarchy, enjoin special reproach. If same-sex relations were not exclusive, a man could still marry, have heirs, honor his lineage, and preserve his authority in the household. To this day, the Western notion of a homosexual or gay identity or the notion of an exclusive gay culture makes slow headway in China. Manliness is still a matter of marriage and heirs, even among men who engage regularly in same-sex relations.<sup>20</sup> This is further evidence, if more were needed, that throughout many domains of Asian culture, modernization is not equivalent to westernization. On the other hand, as Frank Dikötter has pointed out, homosexuality in modern China, as a form of non-procreative sexuality, falls into the realm of medicalized deviance utterly indebted to models adopted from the West that links homosexuality, spermatorrhea, masturbation, and other male sexual disorders to impotence or sterility.<sup>21</sup>

There are some parallels with same-sex love in the West, but there are differences as well. In a recent book about the sexual culture of eighteenth-century Britain, George Haggerty has written: "Two men having sex threatens no one. Two men in love: that begins to threaten the very foundations of heterosexist culture."<sup>22</sup> There is a certain anachronistic quality in this formula, "heterosexist culture" not yet existing in the eighteenth century, but the general sentiment is apt. As in China, providing a man was discreet, he could have sex with another man and preserve his manly reputation, so long as he performed his other obligations adequately, and if the connection was ephemeral, situational, and in the active mode. But a man who exclusively sought the company of other men, placed himself in a dependent position vis-à-vis another, dressed foppishly, displayed effeminate mannerisms,

<sup>19</sup> On this connection, see Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 198–228; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), 108–16, 137–40.

<sup>20</sup> Lisa Rofel, "Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities in China," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 5 (1999): 451–74.

<sup>21</sup> Frank Dikötter, *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period* (Honolulu, 1994), 55–69, 139–41, 165–79. See also Hugh Shapiro, "The Puzzle of Spermatorrhea in Republican China," *Positions* 6 (1998): 551–96. For a more recent account of the ways that Western medical concepts of pathology have been adapted to traditional Chinese medical ideas, see Frank Dikötter, *Imperfect Conceptions: Medical Knowledge, Birth Defects and Eugenics in China* (New York, 1998).

<sup>22</sup> George E. Haggerty, *Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1999), 20.

retreated from violence, or otherwise transgressed contemporary canons of manliness, risked having it assumed about him that he was content with the subordinate status and passivity of womankind.<sup>23</sup>

The real danger in men's intimate friendships was the fact of their privacy. Such relationships could not be apprehended within the public hierarchies of a culture of deference, and in modern societies they disappeared into a private space that was gendered feminine. Private conversations, exchanges of letters, voyages in common all aroused suspicions and unease.<sup>24</sup> In China, it appears that intimate friendships might divide or divert a man's indispensable social responsibilities to ancestors, family, and emperor. Intimate friendships between European men put these things in question as well, but they also struck at their individual identities as independent men of honor, masters of their domains, however modest. Although the criteria changed over time and varied according to class, Western men could be expected to be judged according to masculine characteristics that were contrasted to their "feminine" counterparts.

WITH SWORN BROTHERHOODS, we again rejoin kinship, and not just as an idiom but in a way that reproduces the lived experience of brotherhood itself. Lee McIsaac's essay on "righteous fraternities" in wartime Chongqing examines these extraordinary organizations in demographic and social context. Unlike Kutcher's friends and Davis's brothers, the young men who came to find work in the city's many factories may have abandoned all hope of fulfilling the usual obligations of sons and brothers in their native towns. Nor could they expect to find a bride in Chongqing, given the disadvantageous sex ratios in its rapidly growing population, a situation that simply exaggerated the usual scarcity of marriageable women in Chinese society. Without parents, women, or prospects, one might say these young men experienced the bonds of sworn brotherhood as a regression to a primordial state of kin relations.

We are familiar in the West with primal myths of violent and vengeful brothers, from Cain and Abel to Freud's patricidal sons. As McIsaac shows, Chinese society had its own literary models of brothers using violence for just cause, not to mention the forceful example of a veritable plague of bandit gangs in Republican China, whose members also swore blood oaths and justified their violent deeds as acts of righteousness.<sup>25</sup> Sworn brotherhoods seemed to draw directly on the intense emotions inherent in the fraternal bond and displace them outward. Pierre Bourdieu has brilliantly characterized the psychic economy of the brother bond as a negative principle of cohesion based on inevitable insecurity: "'I hate my brother, but I hate the man who hates him.' The negative, forced solidarity created by a

<sup>23</sup> The relationship of effeminacy and homosexuality has been explored widely as an aspect of the history of homosexuality. See George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World* (New York, 1994); Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, eds., *Homosexuality in Modern France* (New York, 1996); Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London, 1994); and see generally Gilbert Herdt, ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).

<sup>24</sup> Alan Bray and Michel Rey, "The Body of the Friend: Continuity and Change in Masculine Friendship in the Seventeenth Century," in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, eds., *English Masculinities, 1660–1800* (London, 1999), 65–84.

<sup>25</sup> Phil Billingsley, *Bandits in Republican China* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), esp. 123–49.

shared vulnerability, which is reinforced every time there is a threat to the jointly owned material and symbolic patrimony, rests on the same principle as the divisive tendency which it temporarily thwarts, that of the rivalry between agnates. So, from the undivided family up to the largest political units, the cohesion endlessly exalted by the mythological and genealogical ideology lasts no longer than the power relations capable of holding individual interests together.”<sup>26</sup>

In Chinese sworn brotherhoods, the volatility of this fraternal bond was partially mitigated by their replication of the patriarchal family, with an “elder” in charge and a hierarchy within the lodge not unlike the differential status of male birth order. Lodges were thus just like the Chinese family—without the women. The absence of sisters and mothers, one must imagine, deprived members of the brotherhoods not only of useful emotional buffers but also of the psychic safety net of beings whose status in the group was lower still than their own. The ready recourse to violence in such circumstances was, if anything, overdetermined.

There are no exact analogues to the sworn brotherhoods in the West. Anarchist rebels, Carbonari, Camorra, or Mafia are either too transitory, too political, or too obviously outside the legal order, despite a number of ritual aspects in common; the French guilds (*compagnonnages*) of the early modern West practiced their secret rites on behalf of the solidarity of their craft.<sup>27</sup> There is surely, as McIsaac acknowledges, a continuum of all-male associations in any society, but the closest thing to “Robed Brothers” and “gold and orchid” brotherhoods in the West may have been the secret societies that originated in eighteenth-century Europe and proliferated during the following century. The first of these groups was Freemasonry, the archetype of all the later fraternal organizations constructed on the model of fictive kin relations. However, Masonry did not thrive because it provided protection or security in an insecure world but because it enabled men of standing or promise to engage in dramatized enactments of equality that were awkward if not impossible to achieve in the world outside. Over the last two centuries, Freemasonry has served as a school for civic virtue, as a masculine refuge from a feminized domestic sphere, and as a gratifying occasion for symbolic ascent through the hierarchy of Masonic degrees.<sup>28</sup>

Like Chinese sworn brotherhoods, Masonic temples and their numerous spin-offs combined authority, hierarchy, and brotherly solidarity. Part of the glue that held this combination of features together consisted of arcane rituals, death vows, and the secrecy of the proceedings uniting to produce a conspiratorial *frisson* for otherwise highly respectable men. For this and still more substantial reasons, governments in Europe and China alike expressed their distrust of secret societies of all kinds by outlawing them, harassing them, or simply refusing them legal identity.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 65.

<sup>27</sup> Cynthia M. Truant, “Solidarity and Symbolism among Journeymen Artisans: The Case of *Compagnonnage*,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21 (1979): 214–26.

<sup>28</sup> There are a number of excellent studies on the long history of Freemasonry. See in particular Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender and Fraternalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Ran Halévi, *Les loges maçonniques dans la France d’Ancien Régime aux origines de la sociabilité démocratique* (Paris, 1984).

<sup>29</sup> For the legal situation of postrevolutionary associations in France, see Carol E. Harrison, *The*

But there may have been another glue, one that is more clearly a feature of all-male groups in the West than in China. In the words of Eve Sedgwick, "the fact that what goes on at football games, in fraternities, at the Bohemian Grove, and at climactic moments in war novels can look, with only a slight shift of optic, quite startlingly 'homosexual,' is not most importantly an expression of the psychic origin of these institutions in a repressed or sublimated homosexual genitality. Instead, it is the coming to visibility of the nominally implicit terms of a coercive double bind . . . For a man to be a man's man is separated only by an invisible, carefully-blurred, always-already crossed line from being 'interested in men.'"<sup>30</sup> Opponents of secret societies certainly suspected as much, and there is evidence that accusations of "criminal" behavior may have moved some Freemasons to admit women temporarily to their lodges.<sup>31</sup>

Homosociality has no doubt always possessed this potential for eroticization. In Britain, late Victorian men took flight in increasing numbers from the feminized domestic realm, and perhaps their own feelings of inadequacy, into clubs, sporting activities, imperial service, and other all-male terrains where they might have encountered a spiritualized adult version of their public school sexual experimentation.<sup>32</sup> However, when men passed the bulk of their free time in exclusively masculine society, the inverse reaction was possible. In some Mediterranean societies, where the home is most decidedly a feminine realm, men are said to be "extruded" into a macho society where effeminacy in all its forms is brutally ridiculed and repressed.<sup>33</sup> As several scholars have pointed out, the *Männerbund* of German associational life possessed the potential for both misogyny and homoerotic desire. Building on the traditional exclusionary practices of the German craft guilds, modern labor organizations made the class struggle in Imperial Germany an all-male affair, helping to ensure that the gap between public and private remained unbridgeable for women.<sup>34</sup> After the Great War, as Klaus Theweleit has provocatively written, a profound fear and hatred of women became an eroticized sign of intense male bonding and fantasy life.<sup>35</sup> Finally, Harry Oosterhuis has recently argued that although the Nazi leadership was suspicious on political grounds of all-male groups such as Hitler's SA, the long tradition of homoerotic tendencies in nationalist and militaristic organizations in the Reich may have encouraged a moral and medical climate that was less fiercely homophobic than is sometimes assumed.<sup>36</sup>

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*Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999), 22–48.

<sup>30</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York, 1985), 89.

<sup>31</sup> Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1991), 121.

<sup>32</sup> Tosh, *Man's Place*, 188–90.

<sup>33</sup> The term is Peter Loizos's, in "A Broken Mirror: Masculine Sexuality in Greek Ethnography," in Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne, eds., *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* (London, 1994), 77. The literature on this issue is extensive, but see especially Stanley Brandes, *Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore* (Philadelphia, 1980); David Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, Conn., 1990).

<sup>34</sup> Nicholas Stargardt, "Male Bonding and the Class Struggle in Imperial Germany," *The Historical Journal* 38 (1995): 175–93.

<sup>35</sup> Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, Stephen Conway, trans., 2 vols. (Minneapolis, Minn., 1985–89).

<sup>36</sup> Harry Oosterhuis, "Medicine, Male Bonding and Homosexuality in Nazi Germany," *Journal of*



Since at least the eighteenth century, the presence in the West of a distinctive, sexualized gender identity seems to provide a point of contrast with male bonds in China. The intimacies of friendship, the collective bonds of secret societies, and a brother bond that challenged hierarchical norms were regarded with suspicion in both China and the West. Such bonds potentially undermined the authority of fathers, kings, and emperors, threatened the smooth transmission of inheritance, or created kinds of solidarity that patterned themselves on kinship relations but weakened their traditional forms. In the West, however, the salient concern about male sexual relations, and the dread of effeminization with which this concern was usually linked, signals the presence of cultural scripts that reflected and helped perpetuate the inferior status of women by scorning femininity in general. All male bonds, including the one between father and son, were situated in a constantly evolving relationship to the practices of masculine domination and women's place in the social and sexual order.

Gender historians in the West have discovered that women's "place" was an endlessly debated and contested subject, but these essays on Chinese male bonds make only nominal efforts to locate them within a constellation of family and kin relationships that surely influenced their emotional valences and orientations. To say nothing of the broader network of living and dead kin, any full account of male bonds must include the relations of parents to male and female children, mother-son, mother-daughter, sister-sister, and brother-sister relations, and the parental bond itself. In truth, kinship historians have only begun trying to reconstruct the complex interactions of emotion and interest in the variety of kinship forms that have appeared in Western societies. Much remains to be done. The one thing about which I think we can be fairly confident is that women and the "woman question" cannot be left out of any story about men.

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*Contemporary History* 32 (1997): 187–205. See also George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 1996), 155–80.

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*Review Essays*  
**Historicizing the City of Angels**

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*Scholars of the urban condition working in various disciplines—ranging from history and geography to architecture and city planning—have become increasingly interested of late in Los Angeles, especially the form it began to take toward the end of the twentieth century. Did this constitute a new type of urban center? If so, what does this say about the shape of American and global patterns of urban history and urban development? And is it meaningful to speak of an emerging “L.A. School” of urban theory, which has a distinctive approach to important issues due to its members being located in and concerned with the City of Angels? These are the kinds of questions addressed in the recent interdisciplinary collection of essays that the three contributors to this section comment on from a trio of different perspectives. The section begins with a piece by **Robert A. Schneider**, who has done a great deal of work on the ceremonial and other aspects of the city of Toulouse in the early modern era. He explores the issue of whether too much is made, in analysis of contemporary Los Angeles, of ruptures with the past. This is followed by a contribution from California historian **Michael E. Engh** that surveys those aspects of L.A.’s social and cultural history that are typically placed at the center in works by members of the “L.A. School,” as well as the topics (such as the actions of certain kinds of religious and secular community organizations) that tend to be underemphasized or ignored. The section closes—at least, the print version of it does—with an exploration of methodological, theoretical, and comparative issues by **Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch**, writing from the perspective of an urban historian of Africa who is based in Paris. Although the AHR’s discussion of the City of Angels ends here, the e-AHR continues with a multimedia text by **Philip J. Ethington**, accessible at [www.historycooperative.org](http://www.historycooperative.org), that includes digitized animated maps and other materials, as well as an essay on epistemology and the history of urban centers.*

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*Review Essays*  
The Postmodern City from an Early Modern Perspective

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ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER

A STRIKING FEATURE OF *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, edited by Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja, is a lack of representations or pictorial depictions that might capture the city as a geographical space. There are, to be sure, iconic images: the dust jacket shows the view of the freeway as seen from the interior of a police cruiser; one chapter includes reproductions of L.A.-inspired advertisements evoking not so much the city as a lifestyle of fun, freedom, and sex; another presents a sampling of postmodern architecture, which, predictably, crops up in this cityscape more than elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> (The best-known icon, the sign "Hollywood," was undoubtedly too much of a cliché to be included in the book.) But these images merely evoke the southern California metropolis through association; they do not depict it. Can anyone conjure up a single view of Los Angeles as readily as the Manhattan skyline, Chicago's Loop, or the San Francisco Bay come to the mind's eye? Indeed, the pure phenomenology of Los Angeles emerges as one of the fundamental assumptions of this collection: the city is not so much a space as an experience, and the quintessential postmodern one at that. There is, as was once famously said of Oakland, "no there there." Even the many maps in the book are alarmingly imprecise. One contributor suggests a "simmering, spread-out pizza with all the extras" as an appropriate metaphor for the city (to be placed next to New York as a melting or boiling pot);<sup>2</sup> while another posits the metropolitan territory as engulfing virtually all of southern California, from Santa Barbara to the Mexican border.<sup>3</sup>

A rush to proclaim the sheer novelty of Los Angeles marks this book, which might serve as a point of entry for a historical assessment of its overall approach. "Los Angeles is the first consequential American city to separate itself decisively from European models and to reveal the impulse to privatization embedded in the origins of the American Revolution," asserts Richard S. Weinstein.<sup>4</sup> And much of *The City* builds on this assertion. Whether this statement correctly characterizes the American Revolution I shall leave to others to decide (but surely the very concept

<sup>1</sup> Harvey Molotch, "L.A. as Design Product: How Art Works in a Regional Economy," in *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 225–77; Charles Jencks, "Hetero-Architecture and the L.A. School," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 47–75.

<sup>2</sup> Jencks, "Hetero-Architecture and the L.A. School," 48.

<sup>3</sup> Molotch, "L.A. as Design Product," 225.

<sup>4</sup> Richard S. Weinstein, "The First American City," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 22.

of "privatization" is anachronistic, implying a preexisting status of government ownership that itself is modern). What "European models" does he have in mind? He elaborates: "In the European city, the public realm is usually apprehended as an open space within a communal solid; our impression of such cities is that they are mass-positive residuals of the feudal city, out of which were carved the piazzas and boulevards."<sup>5</sup> Impression indeed. "The yearning to reestablish the public realm, as it was once understood to exist in Europe, is impossible without a return to the coercive politics and religious privileges we renounced as a nation," he continues. "The shape of public space in European capitals is the result of policies that suited the political strategies of an aristocracy or military or religious oligarchy."<sup>6</sup>

There are several problems with this interpretation. For one, evidence that undermines it is found elsewhere in the volume. Mike Davis shows that the history of twentieth-century Los Angeles has been punctuated by attempts to preserve and create public spaces, most notably the efforts of Frederick Law Olmsted and Harland Bartholomew in the 1930s, which, if successful, would have established a "dramatically enlarged Commons, not the private subdivision [as] the commanding element in the Southern California landscape."<sup>7</sup> That these efforts failed was due to a combination of factors, including the city's vigorous anti-radicalism and the shortage of public funds during the Depression. But their success would hardly have presupposed the "return to coercive politics and religious privileges" evoked by Weinstein, especially given the democratic rhetoric that justified the creation of public spaces in other American cities.<sup>8</sup> For another, the "European model" he seems to have in mind is simply a caricature of urban history that fails to appreciate the dynamic course of cities' development in the last millennium. European cities did not suddenly emerge into their Haussmann stage out of an aging medieval cocoon but, rather, underwent a whole series of spatial transformations, especially in the early modern period.<sup>9</sup> Does this matter? Historians are often prone to flourishing the past as a means of deflating claims to novelty: we can always find precedents and antecedents. Sometimes, this is merely a pointless, even mean-spirited, exercise. Here, however, it might prove salutary, for the highly adumbrated historical perspective, largely limited to twentieth-century America, that informs this book allows the contributors to make excessive claims for the novelty of the L.A. urban experience, which in turn fuels their somewhat apocalyptic prognosis for the "postmodern" city as a whole.

To turn from the postmodern to the early modern urban experience is to appreciate how change, novelty, endless variety, spatial fragmentation, exurban

<sup>5</sup> Weinstein, "First American City," 33.

<sup>6</sup> Weinstein, "First American City," 40.

<sup>7</sup> Mike Davis, "How Eden Lost Its Garden: A Political History of the Los Angeles Landscape," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 164; see also Michael Dear, "In the City, Time Becomes Visible: Intentionality and Urbanism in Los Angeles, 1781–1991," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 91.

<sup>8</sup> For a view of the complex of factors, combining democratic rhetoric with class interests, which promoted the creation of one notable public space, see *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*. Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992).

<sup>9</sup> On these transformations, see Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989), chaps. 3 and 6; Pierre Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme à Paris*, Vol. 2: *Renaissance et temps modernes* (Paris, 1953); Robert A. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse, 1463–1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), 345–52.

expansion, rapid social mobility, economic dislocation, massive in-migration, demographic fluctuation, widespread homelessness, the trampling of tradition, the cacophony of tongues, and the collision of cultures could characterize city life then, too. Early modern cities even had a degree of “virtual reality” as a component of public display. Witness the Renaissance festivals that could transform the cityscape into a fantasyland of the exotic, foreign, and bizarre; royal entries that overwhelmed provincial towns with their mock architectural splendors in homage to a passing potentate; or the pyrotechnic spectacles of the eighteenth century that combined propaganda with sheer entertainment. And what could be more weirdly eclectic than street life in the early modern city, with solemn religious processions competing for space with such popular sports as bear-baiting, for example, or two scaffolds side by side in a public square, one for the mounting of fireworks, the other for the breaking on the wheel of a criminal? The city did not yet have the equivalent of “theme parks”—which the authors of *The City* see hegemonically engulfing Los Angeles—but entertainment ranked just below commerce, legal services, and religion in drawing people inside its walls.

To be sure, most still had walls, or at least a strong sense of place and boundary, which, combined with a durable set of municipal traditions, support the claim that contemporary urban life represents a significant departure from the more settled and constrained environment of pre-industrial cities.<sup>10</sup> As Christopher Friedrichs has pointed out, “the truly creative and transforming epochs in the history of the European city took place not during the early modern era, but before and after it.”<sup>11</sup> While change and innovation certainly marked this period, the point is that cities themselves were not, for the most part, fundamentally altered. Rather, they were beset by a contradiction between dynamism and constraint that was resolved in a variety of ways. Sometimes, innovation could find an outlet only outside the city’s traditional structures: in the area of economic production, for example, the *Verlag* system provided for an escape from guild restrictions, allowing for merchants seeking new methods of production to tap peasant labor in the countryside.<sup>12</sup> Sometimes, change provoked an institutional response designed to contain it, as when new disciplinary and carceral measures were devised to deal with increased social pressures from below.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes, urban culture demonstrated impressive absorptive capacities: in the realm of public display, new secular ceremonies were added to the traditional repertoire of mostly religious rituals with very little sense of competition or displacement.<sup>14</sup> And sometimes, the pressure of change prompted cities to recast the very terms of their self-representation. This last response,

<sup>10</sup> On walls as demarcating the boundary between town and country, see *Villes et campagnes au Moyen Age: Mélanges Georges Despy*, Jean-Marie Duvosquel and Alain Dierkens, eds. (Liège, 1991).

<sup>11</sup> Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (London, 1995), 10.

<sup>12</sup> *European Proto-Industrialization*, Sheilagh C. Ogilvie and Markus Cerman, eds. (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), chap. 2; Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo* (Cambridge, 1983); Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987); Brian S. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), 353–60.

<sup>14</sup> Robert A. Schneider, *The Ceremonial City: Toulouse Observed, 1738–1780* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).



indicative of the transformations that began to work on most European cities in the eighteenth century even before industrialization, has been elucidated by Bernard Lepetit. A new urban image then emerged that replaced stability, enclosure, privilege, and tradition as reigning values with one that underscored the city's economic functions, its dynamic character, and its spatial openness. The transformation was reflected in city maps: those quaint cartographic representations that highlighted houses, churches, and rivers, usually wildly out of scale, gave way to more geometrically accurate renderings of the space and configuration of the city and its environs.<sup>15</sup>

The salient point, however, relates to the tension between tradition and change, which characterized urban life well into the modern era. That this tension is now a thing of the past in the postmodern city—indeed, that its absence is central to the very concept of postmodernity—seems to be the overarching assumption of *The City*.<sup>16</sup> And the authors do make a good case for concluding that Los Angeles is a city where the past has been effaced and the center will not hold.

But just as important to their understanding of its postmodernity is its status as a true world city, whose vistas and diversity are so unprecedented as to require neologisms. The city is not merely sprawling and formless but an “exopolis,” not merely the playground for foreign capital but “glocalized,” not simply remarkably heterogeneous in its social make-up but a “heteropolis.”<sup>17</sup> Here again, however, it might be helpful to recall that world cities emerged in the late medieval and early modern period as well. Bruges, Venice, Genoa, Antwerp, and Amsterdam: the great commercial metropolises of northern Italy and the Low Countries, as well as some cities of the Hanseatic League, had in their day an economic and cultural profile that astonished contemporaries, especially since their rise as world cities was just as rapid as that of Los Angeles in the latter half of the twentieth century. (After the collapse of Antwerp in 1585, Amsterdam was on its way to becoming the world's leading trading center within the space of a generation; its population grew four-fold in a century.<sup>18</sup>) Indeed, they helped fashion a “world system,” which in turn brought goods, people, and cultures from throughout the world into their confines, thus rendering city life truly cosmopolitan. These cities were worlds unto themselves, graced with a degree of autonomy that was both cause and effect of their emergence in a political environment where the territorial state was very weak. “The hare beat the tortoise for once,” writes Fernand Braudel, referring to

<sup>15</sup> Bernard Lepetit, *Les villes dans la France moderne (1740–1840)* (Paris, 1988), chap. 2; see also Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pt. 2; and Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, chap. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Dear cites the following passage from Frederic Jameson's *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C., 1991) as a definition of the difference between modernism and postmodernism: “It is then . . . the peculiar overlap of future and past . . . the resistance of archaic feudal structures to irresistible modernizing tendencies . . . that is the condition of possibility for high modernism . . . [The] postmodern must be characterized as a situation in which . . . the archaic has finally been swept away without a trace.” “In the City, Time Becomes Visible,” 95. Dear does not give the page of the Jameson quote.

<sup>17</sup> Edward W. Soja, “Los Angeles, 1965–1992: From Crisis-Generated Restructuring to Restructuring-Generated Crisis,” in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 433, 442, 444.

<sup>18</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, Vol. 3: *The Perspective of the World*, Siân Reynolds, trans. (New York, 1984), 187.

the cyclical contest between state and city so familiar to historians of the West.<sup>19</sup> Not unlike contemporary Los Angeles, their eccentric position in relationship to states and empires ensured their centrality as receptors and conduits for the diversity of the world, both material and cultural. Fifteenth-century Venice was a meeting point for the European, Byzantine, and Islamic worlds; seventeenth-century Amsterdam was an island of de facto toleration in Counter-Reformation Europe, an unequaled mélange of creeds and churches: Dutch, Scottish, and Walloon Reformed, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Remonstrant, Menonite, Huguenot, Catholic, and Jewish. Even though these cities owed their status as the uniquely cosmopolitan urban cultures of their day to multiple contacts with the wider world, it was only within their rarefied environments that the various parts of this world could be assembled. Paradoxically, in the early modern period, the site of cosmopolitanism was primarily local. This might be considered in relation to the assumption, which seems to run through *The City*, that Los Angeles embodies the contemporary world in all its postmodern variety and evanescence. There was really nothing in seventeenth-century Amsterdam that could not be found elsewhere; it was, rather, the sheer concentration of these goods and people, the refinement of materials, the congruence of cultures, that made the city exceptional. Likewise, for all its typicality, indeed banality, L.A. should probably be seen as more unique—a hyper-urban experience—than representative.

Except, of course, that it is a First World example of a collection of contemporary cities—late twentieth-century megalopolises such as Mexico City, Cairo, Calcutta, and São Paulo—which, with their teeming populations, sprawling cityscapes, environmental degradation, and systemic paralysis, presage a troubling future for the urban experience if other cities follow in their path. And insofar as the world at the turn of the millennium is increasingly urban, one can only sympathize with the desire to focus on a particularly well-documented case of intense urbanization as a means of plumbing the depths of this experience at its most extreme. In this sense, the contrast with the approach to early modern cities is inevitable, and for once easily explainable as well. Los Angeles exists in a world after its own image, an increasingly urban one. Early modern cities, on the other hand, looked out on vast expanses of a still-rural society. Thus to study Los Angeles is to think about the world beyond it in terms of similitude—largely as a paler reflection of the urban realities that will one day overtake it, too. To study early modern cities, however, is to think about their multiple relationships with the world, both near and far.

Indeed, there were three sorts of relationships that could determine the fortune and status of cities. One was the relationship to the surrounding countryside, which took a variety of forms: direct rule, as in the case of the Italian city-states, which extended their authority over the *contadi*; urban ownership of the land, as city dwellers became rural landlords; and economic exploitation, as merchants and landowners sought to take advantage of the industrial and agricultural possibilities of the land and its peasantry. Cities relied on the surrounding lands for food and

<sup>19</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, Vol. 1: *The Structures of Everyday Life* (New York, 1981), 511. See also *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, A.D. 1000 to 1800*, Charles Tilly and Wim P. Blockmans, eds. (Boulder, Colo., 1994); and Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

viewed them as a defensive zone against threatening armies. In times of plague, those inhabitants who could do so repaired to their rural retreats to escape the insalubrious urban confines. In short, even as they periodically closed their gates against it, cities could ignore the countryside that encircled them only at their peril.<sup>20</sup>

The second crucial relationship was with other cities. Sometimes, this took the form of associations in leagues, the most famous case being the Hansa; but there were others, some for economic, some for military purposes. The northern Italian cities developed well-regulated relationships as a by-product of their proximity and the mutual fear of warfare; out of these relationships emerged the practice of modern diplomacy. Often, pairs of cities maintained a rivalry based on economic, political, or even cultural competition; hence the strained relationships between such French cities as Toulouse and Montpellier, Aix-en-Provence and Marseilles, Colmar and Strasbourg, Metz and Nancy. Great commercial cities such as Venice and Amsterdam maintained trading relationships with a host of cities; usually, foreign merchants were required to be organized into a guild and recognized by the city council as legitimate traders. In an era when economic demand was relatively inelastic and the supply of credit and materials often uncertain, commercial urban centers were connected in a web of mutual dependency.<sup>21</sup>

The greatest of these centers, as noted, escaped the control of the territorial state, at least for a time; most cities, however, had to confront the reality of intrusive royal authority. And this constitutes the third relationship that characterized the urban experience in the early modern period. Indeed, the relationship between cities and states is one of the main themes in both urban history and the history of state-making. Machiavelli offered three ways cities (or principalities) might be ruled by a conquering prince: "first, by devastating them; next, by going and living there in person; thirdly, by letting them keep their own laws, exacting tribute, and setting up an oligarchy which will keep the state friendly to you."<sup>22</sup> In practice, however, the interaction between central authority and cities was less dramatic. Cities were, of course, increasingly subjected to fiscal demands as the rising expense of warfare prompted royal authorities to look for new sources of revenue. Cities that proved hostile or recalcitrant to the crown's demands often saw their walls torn down and their venerable charters ignored; troops could be billeted in inhabitants' homes; unwanted offices could be foisted on the urban community and municipal government. But the balance sheet in the relationship was not entirely negative. The creation of new courts or offices could stimulate the economic life of a city and raise its profile in the realm as well. The building of garrisons for troops was probably more of a boon than a hardship. Royal governments aided local authorities in launching the public works projects that

<sup>20</sup> Giorgio Chittolini, "Cities, 'City-States,' and Region States in North-Central Italy," in Tilly and Blockmans, *Cities and the Rise of States*, 28–43; E. Le Roy Ladurie, "Sur Montpellier et sa compagne aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Annales: ESC* 12 (1957): 223–30; Gaston Roupnel, *La ville et la campagne au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Etude sur les populations du pays dijonnais* (1922; rpt. edn., Paris, 1955); Pierre Goubert, *Beauvais et les Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730* (Paris, 1960).

<sup>21</sup> Spruyt, *Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, chap. 6; Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (1955; rpt. edn., Boston, 1971); Lepetit, *Les villes dans la France moderne*; René Favier, *Les villes du Dauphiné aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Grenoble, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, George Bull, trans. (London, 1981), 47–48.

would transform many eighteenth-century cities. And some cities, such as Bath, Versailles, and St. Petersburg, owed their existence, or at least their newly achieved grandeur, to royal initiative or the presence of the royal court.<sup>23</sup>

To focus on these sorts of relationships is a large part of the study of early modern urban history. *The City* really attends to only one of these, the relationship between Los Angeles and its region, especially with regard to transportation policy and the vicissitudes of high-tech industrial development.<sup>24</sup> Its place in the world economy, especially as the most important Pacific Rim city in the United States, is acknowledged but does not occupy a significant part of the analysis.<sup>25</sup> Neither Sacramento nor Washington is listed in the index: state or federal policy does not figure prominently in the book. Rather, it approaches L.A. as a largely self-contained urban experience, indeed, an all-consuming one: the postmodern world in microcosm. In this sense, the book is strangely provincial.

Though not addressed systematically, national politics is, however, certainly invoked in a way that suggests its importance, but its treatment remains frustratingly vague.<sup>26</sup> Edward W. Soja ends the volume with an attempt to link local events with national trends; the result is something of a diatribe on the sins of the Reagan-Bush years and their "neoconservative postmodern politics." "During the Reagan years," he writes, "a growing tide of factual 'disinformation' reconstructed the cold war threat into what would eventually be named a new world order, with the United States as its postmodern Robocop and the mass media as its primary battlefield." The L.A. region benefited from "military Keynesianism," but what strikes the author as significant is the "simulacra," not the reality, of policy. "Continuing to feed off the fears of its majority constituencies, the hyper-simulation-addicted neoconservative regime opened an offensive against the inner cities, which were perceived to hold the most serious domestic threats to the new world order. The war on poverty became a war against the urban poor, a promulgation of law and order that militarized the local (and federal) police in a struggle against drugs, gangs, crime, illegal immigrants, and other inner-city targets." In case we mistake these for real problems confronting real people, especially those living in the inner city, we are advised to remain incredulous, lest we join the ranks of the duped. "As hypersimulations, these powerful images were, and to many still are, genuinely believed to be real and true."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> On these themes, see Friedrichs, *Early Modern City*, chap. 2; Tilly and Blockmans, *Cities and the Rise of States*; Mack Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate, 1648-1871* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971); Frederick M. Irvine, "From Renaissance City to Ancien Régime Capital: Montpellier, c. 1500-c. 1600," in *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*, Philip Benedict, ed. (London, 1989), 195-220; Robert A. Schneider, "Crown and Capitoulat: Municipal Government in Toulouse 1500-1789," in *Cities and Social Change*, 195-220; Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*; Bernard Lepetit, "Une création urbaine: Versailles de 1661 à 1722," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 25 (1978): 604-18.

<sup>24</sup> Martin Wachs, "The Evolution of Transportation Policy in Los Angeles: Images of Past Policies and Future Prospects," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 76-105; Allen J. Scott, "High-Technology Industrial Development in the San Fernando Valley and Ventura County: Observations on Economic Growth and the Evolution of Urban Form," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 276-310.

<sup>25</sup> See Paul Ong and Evelyn Blumenberg, "Income and Racial Inequality in Los Angeles," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 315.

<sup>26</sup> An exception is Jennifer Wolch, "From Global to Local: The Rise of Homelessness in Los Angeles during the 1980s," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 390-425.

<sup>27</sup> Soja, "Los Angeles, 1965-1992," 456.

One does not have to be a partisan of the Reagan-Bush “regime” to find this a distressingly imprecise substitute for political analysis (though perhaps living inside the Beltway has something to do with it). But it might help to have some appreciation for the historical use of “simulation” as political action and how this technique has been understood by social historians. To take an example from Soja’s concluding essay (which happens also to be an egregious instance of obfuscating apologetics): that the people who beat truck driver Reginald Denny during the 1992 Los Angeles riots were not simply acting out of revenge or anger but were really engaged in presenting a sophisticated response to the assumption of the largely white jurors in the trial of the L.A. police officers accused of beating Rodney King in 1991 that the infamous videotape of that incident was “a misleading picture of reality.” Denny’s attackers, Soja implies, were really posing a question, indeed, conducting an experiment: “[W]ould it be possible for the same result to occur with a videotape of many black men kicking and beating up a lone white man?”<sup>28</sup> The fact is, of course, that every action, even the most brutal and primitive sort, has a symbolic component, which early modern historians, among others, have gone to great lengths to decode in order to comprehend the behavior and mindset of people who otherwise might remain inaccessible to our understanding.<sup>29</sup> The difference, however, between these historical approaches and Soja’s interpretation is that the former rely on evidence, painstakingly assembled, carefully displayed, and often ingeniously analyzed, while his is speculation of the airiest kind. And yet he had at his disposal the historical actors—the very participants in the riots—that early modern historians can only imagine in action, and only dream about having as live informants. Soja might have asked himself what it would take to prove his provocative assertion regarding Denny’s attackers. The answer would certainly entail a more subtle examination of the anthropology and semiology of politics inside Los Angeles than informs this self-consciously postmodern book.

<sup>28</sup> Soja, “Los Angeles, 1965–1992,” 259–60.

<sup>29</sup> For classic examples of this approach, see N. Z. Davis, *Society and Culture*, chap. 6; E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present* 50 (February 1971): 76–136. See also the remarks of Keith M. Baker: “The action of a rioter in picking up a stone can no more be understood apart from the symbolic field that gives it meaning than the action of a priest in picking up a sacramental vessel,” *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990), 13. Another pioneer in the attempt to understand the symbolic dimension of popular action, Robert Darnton, has in fact suggested a comparison between an early modern riot and those that took place in Los Angeles in 1992. He notes, however, the difficulty of such sorts of comparisons because of the vastly different mental worlds of the two periods. See his review of Arlette Farge and Jacques Revel, *The Vanishing Children of Paris: Rumor and Politics before the French Revolution*, Claudia Miéville, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), in *New York Review of Books* (October 22, 1992): 44–46. I was alerted to this review by Cynthia Maria Truant, *The Rites of Labor: Brotherhoods of Compagnonnage in Old and New Regime France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 177.

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*Review Essays*  
At Home in the Heteropolis:  
Understanding Postmodern L.A.

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MICHAEL E. ENGH, S.J.

THE TEAMING METROPOLIS OF LOS ANGELES has long stymied the explanatory efforts of pundits and scholars alike. One clearly frustrated commentator, Westbrook Pegler, wrote in 1938, "It is hereby earnestly proposed that the U.S.A. would be better off if that big, sprawling, incoherent, shapeless, slobbering civic idiot in the family of American communities, the city of Los Angeles, could be declared incompetent and placed in charge of a guardian . . . [N]either the size of the place nor the incoherence of its government accounts for the lunacy of the place."<sup>1</sup> Such humorous, acerbic, or peremptory dismissals have long been a staple in commentaries about this city. The urban violence in 1965 and 1992, however, soberly reminds us that we as a nation ignore the complexities of this most modern American metropolis at our own peril.

In recent years, a notable proliferation of books, projects, and centers have launched serious reconsideration of Los Angeles as a subject worthy of national and international attention.<sup>2</sup> The processes of transformation and the emergent forms of city life have attracted numerous investigators, who are discovering that there is more to this metropolis than earthquakes, fires, mudslides, corrupt police, and clogged freeways.<sup>3</sup> The explanation for the singular or peculiar characteristics of

The author wishes to thank the following for their assistance: Martin Ridge, Clark Davis, Anthony B. Brzoska, S.J., John McManamon, S.J., John A. Coleman, S.J., and the anonymous reviewers of this article; student research assistants Denis Delja and Gena Arriola; and, once again, the Jesuits of Casa Luis Espinal, Los Angeles.

<sup>1</sup> Westbrook Pegler, syndicated column, "Fair Enough" (November 22, 1938), quoted in W. W. Robinson, comp., *What They Say about the Angels* (Pasadena, Calif., 1942), 59.

<sup>2</sup> The opening of the Getty Museum complex in December 1997 offers one example of the attention Los Angeles has received from cultural critics worldwide. See Kurt Andersen, "Letter from Los Angeles: A City on a Hill," *New Yorker* (September 29, 1997): 66–73; and Martin Filler, "The Big Rock Candy Mountain," *New York Review of Books* (December 18, 1997): 29–33.

<sup>3</sup> Significant works in recent years include Blake Gumprecht, *The Los Angeles River: Its Life, Death and Possible Rebirth* (Baltimore, Md., 1999); Richard Longstreth, *The Drive-In, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914–1941* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore, 1997); William Fulton, *The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Urban Growth in Los Angeles* (Point Arena, Calif., 1997); Norman M. Klein, *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory* (London, 1997); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); Merry Ovnick, *Los Angeles: The End of the Rainbow* (Los Angeles, 1994); Leonard Pitt and Dale Pitt, *Los Angeles from A to Z: An Encyclopedia of the City and County* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Hynda L. Rudd, comp. and ed., *Los Angeles and Its Environs in the Twentieth Century: A Bibliography of a Metropolis, 1970–1990* (Los Angeles, 1996); Michael J. Dear, H. Eric Schockman, and Greg Hise, eds., *Rethinking*

Los Angeles, however, continues to provide current commentators as daunting a challenge as that faced by Mr. Pegler.

Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja have published a collection of essays in *The City* under the auspices of the Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, one of several new institutes for analyzing developments in Los Angeles.<sup>4</sup> Another important scholarly venue is the Huntington Library with its regional history conferences and its Los Angeles History Research Seminar. The University of Southern California is creating the Information System for Los Angeles (ISLA), a vast multimedia electronic database of textual, cartographic, and visual evidence of the city's history. The "L.A. as Subject" Project of the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, the Autry Museum of Western Heritage, the W. F. Whitsett Foundation, and the Historical Society of Southern California are sponsoring exhibitions, lectures, and publications on a wide range of topics related to the city.<sup>5</sup>

These brief references to a thriving cottage industry of Los Angeles studies provide the necessary context for evaluating Scott and Soja's accomplishments in *The City*.<sup>6</sup> Serious questions exist on how best to understand this city, with its balkanized economic and ethnic enclaves so fiercely satirized in T. Coraghessan Boyle's novel *The Tortilla Curtain*.<sup>7</sup> Scott and Soja are prominent in the emerging "Los Angeles school" of urban studies with a postmodern emphasis that distinguishes it from the earlier "Chicago school" of the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>8</sup> The editors of

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*Los Angeles* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1996); Dear, ed., *Atlas of Southern California* (Los Angeles, 1996); Dear, et al., eds., *Atlas of Southern California*, vol. 2 (Los Angeles, 1998); Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, eds., *Ethnic Los Angeles* (New York, 1996); James P. Allen and Eugene Turner, *The Ethnic Quilt: Population Diversity in Southern California* (Northridge, Calif., 1997); Los Angeles County Children's Planning Council, *Ethnic Community Profiles: Planning for a New Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, December 1996); Carolyn Kozo Cole and Kathy Kobayashi, *Shades of L.A.: Pictures from Ethnic Family Albums* (New York, 1996); Raphael J. Sonenshein, *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Gerald S. Horne, *Fire This Time: The Watts Uprising and the 1960s* (Charlottesville, Va., 1995); Rodolfo F. Acuña, *Anything But Mexican: Chicanos in Contemporary Los Angeles* (London, 1996); Andrew Rolfe, *Los Angeles: From Pueblo to City of the Future*, 2d edn. (San Francisco, 1995); Edward T. Chang and Russell C. Leong, eds., *Los Angeles: Struggles toward Multiethnic Community: Asian American, African American and Latino Perspectives* (Seattle, 1994); and David Reid, ed., *Sex, Death and God in L.A.* (Berkeley, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> The following institutes have been established in the past five years: the Southern California Studies Center at the University of Southern California; the Center for Southern California Studies at California State University, Northridge; and the Center for the Study of Los Angeles at Loyola Marymount University. These institutes complement older research departments at UCLA and USC, as well as the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica and the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles. See also *Cultural Inheritance/L.A.: A Directory of Less-Visible Archives and Collections in the Los Angeles Region* (Los Angeles, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> Examples of these publications include G. Harold Powell, *Letters from the Orange Empire*, Richard Lillard, ed. (1990); *Southern California Local History: A Gathering of the Writings of W. W. Robinson*, Doyce Nunis, Jr., ed. (1993); and Mike Eberts, *Griffith Park: A Centennial History* (1996).

<sup>6</sup> Three new or forthcoming volumes will further explore the city's history: Clark Davis, *Company Men: White Collar Life and Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892-1941* (Baltimore, 2000); William Deverell and Tom Sitton, eds., *Building the Metropolis: Los Angeles in the 1920s* (Berkeley, Calif.); and Becky Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago).

<sup>7</sup> T. Coraghessan Boyle, *The Tortilla Curtain* (New York, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> For a helpful summary of the characteristics of the Chicago and Los Angeles schools, see Michael Dear and Steven Flusty, "Postmodern Urbanism," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88 (1998): 51-52.

*The City* speculate that there is a paradigm shift under way in urban studies, and Los Angeles has become the archetype of the postmodern city, an urban form and dynamic vastly different from the modernist metropolis exemplified by New York or Chicago.

Scholars such as Richard Longstreth disagree with Scott and Soja. Longstreth maintains that Los Angeles is actually the prototype of twentieth-century urban development throughout the United States.<sup>9</sup> Against Scott and Soja's contentions that Los Angeles is unique and exceptional, Longstreth argues that this city provided the model that many other cities in the nation have imitated many times over. Dispersal of the population, decentralized business centers, commuting between one suburb and another, and the creation of "edge cities," for example, are common to American urban life. Such disagreements illustrate the vibrancy of Los Angeles studies and the varied interpretations of how best to characterize and understand the urban history of the nation's second largest city.

The fourteen essays Scott and Soja have selected all deal with some aspect of the distinguishing features of Los Angeles, particularly the restructured economy, the regionalism of urban development, and the globalism affecting its demographics and economy. While focused on urban theory, the volume also treats a number of other topics, such as transportation policy, economic development, the history of local urban planning, homelessness, immigration, and political history. Augmenting these essays are imaginative studies of architecture, technological development, and the economic importance of art and design centers. Virtually every author in this volume includes some discussion of the built environment, policy issues, and the political challenges inherent in the urban restructuring presently under way.

In their introduction, Scott and Soja dismiss as simplistic a common point of departure for analyzing the city in America, namely, does Los Angeles represent utopia or dystopia? In accord with many other scholars, they note that such an "either/or" proposition is misleading because Los Angeles is part of a broader and more complex global restructuring of urban centers and metropolitan life. What may be difficult for readers unfamiliar with the complex vocabulary and theory of postmodern urbanism, however, are the interpretations of Los Angeles found in several essays, particularly in Soja's conclusion of the book.<sup>10</sup> Theory and assertions appear often in these conceptual treatments of postmodern urbanism, in contrast with the majority of the chapters in this volume, which rely on the substantive analysis of rich collections of empirical data. As a historian, this reviewer found the latter essays far more rewarding for the solid evidence presented and for the thought-provoking discussion of the significance of the topics studied.

The volume has valuable considerations on the challenges urban sprawl poses for transportation policy (Martin Wachs), the environment (Margaret FitzSimmons and Robert Gottlieb), and regional high-tech industrial development (Allen Scott). These authors focus primarily on the past thirty-five years. In that period, hundreds of thousands of immigrants have arrived from Asia and Latin America, drawn by

<sup>9</sup> Richard Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997). See also Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America's Global Cities* (Minneapolis, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> For a glossary of the neologisms of postmodern urban theory, see Dear and Flusty, "Postmodern Urbanism," 54–68.

the promise of economic prosperity widely portrayed in the films produced by the city's motion picture and television industries.

Other contributors examine the social and ethnic consequences of massive immigration, decentralized government, and increased competition for employment in times of "economic restructuring." The loss of thousands of industrial manufacturing jobs during the 1980s, for example, severely affected the city's blue-collar workers of African-American descent and forced many to relocate across the state and the nation in search of work. This exodus of African Americans from the southeastern portion of the city and county opened entire communities to Latin Americans willing to labor for less than minimum wage, without benefits, and frequently in unsafe working conditions.<sup>11</sup> The consequences of such massive economic and demographic shifts have led other contributors to examine carefully the relationship between income and racial inequalities (Paul Ong and Evelyn Blumenberg) and the widely varied challenges faced by African Americans and Latinos (Susan Anderson and Raymond Rocco). Jennifer Wolch offers an insightful review of the rise of homelessness, which particularly afflicts the mentally disabled. These are rich essays worthy of thoughtful consideration for the significant issues raised.

Two contributors attempt to provide the reader with a greater understanding of why Los Angeles diverges so widely from other American cities. Examining the many consequences of "cultural yeast" in the metropolis, Harvey Molotch provides a cogent investigation of how art "works" in the city. He reveals how thousands of residents with specialized skills find employment in the motion picture industry, tourism, dining, the clothing industry, furniture design and production, and the design of automobiles. In explaining why Los Angeles architecture is so different from other cities, Charles Jencks observes that Angelenos are "heterophiliacs" who thrive on the differences among themselves in their 18 urban village cores, 86 languages spoken in the schools, 13 major ethnic groups, and 140 incorporated cities across the county. One expression of this notable diversity is an inclusive local architecture that is improvisational and informal, as seen in local examples of restaurants, churches, schools, and workplaces throughout this "heteropolis." Given the tension that pluralism has long evoked in urban settings, however, one wonders if the singularity Jencks notes in Los Angeles has already occurred in other major American cities. David Ward and Olivier Zunz suggest that such architectural diversity developed decades ago in New York City.<sup>12</sup>

Richard S. Weinstein observes that fundamental American values and impulses, such as extreme individualism and the devotion to private property, come into conflict in Los Angeles with modern problems such as decentralized urban sprawl and fragmented government. The very texture of the urban landscape in Los Angeles reflects a problematic social impermanence. Privatism, though, has long characterized major American urban centers and is not limited to certain spatial

<sup>11</sup> See also Fred Siegel, *The Future Once Happened Here: New York, D.C., L.A., and the Fate of America's Big Cities* (New York, 1997); Dianne Walta Hart, *Undocumented in L.A.: An Immigrant's Story* (Wilmington, Del., 1997); David Rieff, *Los Angeles: Capital of the Third World*, 2d edn. (New York, 1995); and Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> David Ward and Olivier Zunz, eds., *Landscaping of Modernity: Essays on New York City, 1900-1940* (New York, 1992), 4.

and political forms, as Sam Bass Warner has argued in *The Private City*.<sup>13</sup> Weinstein also notes the need for voluntary associations to provide new urban "tissue" for the modern civic community, but once again, this holds true for virtually any American city because of federal cutbacks in funding for many social welfare programs.

In more alarmist tones, Michael Dear and Mike Davis review the challenges in urban planning confronting Los Angeles and suggest that chaos and cataclysm face the city unless drastic steps are taken quickly. They are pessimistic that either the experts or the general public will gain control of transportation and land-use planning and thereby bring informed order to the tumultuous areas of civic life. Furthermore, Dear laments that Los Angeles lacks a "clear collective intentionality" to sustain a social cohesiveness; yet studies show that such a void exists in many American cities.<sup>14</sup> Readers familiar with the passionate works of Mike Davis will find his familiar jeremiad approach to the city both unsettling and provocative.<sup>15</sup>

Curiously absent from *The City* are separate chapters investigating in greater depth the mammoth importance to the city of the television and motion picture industries, the century-long importance of tourism in the local economy, and vital roles played by religious and educational institutions. One wonders, too, about the absence of rigorous comparison of Los Angeles with other cities that would have provided the necessary context for a refined sense of American urban development, as well as the basis for systematic analysis of the city's alleged singularity.

What most intrigues this reviewer, though, is the near absence of serious discussion of the vast number of informal social networks that knit the civic community together and create the means for the city to cohere. What comes to mind is Lynell George's description in *No Crystal Stair* of the ways in which energetic people in the African-American community turn to their schools, to community organizations, and, above all, to their churches to create innovative projects to make the city "work" for them.<sup>16</sup> The Religion and Civic Order project, a joint study of the University of Southern California and the University of California, Santa Barbara, has documented the many efforts of religious coalitions to respond to the urban violence of 1992.<sup>17</sup> These religiously based endeavors are manifestations of what Harvard political scientist Robert D. Putnam calls "social capital," that is, networks of trust, mutuality, and cooperation that sustain and fuel democracies.<sup>18</sup> Religious sociologist John A. Coleman further argues that religious

<sup>13</sup> Sam Bass Warner, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1987).

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, the work of Robert D. Putnam, "The Decline of Civil Society: How Come? So What?" *Optimum* 27 (1996): 27-36; and "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6 (January 1995): 65-78. Michael Dear, "In the City, Time Becomes Visible: Intentionality and Urbanism in Los Angeles, 1781-1991," in Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja, *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 99.

<sup>15</sup> Two of the more familiar works by Mike Davis are *City of Quartz*; and *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Lynell George, *No Crystal Stair: African-Americans in the City of Angels* (London, 1992).

<sup>17</sup> John B. Orr, et al., *Politics of the Spirit: Religion and Multiethnicity in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1994).

<sup>18</sup> Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, 2000); Putnam, "Bowling Alone, Revisited," *The Responsive Community* 5 (Spring 1995): 18-33; and Putnam, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, N.J., 1993). See also James Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 300-21.



institutions with their communitarian character contribute more social capital to the renewal of American political life than any other institution.<sup>19</sup>

To overlook church-based undertakings in a metropolitan region such as Los Angeles—or in any American city—is to miss the major source of grass-roots vibrancy by which a significant number of residents contribute to the creation of a livable civic community. Church-based initiatives are as simple and necessary as day care, schools, detention ministry, counseling, soup kitchens, food pantries, and bereavement support. Their outreach in Los Angeles is also as broad and complex as the Nehemiah West and Esperanza low-income housing projects, the Interfaith Coalition to HEAL LA, the Museum of Tolerance of the Simon Weisenthal Center, Father Greg Boyle's Jobs for a Future for *barrio* youth, the Skirball Institute on American Values, the Mothers of East L.A., the Los Angeles Coalition to End Hunger and Homelessness, and the Genesis Plus Project of Greek Orthodox and Latino church leaders for neighborhood economic renewal.<sup>20</sup>

Synagogue and church-based community organizing, interracial cooperation, and efforts to unionize janitors and sweatshop workers explain much of the energy behind the numerous cross-neighborhood coalitions by which this postmodern city continues to draw strength. As sociologist R. Stephen Warner has noted, religion is the institution in American culture that most effectively tolerates differences and builds bridges among people.<sup>21</sup> The religiously based idealism of participants demands further study and serious attention if we wish to comprehend what Los Angeles is and how it works. Here we see that the tradition of American voluntarism, which has its origins in rural communities and small towns of the early nineteenth century, has found new multi-ethnic forms of expression in wide-ranging projects sponsored by churches in a postmodern city at the dawn of a new millennium.

Questions about Los Angeles remain unstudied or unresolved, as the preceding example of religiously inspired institutions and initiatives indicates. How has the civic culture of the city emerged and developed? Who were the decision-makers who guided the creation of Los Angeles and the city's evolution of the past forty years? What were the circumstances they faced that influenced their conclusions? How have shifting demographics affected the patterns established by social and cultural elites? How has public education contributed to both the coherence and dysfunction of the metropolis? There is plenty of work for a generation of historians and urban theorists who wish to contribute to our understanding of the city. The virtual absence of historians among contributors to this volume often leaves the reader without sufficient perspective and analysis to move beyond suggested paradigms of Los Angeles as weird, outlandish, and incoherent (Pegler and others),

<sup>19</sup> John A. Coleman, S.J., "Discipleship and Social Capital," chapter 2 in his forthcoming book, *Public Discipleship: Paradenominational Groups and Citizenship*.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the urban renewal efforts of the Genesis Plus project, for example, see Margaret Ramirez, "Teamed Up to Clean Up," *Los Angeles Times* (June 5, 1999): B1, B3. For a broader discussion of emerging citizens' organizations, see David Bornstein, "A Force Now in the World, Citizens Flex Social Muscle," *New York Times* (July 10, 1999): A15, A17.

<sup>21</sup> R. Stephen Warner, "Religion, Boundaries, and Bridges," *Sociology of Religion* 58 (Fall 1997): 219.

as singular and unique (Dear, Soja, Carey McWilliams), or as corrupt, disintegrating, and disaster-plagued (Davis).<sup>22</sup>

A wide breadth of issues requires serious consideration if one is to understand the dynamics of this vast, complicated, and energetic metropolis. We need further investigations as enlightening as those written by Jennifer Wolch on homelessness, Harvey Molotch on the economic importance of the creative arts, and Martin Wach on transportation policy. The findings of these scholars ought to be required reading for local civic, business, and religious leaders. Other topics, as noted above, require study of equal caliber and insight, and one would hope that Scott and Soja would compile a further volume that would be equally thought-provoking and challenging for the issues raised and the variety of interpretations offered.<sup>23</sup> There is much in this volume upon which the members of the scholarly community can build in their efforts to comprehend more clearly the challenges of living in and guiding this complex urban reality, this "City of the Angels."

<sup>22</sup> Carey McWilliams developed his influential interpretation of Los Angeles as a unique city in *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (1946; rpt. edn., Salt Lake City, 1973).

<sup>23</sup> Kevin Starr, California State Librarian, USC professor, and author of well-received histories of Los Angeles, has forcefully urged that civic and business leaders make better use of the talent available in the city's academic institutions for addressing contemporary urban challenges. See Starr, "L.A.'s Universities Can Help Heal the City," *Los Angeles Times* (November 21, 1999): M 1, 6.

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*Review Essays*  
Is L.A. a Model or a Mess?

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CATHERINE COQUERY-VIDROVITCH

THE BOOK *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century* results from an interdisciplinary program of research promoted at UCLA.<sup>1</sup> As the title suggests, it presents Los Angeles as one of the most, if not the most, original American city and *the* model of the postmodern metropolis. Nevertheless, due to the multiplicity of essays included, the reader never gets a clear idea of how and why Los Angeles is unique, supposing it actually is. Is L.A. a model or a mess? This question might be better answered by introducing a few comparisons with other cities in the world, especially metropolises that have emerged recently, echoing a more or less radical modernization of their environments. As I will suggest, Johannesburg probably is or shortly will become a clearer example of postmodern urbanism.

Another shortcoming apparent is the role of history: what sets Los Angeles apart from other cities in the United States is above all its specific history. History is both much and little used in this book. It is a somewhat factual chronicle. But history is a factor as well as a fact, and it should better appear as an investigating and explanatory tool rather than just as a factual report. Unfortunately, few to none of the authors here may be called urban historians per se; most of them are brilliant social scientists, urban planners, geographers, or architects.

Thus the book gathers together a lot of interesting details, but it partly fails to realize what the editors aimed at: proposing a theory and inventing a new postmodern urban school. The previous heritages of urban design are promptly rejected, city planners intending to understand the postmodern metropolis as having "increasingly turned away from traditional manufacturing cities and the conventions of the Chicago school."<sup>2</sup> As readers may know, the Chicago School sociologists, who blossomed between the two world wars, forged their theory on the study of a growing Chicago and the often brutal cultural encounters of migrant workers and older or newer urbanites that generated ethnic riots. Their empirical studies also stressed the emergence of a new urban way of life, made up of the synthesis of an ethnic mosaic of smaller immigrant communities inside the larger city with its industrial focus. This model, of course, no longer fits the Los Angeles

<sup>1</sup> Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja, eds., *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

<sup>2</sup> Michael Dear, "In the City. Time Becomes Visible: Intentionality and Urbanism in Los Angeles, 1781-1991," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 84.

case. *The City's* authors might also be alluding to the impossibility of applying Kevin Lynch's study of Boston to Los Angeles, with the idea that a city can only be totally understood from the image those urbanites forged of themselves.<sup>3</sup> The empirical method privileged here is reminiscent of the Manchester school of sociology that developed in the 1950s and 1960s but for a notable difference: the approach is far from being a mere sociological observation of the urban market of labor. Social movements are given as such rather than analyzed, and thus a questioning of the labor force as a social agent is absent; the points stressed are racial inequality (the essay by Paul Ong and Evelyn Blumenberg) and homelessness (by Jennifer Wolch) rather than the homeless.<sup>4</sup> Political, economic, institutional, and spatial factors are privileged, and often carefully connected to their historical processes, but the connections between proposals and conclusions do not clearly appear.

In spite of the subtitle, the book is mainly made up of case studies, "empirical vignettes," as the preface calls them, and of historical-geographic illustrations much more than theoretical interpretations: as a historian fond of practical observations, I will not complain of it. It is also good that the facets examined are varied: from the evolution of architectural forms (by Charles Jencks), to the process of transportation policy (Martin Wachs), to Los Angeles as design product (Harvey Molotch), to the city's high-technology industrial development (Allen J. Scott), to the place within it of varied minorities, above all African Americans (Susan Anderson) and Latinos (Raymond A. Rocco).<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, so many topics are introduced that the main thread of understanding is lost, if it ever existed. Variety is thus both a benefit and a limitation to the multi-sided, spatial, and social approach to understanding Los Angeles followed in this book. Moreover, one misses a comprehensive introduction or conclusion attempting to connect decisively the many paths offered here. There is fragmentation despite the fact that all fifteen contributors employ similar interdisciplinary methodologies. Most of the authors are urban planners or architects; they all come from the University of California, and most from UCLA; they include geographers, sociologists, political scientists, urban experts, and one historian.

The main interest of the book is that most of the articles intend to question the *process of urbanization*. Therefore, nearly all the chapters deal with the historical past of the city, from its early beginnings in 1781 until the 1960s. In 1996, the date of publication, this historical interest in Los Angeles was relatively new for social scientists, though no longer (see Greg Hise's recent book, for example).<sup>6</sup> Never-

<sup>3</sup> Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).

<sup>4</sup> Paul Ong and Evelyn Blumenberg, "Income and Racial Inequality in Los Angeles"; Jennifer Wolch, "From Global to Local: The Rise of Homelessness in Los Angeles during the 1980s," in Scott and Soja, *The City*.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Jencks, "Hetero-Architecture and the L.A. School"; Martin Wachs, "The Evolution of Transportation Policy in Los Angeles: Images of Past Policies and Future Prospects"; Harvey Molotch, "L.A. as Design Product: How Art Works in a Regional Economy"; Allen J. Scott, "High-Technology Industrial Development in the San Fernando Valley and Ventura County: Observations on Economic Growth and the Evolution of Urban Form"; Susan Anderson, "A City Called Heaven: Black Enchantment and Despair in Los Angeles"; Raymond A. Rocco, "Latino Los Angeles: Reframing Boundaries/Borders," in Scott and Soja, *The City*.

<sup>6</sup> Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore, Md., 1997). See also Michael J. Dear, H. Eric Schockman, and Greg Hise, eds., *Rethinking Los Angeles* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1997).

theless, urban historians have been busy, all the more so since the twin ravages of riot and recession, reconstructing how this fallen City of the Angels was once upon a time born as a self-styled West Coast metropolis, especially in the crucial period of the oil boom from 1900 to 1920.<sup>7</sup> It is rather surprising here that a chronology of urbanization is not clearly related to a similar chronology of economic history. For example, little is made of the past role and heritage of the oil industry, of the military, both U.S. Navy and armaments industry, and of L.A.'s love affair with the airplane, civilian as well as military. It is important to explain how L.A.'s low-cost public infrastructure represented a lure for fledgling airplane manufacturers. With the coming of World War II, the region's entire manufacturing became heavily dependent on military spending. As a result, L.A.'s postwar economy has been highly vulnerable to national political funding cycles. In *Fortress California* (1992), Roger W. Lotchin showed how military booster projects created even more powerful city-wide growth coalitions. He also explained why, today, Department of Defense cutbacks are at the heart of the region's economic woes.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, not enough is done with the fundamental factor of the omnipresent need for water, and its growth-limiting reality. In the twentieth century, the L.A. story probably resulted more from water imperialism than from gas imperialism. Indeed, L.A.'s story is a modern saga involving the complex planning, building, and managing of a gargantuan hydraulic society, featuring massive public works projects and suburban and urban settlements to house and serve massive migrations of workers.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, most of these historical chapters not being written by historians, several sections are more descriptive or factual than problem-based; they propose at best a rough periodization of Los Angeles urbanism from 1751 to 1991 (see the essay by Michael Dear). The great exception is the clear chapter drawing a political history of the L.A. landscape, based on a solid analysis of the public land-tenure system and land speculation (by Mike Davis). We may also note the originality of Los Angeles seen as a laboratory for institutions trying to control the environment—and therefore the creation and control of green space—since its founding as a Spanish agricultural *pueblo* (the essay by Margaret FitzSimmons and Robert Gottlieb).<sup>10</sup> This “forces us to notice both historical and geographical ironies: the ironies of history—utopian Los Angeles become an environmental dystopia—intersect the ironies of geography—the oasis city become the city in the desert”; the clean and well-watered garden of heaven has “become a world symbol of urban pollution.”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> William B. Friedrichs, *Henry E. Huntington and the Creation of Southern California* (Columbus, Ohio, 1992); Roger W. Lotchin, *Fortress California, 1910–1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York, 1992); Tom Sitton, *John Randolph Haynes: California Progressive* (Stanford, Calif., 1992); Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (New York, 1990); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Lotchin, *Fortress California*; and see Steven P. Erie, “Los Angeles: Past Imperfect,” *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 29 (September 1993): 182.

<sup>9</sup> Starr, *Material Dreams*; and Erie, “Los Angeles,” 179.

<sup>10</sup> Dear, “In the City, Time Becomes Visible”; Mike Davis, “How Eden Lost Its Garden: A Political History of the Los Angeles Landscape”; Margaret FitzSimmons and Robert Gottlieb, “Bounding and Binding Metropolitan Space: The Ambiguous Politics of Nature in Los Angeles,” in Scott and Soja, *The City*.

<sup>11</sup> FitzSimmons and Gottlieb, “Bounding and Binding Metropolitan Space,” 186–87. See a recent expression of this ecological revival: Blake Gumprecht, *The Los Angeles River: Its Life, Death, and Possible Rebirth* (Baltimore, Md., 1999).



Certainly on purpose, modern Los Angeles is not proposed at first as it usually is: made by and for driving a car. Nevertheless, the fact cannot be avoided that L.A. was the first city intently based on the automobile, which largely accounts for its extreme discontinuities and fragmentation between a series of relatively remote denser nodes. An excellent chapter by Martin Wachs reminds us that the transportation network of Los Angeles is both the product and the means by which the city asserts its modernity. But this resulted in "an accumulation of poorly integrated elements representing different concepts of political expediency, each of which in its day was presented as a symbol of progress and technological achievement."<sup>12</sup> It is a pity that the reader is left either to connect this chapter or not to other chapters, such as the one by Charles Jencks on the "hetero-architecture" typical of the modern city (a phrase meaning the capacity of postmodern design to realize an ambiguous mixture of functionality and uselessness, a "calculated informality" multiplying lifestyles and juxtaposing with obvious pleasure heterogeneous styles and mixed cultural references in spite of growing ethnic zoning).<sup>13</sup>

The closer attempt at a theoretical synthesis is probably the essay by Richard Weinstein asserting Los Angeles as "the first American city." He argues that L.A. "is the first consequential American city to separate itself decisively from European models and to reveal the impulse to privatization embedded in the origins of the American Revolution."<sup>14</sup> Let us put aside the fact that this assertion is probably disputable, because exaggerated; it would be more satisfactory to present Los Angeles not as the first American city but rather as the ultimate one to "separate decisively" from the European model. It was also the one where privatization was not "revealed" (urban privatization is indeed a very old American theme) but, rather, was aiming at a climax. Moreover, it would be wise to distinguish between European models; for, no doubt, the London model has very little to do with the Paris or the Berlin one. Europe is a continent and not a single state. In any case, this proposal is not specifically new (any urban writer might write about the same on any American metropolis, except perhaps Boston and San Francisco), but nevertheless it proves especially efficient in the case of Los Angeles, which maximizes what already appeared long ago in other American cities.

In Los Angeles, the extended city is, according to Weinstein, "characterized by a medium-density housing tissue of subdivisions laced with commercial strips" of stores and businesses. It includes small industrial spaces, and it is "periodically marked by centers of varying size," including a "shopping mall with a cineplex, a cluster of commercial buildings, and a health care facility." Therefore, the matrix is a repetitive pattern of "intersecting grids in which a variety of uses are distributed," with regularly scattered nodes or activity centers of higher density.<sup>15</sup> These fragmented discontinuities, which were looked at by professional observers as "anti-urban structure," began as early as 1971 to be defined by the British historian Reyner Banham as a positive urban experience and a possible model of future

<sup>12</sup> Wachs, "Evolution of Transportation Policy," 107.

<sup>13</sup> Jencks, "Hetero-Architecture," 64.

<sup>14</sup> Richard S. Weinstein, "The First American City," in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 22.

<sup>15</sup> Weinstein, "First American City," 29.

metropolitan form: "Los Angeles is instant architecture in an instant townscape . . . Yet the city has a comprehensible, even consistent, quality to its built form, unified enough to rank as a fit subject for an historical monograph."<sup>16</sup>

Arthur Krim, who rediscovered this historiography of L.A. studies, argued, as is suggested in the present book, that these discontinuities are not necessarily "anti-urban": this "anti-urban geographic image of LA [is] an invention of tradition (or anti-tradition) distinct from the 'normal' American city."<sup>17</sup> Discontinuities also result from urban history; according to Weinstein, they "operated on both the new development and the infill between existing (but already dispersed) communities that preceded the automobile"; the rapid extension of this nonhierarchical, flexible model was favored by the accelerated entry of women into the work force during the 1970s and the increasingly widespread ownership of automobiles. This unceasingly "repetitive fabric" of the city, "bounded by the sea or mountain edge," explains the "absence of integrated hierarchical order in either the built or the institutional environment." Los Angeles is "unordered," but "compartmentalized, multileveled, multiscaled, and fragmented." In this, it symbolizes the postmodern United States: "the kind of democracy that accompanies an apotheosis of privatization in which the multiplicity of competing parts leads to a uniform texture of political activity."<sup>18</sup> Therefore, this reflects, as well, the truly American ideals of way of life, policy, and psychic needs: "'The strip is trying to tell us something about ourselves: namely that most Americans prefer convenience, are determined to simplify as much of the mechanical service and distribution sides of life as possible, and are willing to subsidize any informal geographic setting that helps.'"<sup>19</sup>

There occurred in Los Angeles a drastic opposition: on one side, an extended city where local communities organized around the sanctity of privatized space, and where environmental, traffic, and even social constraints might be accepted if they were seen as a way of preserving the essential freedoms of a middle-class lifestyle; on the other side, extreme poverty in the vestigial core of the city and among the poor and working-class communities of every color. For the city's ghettos and barrios were more suburban than anywhere else in America: a century of obsessive Anglofication had increasingly "purified" the population of the old center of El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles to the point that, in 1960, more than 80 percent of the population were "Anglos." Los Angeles, after a long history of racist administration, zoning, and violence, had become one of the most segregated cities in the country. No wonder huge riots exploded in 1965. Harsh segregation, and a specific history of this segregation, accounted for the 1965 riot in the ghetto of Watts, even if neither factor is enough in itself: as a matter of fact, we can state about the same for most southern cities, which nevertheless were not necessarily in the forefront of urban violence. Thus the question is open on the especially large scale and high level of these factors, and their conjunction with

<sup>16</sup> Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (1971; rpt. edn., London, 1973), 21.

<sup>17</sup> Arthur Krim, "Los Angeles and the Anti-Tradition of the Suburban City," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18 (1992): 121.

<sup>18</sup> Weinstein, "First American City," 30, 35.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Weinstein, "First American City," 31, from Grady Clay, *How to Read the American City* (New York, 1974); and E. C. Relph, *Place and Placeness: The Essence of Place* (London, 1976).

other ones: notably the fact that Los Angeles was hardly unique in its refusal of federal funds for public housing. (But this issue is not suggested at this point in the book.) A more recent study focusing on contrasted ethnicities in L.A. attributes part of the responsibility for this extreme blacks versus whites polarization to the federal policy concerning armaments and transportation.<sup>20</sup>

The central idea of the book is that modern Los Angeles was definitively shaped by two major events: the 1965 and 1992 urban riots. Before the Watts riot of 1965, little was known of Los Angeles as a city. The prototypes of the American City between the wars studied by the academic world were Chicago, Boston, and New York. By contrast, Los Angeles was nicknamed "Six Suburbs in Search of a City." (In fact, it encompasses today 160 separate municipalities in five counties, stretching outward for sixty miles in almost every direction, and counting a current population of 15 million.)<sup>21</sup> Between the two riots, the restructuring of the city accelerated, but in spite of lavish development, it resulted in an immense failure.

The 1965 riot forced an awareness in the United States of black urban unrest. Observers understood it as such.<sup>22</sup> That is probably the reason why several essays deal with the evolution of L.A. segregation and the changing condition of the African Americans in the city (Susan Anderson, Paul Ong and Evelyn Blumenberg, Jennifer Wolch).<sup>23</sup> We may find a few contradictions between these authors, which are not solved by the editors: previously, the harshness of a remote segregation was stressed; now, a more detailed chronology allows them to assert that, ironically, before racial lines began to harden, Los Angeles had been for a time, from 1850 to the 1920s, a kind of Eden for its growing black population. This is obviously an overstatement, since it is compared to the persecution in the South and the privations of large-scale migration to the North. It is true nevertheless that W. E. B. Du Bois recognized in 1913 the existence of a prosperous black middle class in Los Angeles. Harsh segregation was put in place later, with the large-scale migration of southern blacks and whites by the 1930s. Since then, forced residential rules have become intense, imposed by a strong and brutal police force, while the black population has increased from 18,000 in 1920 to 30,000 in 1930 and 75,000 in 1940.<sup>24</sup> Between 1942 and 1965, 600,000 African Americans moved into Los Angeles County alone. A hyperactive military and naval industry and a huge industrial zone attracted them. In spite of this prosperity, one third of the African-American work force was unemployed, and almost 60 percent lived on welfare. Most of them settled on the south side, the core of the urban civil war of 1965. By the late 1940s, crowded and inadequate housing was a city-wide problem; but the real estate lobby, an intricate network of banks, and public opinion as expressed by the *Los Angeles Times* succeeded in refusing federal funds for public housing. This denial resulted

<sup>20</sup> Roger Waldinger and Medi Bozorgmehr, eds., *Ethnic Los Angeles* (New York, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> This nickname was based on the 1921 avant-garde Italian play by Luigi Pirandello, "Six Characters in Search of an Author," opening in New York City in October 1922, thus the comparisons with the night views of Los Angeles of the early 1920s. Reported by W. W. Robinson, *Los Angeles: A Profile* (Norman, Okla., 1968), 27, and quoted by Krim, "Los Angeles," 132, 134, 136.

<sup>22</sup> On the riot itself, see Gerald S. Horne, *Fire This Time: The Watts Uprising and the 1960s* (Charlottesville, Va., 1995).

<sup>23</sup> Anderson, "City Called Heaven"; Ong and Blumenberg, "Income and Racial Inequality"; Wolch, "From Global to Local."

<sup>24</sup> Anderson, "City Called Heaven," 341–42, 342.

in increased overcrowding in the inner city: between World War II and 1960, the black population swelled to nearly 14 percent of the population; but “less than 2 percent of all the housing financed with federal mortgage insurance was made available to blacks.”<sup>25</sup> (As with other economic factors mentioned above, this last argument should be more developed.)

The fact that L.A. racial contradictions reached their apex at the same time as the Civil Rights Movement and national desegregation made it possible for the city to elect a black mayor (1973). This was Tom Bradley, a member of the city council since 1963, who expressed the moderate sangfroid of the black middle class. Moreover, being an ex-policeman, he was able to reconcile the African-American community with the powerful and previously racist Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), and he succeeded in mobilizing poor and working-class black voters.<sup>26</sup>

But, as Anderson reports, “the Bradley administration presided over a city undergoing wrenching changes—massive migration,” dilution of ex-ghettos into the city (today, only 7 percent of black Angelenos live in all-black neighborhoods compared with 37 percent in other cities), “economic change, and political shifts.” Bradley did not solve the problem of the economic degeneration of the poor in the cities, and he failed to maintain a fragile African-American unity. One may regret that Anderson personalizes a bit too much and privileges a political history of the period, while one needs a more acute social and cultural analysis. Nevertheless, she enhances the shift from a rather familiar “race riot” in 1965 to the first “multiethnic riot” in the country. In 1965, South L.A. was 81 percent black. Today, it is at least 52 percent Latino. And the downward spiral of poverty in the city is hardly limited to the confines of once-black neighborhoods. Let us note that recent social monographs on Los Angeles now focus on the history of other minorities than African-American ones.<sup>27</sup>

At the very point when the restructured Los Angeles was comfortably consolidated as one of the paradigmatic metropolises of the late twentieth century, the “new” Los Angeles exploded, eight years ago, in the most violent urban insurrection in American history.<sup>28</sup> It is probably the best quality of this book—as unordered and multi-nucleated as the city it evokes—that it underscores how cautious urban planners must be, and how attentive to the long trend of past urban history they need to be, to try and understand the present and future of urban life. Today in Los Angeles, extremes of creativity, unreality, postmodern design, and wealth go along with extremes of poverty rivaling the Third World. High rates of poverty extend through all communities, including the Asian. The violence of 1992 brutally asks the

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Anderson, “City Called Heaven,” 345, from Dennis R. Judd, “Segregation Forever?” *Nation* (December 9, 1991): 740.

<sup>26</sup> On the LAPD, let us note two recent studies: Steven Kelly Herbert, *Policing Space: Territoriality and the Los Angeles Police Department* (Minneapolis, 1997); Lou Cannon, *Official Negligence: How Rodney King and the Riots Changed Los Angeles and the LAPD* (New York, 1997).

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, “City Called Heaven,” 350. See Brian Masaru Hayashi, *For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren: Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895–1942* (Stanford, Calif., 1995); Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Edward J. Escobar, *Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900–1945* (Berkeley, 1999).

<sup>28</sup> Edward W. Soja, “Los Angeles, 1965–1992: From Crisis-Generated Restructuring to Restructuring-Generated Crisis,” in Scott and Soja, *The City*, 426.

question of how to survive in the era of postmodernity. Once more, Los Angeles demonstrates its perverse gift: "the city as oracle, the prophetic urban place that utters a message no one wants to hear."<sup>29</sup>

It is regrettable that none of the authors know the masterpiece on Los Angeles published by Bernard Marchand, a French city planner and specialist in quantitative geography, whose doctoral thesis summarizes ten years of research dedicated to that city.<sup>30</sup> One may add two recent French syntheses on American urbanism and on Los Angeles, which offer interesting outside observers' viewpoints.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, one may ask whether these monographic essays on Los Angeles only question specific features of this quintessence of a city or suggest further thoughts on other metropolises in the world. The question is asked in the introduction, but no answer follows. No attempt is made at any kind of comparison: the contrast is obvious with its neighbor San Francisco, which in spite of close environmental conditions is opposite from L.A. in point after point, historically, and in its urban style of life. With its tolerance and cultural innovation, San Francisco exemplifies another American dream, a humanized urban center. As for Los Angeles, it perhaps created the model, but now most American cities imitate its secure and golden-gated paradises.<sup>32</sup> To find a case to compare to Los Angeles, one also needs to look outside the United States. More and more often, similar social contrasts and polarization, and similar experiments of residential insulation of security-obsessed "carceral cities," may be observed today in Third World metropolises. The editors could have made a comparison with Asian cities, such as Tokyo or Singapore, equally rich in "hypersimulations" aiming at restructuring the urban imaginary.

Why not juxtapose Johannesburg? This is a metropolis whose restructuring goes still more rapidly through quite similar constraints: the same historical prosperity (based on gold instead of gas), same heritage of harsh segregation, same impact of repolarization, with a rapid deterioration of a center previously reserved to the white upper-middle class and now invaded by poverty, same exacerbation of a perverse symbiosis between the extremes of wealth and poverty, same construction of increasingly protected home spaces: the well-off urbanites are privatized inside gated and walled-in residences; we may add a somewhat similar architectural variety and the recent and multi-sided flourishing of art and creativity. But the city is fractured, fenced off, fenced in. The lush gardens, paved roads, staid office buildings, and high-security residential areas of white Johannesburg stand in dramatic contrast to the chaotic, indigent life of the African townships.<sup>33</sup> Today, in the post-apartheid era in South Africa as with the end of legal segregation a generation ago in the United States, the contrast between Sandton and Alexandra or Soweto is quite similar to the contrasts in Los Angeles between Hollywood paradises and the black or Latino ghettos. The need for traditionally polarized

<sup>29</sup> Anderson, "City Called Heaven," 357.

<sup>30</sup> Bernard Marchand, *The Emergence of Los Angeles: Population and Housing in the City of Dreams 1940-1970* (London, 1986).

<sup>31</sup> Sophie Body-Gendrot, *Les villes américaines: Les politiques urbaines* (Paris, 1997); Cynthia Ghorra-Gobin, *Los Angeles: Le mythe américain inachevé* (Paris, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> Edward Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1997).

<sup>33</sup> Annabel Biles and Adele Sulcas, "Hands across the Highway," *Urban Age: The Global City Magazine* (Summer 1999): 29-30.



communities to come face to face with each other is probably much more urgent for the wealthy white suburbanites from Sandton or Hollywood than for the residents of Alexandra or Los Angeles suburbs who leave their poor residential districts every day to work in predominantly white-run businesses, factories, and homes: "People from the northern suburbs, hiding behind their high walls, think the only thing happening in Alex is rape, car hijacking and murder."<sup>34</sup> If a postmodern city is growing somewhere, it may be as much in Johannesburg as in Los Angeles.

Therefore, is Los Angeles an exception? Will it be the model for postmodern cities? Is it the ultimate point of the process of "destructive creation" symbolized by Californian capitalism, according to the formula of Joseph Schumpeter? If so, even if one does not accept the apocalyptic view developed since this book by Mike Davis, who definitely sticks to the destructive part of the process, thus provoking controversial reactions, *The City* does not offer an optimistic view for our future, except for the very wealthy few.<sup>35</sup> For the book, which does not propose in the end the redemption prophesized by Davis "beyond *Blade Runner*" (after the achievement of the present destructive craziness), is poor in suggestions for remedy, except general humanitarian assertions. To be sure, the question is difficult. Are urban planners able to solve wild inequalities in L.A. urbanism? This would imply a complete ideological and political reversal, probably imaginable in a few European countries that still privilege state interventions (such as the "French exception"), and conceivable in developing metropolises of the Southern Hemisphere, where national and still more international institutions enjoy a prevalent power of decision and planning. But what about non-privatized urban planning in the United States? And if urban planners do not try to solve the problem, who will, if the traditional democratic political structure is no longer able to impose its will?

Nevertheless, this thick collection of essays is full of knowledge; it does not pretend to conclude the case, only to open the debate and to propose a few issues. From this point of view, it is a frank success.

<sup>34</sup> Biles and Sulcas, "Hands across the Highway"; see also Alan Mabin, ed., *Organization and Economic Change* (Johannesburg, 1989); and Alan Mabin and Dan Smit, *Reconstructing South Africa's Cities 1900–2000: A Prospectus (or, a Cautionary)* (Johannesburg, 1992). See also the recent symposium on Durban Urbanization, July 1998, organized by the urban historian William Freund, and the recent international conference on "Urban Futures" in Johannesburg, July 2000, co-organized by city officials and the University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>35</sup> Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York, 1998). See also Loïc Wacquant, "Los Angeles, capitale du futur: Un laboratoire de la polarisation," *Le monde diplomatique* (April 1998): 28.

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## Reviews of Books

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### METHOD/THEORY

NIALL FERGUSON, editor. *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals*. New York: Basic Books. 1999. Pp. x, 548. \$30.00.

ROBERT COWLEY, editor. *What If? The World's Foremost Historians Imagine What Might Have Been*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1999. Pp. xiv, 395. \$27.50.

E. H. Carr denounced counter-factual history as a parlor game, and E. P. Thompson, rather more bluntly, as *Geschichtswissenschaft* (unhistorical crap). Indeed, all who espouse some variety of determinism or teleology, be it materialist, idealist, or providential, consider "what if" questions absurd because they believe that whatever happened in the past must have happened. By contrast, historians more humble about their ability to discern meaning in history are keenly aware of the often decisive roles played by contingency, accident, chance, or free will in human affairs. Years ago it was tempting to conclude with the *Annales* school that events such as the Battle of Lepanto are mere epiphenomena, like the foam atop waves, by comparison to the deep currents that define the movement of history over the *longue durée* and make possible a scientific "total history." But even Fernand Braudel trimmed his ambitions later in life, and few today defend determinism or positivism. Hence we remain face to face with the conundrums that vexed the ancients from China to Greece: if the futures of whole civilizations often hinge on capricious occurrences, where can meaning be found in the pageant of human life?

I had expected that reviewing these collections of "what if" historical scenarios would be easy and fun. Niall Ferguson's ninety-page introduction surveying four centuries of counter-factual speculations and philosophies of history sufficed to persuade me otherwise. It is loaded with rich material, as one might expect from the erudite Oxford fellow, but the burden of Ferguson's essay is that counter-factual speculation has gotten a bad rap due to the silly *jeux d'esprit* and reductionism of some of its practitioners (e.g. Blaise Pascal's theory of Cleopatra's nose and Bertrand Russell's "if Henry VIII had not fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, the United States would not now exist"), not

to mention the smug caricatures of "what if" speculation by would-be scientific historians. In fact, Ferguson argues, there are two sorts of counter-factual history: "those which are essentially the products of imagination but (generally) lack an empirical basis; and those designed to test hypotheses by (supposedly) empirical means" (p. 18). He means to defend the second sort and establish methodological and theoretical bases for its refinement.

Ferguson illustrates what he has in mind by invoking Jorge Luis Borges's short story, "The Garden of Forking Paths," and Michael Scriven's principle to the effect that we would be obliged to "abandon history if we sought to eliminate all surprise" (p. 71). That is, accident, chance, contingency—far from making the historical exercise problematical—are exactly what make it real, fruitful, and potentially meaningful *as long as* the historian who asks "what might have happened?" proceeds according to the same rigorous empiricism as the historian who asks "what did happen?" Thus, it is by no means pointless to ask "what if Napoleon Bonaparte had invaded the Middle East instead of Russia?" because evidence abounds that he (and the tsar) considered that option at length. Demonstrable plausibility is the key, and turning from decisions to accidents it is certainly plausible that the storm that abated on June 6, 1944, might well have canceled D-Day or resumed soon enough to doom the invasion.

The way to reconcile the historian's quest for order with the inexplicable disorder in events, Ferguson suggests, is to borrow the exciting chaos theory currently sweeping evolutionary biology, mathematics, and meteorology. He advances a "chaos theory of history" according to which governing laws may be presumed to exist but are so breathtakingly complex that their workings appear to be stochastic. A history founded on this reality, which Ferguson terms "chaostory," could allow for "unpredictable outcomes even when successive events are causally linked" (p. 79). The chaostorian, therefore, is right to ask what outcomes at given moments in time were possible or even more probable than the outcome that really occurred. What is more, not to inquire after plausible alternatives is to flunk Leopold von Ranke's test of writing history as it actually was, for the reason that the

historical actors themselves weighed multiple possible futures. "The most historians can do is to make tentative statements about causation with reference to plausible counterfactuals, constructed on the basis of judgments about probability." Nor should this shock anyone because it just makes explicit "what many historians have been doing for years in the privacy of their imaginations" (p. 89).

On that last point I protest. Both Ferguson and Robert Cowley, editor of the other volume, set up a straw man by implying that the profession is in such thrall to Whiggish or Marxist teleologies that "what if? . . . is the historian's favorite secret question" (Cowley, p. xi). In my experience almost every effective history teacher and writer alludes to counter-factual scenarios because the passion, pathos, glory, and tragedy of history emerge from the realization that great issues might have gone otherwise: wars and holocausts caused or prevented, revolutions provoked or preempted, cultural flowerings fertilized or nipped in the bud by some blunder, untimely death, or *deus ex machina*. Indeed, asking what might well have happened (but didn't) kindles students' historical imaginations far better than imposing a single narrative and insisting that history had to play out that way.

How successfully do the contributors to these volumes apply the rules of "chaostory"? Cowley's collection of essays would appear to be on the safest ground because it is confined to military history, the arena in which contingencies and their consequences are undeniable. Moreover, the table of contents reads like a hall of fame: William H. McNeill, Theodore K. Rabb, Geoffrey Parker, David McCullough, Alistair Horne, James McPherson, John Keegan, and Stephen A. Ambrose, to name just a few. Unfortunately, the articles lack notes and sources, but the "what ifs" explored are as persuasive as they are entertaining. Had the Assyrian host conquered Judah in 701 B.C. instead of being decimated by a "miraculous" plague, and had the Persians defeated the Greeks at Salamis in 480 B.C., Western civilization as we know it would have aborted. In 1242 A.D., Europe was spared certain destruction when the Mongols learned that their great khan had died and turned back to the steppes. Hernan Cortés's conquest of Mexico should, by all probabilities, have failed, while the Spanish Armada's campaign against England should, by all probabilities, have succeeded. The thirteen colonies' bid for independence almost misfired thirteen times, and the Confederacy might have won its independence had a copy of Robert E. Lee's plan to invade the North in 1862 not fallen, against all odds, into Union hands. Adolf Hitler made several disastrous decisions that could well have gone otherwise, as did Chiang Kai-shek when he invaded Manchuria to drive out the Communists in 1946, then stopped just short of victory at the behest of American envoy George C. Marshall.

The contributors to Ferguson's volume also stick to real evidence so far as first-order counterfactuals are concerned. Whigs and Marxists lay jealous claim to the

English Revolution, but in fact it might never have happened at all if King Charles I had not overestimated the Scottish resistance in 1639 and sued for terms instead of pressing for victory. Ferguson's own essay proves how close the British cabinet was to declaring neutrality in 1914, and argues that it should have, given that no German victory could have been worse than what resulted from British belligerency: a bloody, exhausting war; a botched peace; the rise of fascism and Bolshevism; World War II; and a Cold War. Most controversial in the present climate, perhaps, are Mark Almond's answers to the question of how history might have differed absent Mikhail Gorbachev. His logic will not please those who credit the Reagan administration, Soviet economics and generational change, or indeed Gorbachev himself for the collapse of Communism.

Chaostory is unlikely to sweep the profession (what will postmodernists make of it?), but these books make a powerful case. Too bad, therefore, that some contributors did get carried away, as when we read that no Alexander the Great would have meant no "modernity" and that a Roman victory over Arminius might have meant no German imperialism two millennia later. Too bad that the worst "offender" is Ferguson himself, whose tongue-in-cheek afterword, laced with historical in-jokes, lumps all the "what ifs" together into a virtual history that ends with the domination of Europe by a Russian priest named Djughashvili (Stalin) who takes the title Tsar Joseph I. It left me wondering if this project began as Oxonian "high table humor" after all, in the manner of those wry English humorists, Flanders and Swann. "The purpose of satire," they quipped, "is to strip off the comforting veneer of cozy half-truth, whereas our job, as I see it, is to put it back again!" Whatever the mischievous Ferguson's motives, readers of these collections will be left to ponder where historical meaning does lie, if not in providence, fate, karma, or chance.

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EDWARD E. MCCULLOUGH, *How the First World War Began: The Triple Entente and the Coming of the Great War of 1914-1918*. New York: Black Rose Books, 1999. Pp. xii, 346. \$28.99.

Edward E. McCullough's purpose is nothing less than deconstructing the prevailing wisdom on the outbreak of World War I. He condemns the "militarist myth that wars are caused by evil people" attacking "kindly and pacific folk" (p. ix). "The promulgation of this militarist myth has been achieved by the falsification or distortion of historical fact" that is best exemplified by "the widely accepted mythological history of the events leading to the Great War, of 1914-18" (p. ix). McCullough asserts that rational discussion of World War I was replaced by "ultra-nationalist history" as a result of World War II, in particular the belief "that the two world wars of the twentieth century have their

origins in the peculiar mentality characteristic of the Germans" (ix). Indeed, he argues, "the Great War provides by far the best example of the falsification of history for propaganda purposes," and the interpretation of Germany's role "as an aggressive, expansionist disturber of the peace is completely unrelated to the actual events of the period" (p. 328).

McCullough's style is pugnacious: the views he criticizes are denigrated as "falsification and distortion" (p. 328), "propaganda," "manipulation" (p. 328), "pure mythology" (p. 328), "perverse mythology" (p. 330), "imaginary history written by entente myth writers" (p. 330) and by "entente myth-makers [who] apply twisted logic" (p. 332), such as the "modern entente mythologist, Paul Kennedy" (p. 213).

As he acknowledges, McCullough's story is less new than a return to Sidney B. Fay *The Origins of the World War* (1930). He maintains that there is little new evidence for the July Crisis of 1914 but much manipulation of it "to force a one-sided interpretation" of the crisis. By contrast, knowledge of the period 1870–1914 has been "revolutionized" (p. ix) by new documents and monographs, although "most general histories" of the period are uninformed by them. While McCullough claims to utilize these sources, his footnotes show little sign of them, and his bibliography lists only a handful of works published since 1970 and none from the 1990s.

McCullough propounds his thesis with predictably rigid consistency. The aim of France after its defeat in 1871 was to exploit the Franco-Russian alliance (1894) in order to overpower Germany and retrieve Alsace-Lorraine. As the price of a compromise with France and Russia, England had to join the anti-German coalition, and the Anglo-French entente was "the crucial event which determined the history of the twentieth century" by committing England to French aggressive aspirations and "inevitably" bringing England in against Germany (p. 329). To convince their public that no alternative existed, British leaders invented the naval issue and the balance of power as propaganda devices.

Basically, "the perpetrators of the perverse mythology which condemns Germany for trying to protect her treaty rights" viewed Germany as "an inferior upstart Power" (p. 330). The question of preparations for war "is usually disposed of by extensive falsification," namely, the incorrect claim that the German arms build-up was larger (p. 332). The Balkan wars (1912–1913) were the result of a Russian "offensive designed to organize the Balkans under Russian control" and destroy the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (p. 333). In the war, "Germany and Austria fought to maintain the *status quo*, while France and Russia fought to change it," specifically to regain Alsace-Lorraine and destroy Austria-Hungary (p. 336). The villains of the peace were not Germany and Austria-Hungary but France and above all Russia, as Fay had contended. Likewise the individual villains remain the usual suspects: French President Raymond Poincaré, French Foreign

Minister Théophile Delcassé, and British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey, whose manipulation of Parliament was "a masterpiece of deceptive sophistry" (p. 229).

If one overlooks the provocative packaging, how should McCullough's interpretation be evaluated? Although Germany has been widely regarded as the primary aggressor because of its style and the implications inherent in its power, few historians insist that it was the only one. Probably more historians than McCullough implies would grant his point that World War II influenced our understanding of World War I and above all of Germany. Many would likely argue that all the great powers were caught in the same maze of arrogant anxiety. But few see England or even France and Russia as more aggressive than Germany. Above all, not many apply to history McCullough's photographic negative, which turns black into white and white into black by exonerating Germany.

McCullough's book provides a case study of how not to write revisionist history. It demonstrates that provocation is a stimulating but crude game whereas revisionism is a subtle art, more rapier than hammer. A more measured approach might have won over more scholars than his take-no-prisoners style. As his countrymen put it, McCullough is too clever by half. Indeed, his style is liable to drive other scholars to defend precisely the conventional wisdom he condemns.

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DANIEL J. SHERMAN. *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. 414.

Daniel J. Sherman's elegant and critically argued new tome examines the meanings of World War I in France as part of a larger project on the constitution of a "culture of memory." Sherman, an expert on museums and memorializing, here moves largely outside of the museum but does not surrender his fascination with space, place, and institutions of art and politics as he looks at the Great War through monuments, tourism, texts, plans, and (a few) museums as places of memory and historical identification.

Much of the work is a scholarly *tour de France*, an engaging peregrination with the author through cities, towns, and villages in search of local war monuments and their stories (smartly illustrated by dozens of Sherman's photographs). The Great War is one of the most studied areas in modern scholarship, and over the last decade historians have broadened the study of "memory" issues by critically reappraising the conflict in terms of its constructions in literature and narratives, ossuaries, statuary, and ceremonies. Following this line, Sherman deliberately works against drawing out any "real experience" of the war, seeking rather the meanings of representation, commemoration, and historical reconstitution. Along with nods to specialists



like Antoine Prost and Jean-Jacques Becker, Sherman invokes Michel Foucault and Michel de Certeau at regular intervals to structure meditations on the meanings of memory, substitution, displacement, personification, and transference.

Sherman's key concept is that of "emergence," a complex notion of how the past is fashioned into active temporalities. Generally speaking, the author posits two major approaches to memory scholarship: the commemorative and the traumatic. The memorialization of the war is the perfect vehicle through which to draw together these two types of historical memory: the celebratory commemorative logic of history as nation-state, and the traumatic evasions of forgetting, repression, and exclusion. How these memories are contested and negotiated within a political and social field determines their multiple sites of meaning and ultimate "emergence" as parts of a naturalized historical narrative.

Sherman's project is to stake out many of these sites. In vivid detail, he crafts discussions of ossuaries, tombs, and touristic pilgrimages to battlefields and does smart readings of diaries, fiction, and blueprints to delve deep into the unspoken logic of French warfare, diplomacy, and political factionalism. He also manages to remind his (presumably American) majority audience of resonances to his work in the Vietnam memorial of Maya Lin, the staging of history at Iwo Jima, the rhetorical impact of self-denial and sacrifice at Gettysburg.

As many of the study's major literary and monumental genres will be familiar to readers, Sherman pulls against the grain of previous scholarship, prioritizing, for example, the roles of gender and childhood in soldiers' monuments. He foregrounds the unexpectedly complex roles played by female allegories; were they protecting, grieving for, or paying tribute to the men represented? The discussion of toddlers in many commemorative images (and their real function in ceremonies) highlights the political role of those for whom so much blood was presumably shed. Other standout moments include discussions of "sacrifice" as a category and the ways this played into encouraging contributions from divided constituencies for new plaques and statuary. Also engaging are the splendid high-low tensions between local townspeople's taste in monuments and the wounded sensibilities of artists and critics hoping to push the public past presumed vulgarity, excess, and "cumbersome banalities" (p. 158). Some of the larger arguments, such as whether the gendered representations heralded tensions about female suffrage or betrayed symptomatic anguish over insecure masculinity are allusive, although not developed at great length.

The epilogue is a series of chronological snapshots suggesting both where this work has come from and where it might go. From a fashion for "eternal flame" projects in the 1930s, we leap to the museal world of the 1960s and then to the historical/anti-commemora-

tive 1990s. Why highlight these particular decades? The gap around World War II is striking; the telescoping of the second conflict into the memory of the first receives little attention. Perhaps the logic here is intended to complement Sherman's 1992 citation from the (quite serious) curator of the new Historial de la Grande Guerre at Péronne: the gradual dying off of 1914 veterans is not exactly unfortunate—it means diminishing political interference in the museum's projects; history will now have a chance to triumph over memory and personal cases. Sherman's study traces such thinking back to first principles; it is "experience" itself that is a form of representation. His work is the blueprint of that process, a look at the intricate and contested plans by which the past is made.

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DENNIS DWORKIN. *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies*. (Post-Contemporary Interventions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 322. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.

EDWIN A. ROBERTS. *The Anglo-Marxists: A Study in Ideology and Culture*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1997. Pp. xv, 296. Cloth \$67.50, paper \$24.95.

If, in the years since World War II, Britain's global role has been diminished, the country has nevertheless remained a net exporter of ideas. Social history in the United States owes much to the writing of E. P. Thompson, while cultural studies as an academic discipline originated in Britain at the outset of the 1960s—even if its current North American enthusiasts are engaged in work distinct from that pioneered by Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams in the early days of Britain's New Left. Dennis Dworkin has captured the spirit of those days, tracing the origins and development of a British tradition of what he terms "cultural Marxism" between the mid-1940s and the late 1970s. He admits that he is not the first to study the academic work of the British Left. Indeed, his book enters an already crowded field: Harvey Kaye has written a fine account of *The British Marxist Historians* (1984), while Patrick Brantlinger has examined British antecedents of contemporary American cultural studies in *Crusoe's Footprints: Cultural Studies in Britain and America* (1990). Nevertheless, Dworkin rightly sees his book as "the first intellectual history to study British cultural Marxism conceived as a coherent intellectual tradition, not limited to one discipline or figure within it" (p. 3).

Dworkin introduces the reader to his topic with an excellent analysis of the Communist Party Historians' Group, that 1940s informal meeting ground for the likes of Christopher Hill and Eric Hobsbawm that



Dworkin insists must be seen as an “incubator for the development of British cultural Marxist historiography and historical theory” (p. 11). He explores the contributions made by Hoggart and Williams to the project of cultural Marxism in the 1950s, culminating in the establishment of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University in 1964. After dissecting the seminal texts published by the Centre, Dworkin charts the role played by the *New Left Review* in familiarizing readers with continental Marxist theory. He then deftly traces the development of the writing of “history from below,” beginning with the publication of Thompson’s *Making of the English Working Class* (1963), and culminating in the History Workshop movement of the mid-1970s and Thompson’s polemical attack on the work of Louis Althusser in *The Poverty of Theory* (1978). Dworkin concludes his study with Margaret Thatcher’s ascension to power in 1979, claiming that her conservative reconstruction of “the popular,” the beginning of the end of existing socialism in Eastern Europe, the emergence of new social subjects, and the proliferation of poststructuralist thought in the wake of the Foucauldian revolution all marked “the end of a decisive phase in cultural Marxism’s development” (p. 246).

The strengths of Dworkin’s study are legion. He offers an excellent account of the break made by a number of intellectuals with the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in 1956, deftly moving among the various players in the drama with a keen eye for what motivated them. Moreover, although an ardent enthusiast for the work of the cultural Marxists, Dworkin is not afraid to be critical of that work: if at times his tone is a trifle too celebratory, he also takes issue with what he views to be History Workshop’s antiquarianism and sentimentalism and, furthermore, is not afraid to wrestle with Thompson. But, most of all, Dworkin has written an important study insofar as it charts the evolution of a major strand of thought in postwar Britain and does so in part by making excellent use of unpublished papers and various interviews that the author undertook for the study. One example will suffice. By mining a transcript of the 1979 History Workshop meeting at which Thompson’s *Poverty of Theory* was debated, and by relying on the testimony of participants in that debate, Dworkin is able to reconstruct not only the arguments made but the extraordinary passion that accompanied them.

At times, Dworkin’s enthusiasm for the events he recounts prevents him from assessing their broader significance. Many readers of this journal will remember the battles Thompson fought in the 1970s; today they seem curiously remote and perhaps irrelevant to contemporary intellectual discourse. While Dworkin reconstructs those battles, he fails to inform his readers *why* they should still be interested in them. Moreover, it is not clear why an exploration of British cultural Marxism should end in the 1970s (surely the work of Stuart Hall suggests that, despite its twists and turns, the tradition Dworkin dissects continues), nor

why it should begin in the 1940s (surely there were important antecedents to the Communist Party Historians’ Group).

For the prehistory of what Dworkin terms cultural Marxism, one turns to Edwin A. Roberts’s book, a less than satisfying contribution to the history of British Marxism between the 1920s and 1950s. While Dworkin is interested in those cultural Marxists who emerged in the wake of the wholesale flight from the CPGB in 1956, Roberts turns to those who held fast to the party line in 1956, intellectuals who are now largely forgotten. He explores the efforts made by Maurice Cornforth to promote a mix of native analytic philosophy and continental Marxism. He also examines the contributions of J. D. Bernal and J. B. S. Haldane to the “Social Relations in Science” movement in a chapter about the Left and the attempt to establish and institutionalize a native tradition of Marxist science. Throughout his study, Roberts tries to show how these men brought to their understanding of Marxism and Leninism a number of very British theoretical and methodological perspectives, instilled in them during their own university education.

On one level, Roberts should be praised for attempting to rescue interwar Anglo-Marxists from the condemnation of posterity (or at least from the wrath of many of their post-1956 New Left counterparts). Although both Stuart MacIntyre (*A Proletarian Science* [1981]) and Jonathan Rée (*Proletarian Philosophers* [1984]) have discussed the work of a number of Marxist activists and thinkers in the 1920s and 1930s, neither focuses to the degree that Roberts does on academics. Nevertheless, Roberts’s study leaves much to be desired. He insists that he wants “to rigorously define and then prove the existence of an Anglo-Marxist tradition” (p. 270). Sadly, he does neither. Instead, he engages in a narrow intellectual history, merely offering a summary of what often appear to be randomly selected texts. Moreover, he offers no convincing justification for why some thinkers are crucial to the tradition he seeks to rescue and others are not. Surely, if an Anglo-Marxist tradition *did* crystalize in these years, equally important to it was the work of the historian Donna Torr, the literary critic Alick West, the art historian Francis Klingender, and the cultural critic Christopher Caudwell—individuals who are absent from Roberts’s study or who get only a passing mention. Finally, Roberts’s text is littered with errors: the CPGB often becomes the CPBG, E. M. Forster becomes E. M. Foster, Birkbeck College is now Birkbeck, Anglization takes place, and the publisher Croom Helm becomes Cloom Helm (in reference to a book published by Oxford). Marxist thought in Britain in the second quarter of the twentieth century deserves better than this; indeed, it deserves the kind of attention Dworkin has lavished on the postwar years.

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JONATHAN CRARY. *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture*. (An October Book.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1999. Pp. x, 397. \$39.95.

In this book, Jonathan Crary continues the meditation he began in *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (1990), on the changes modern society and culture have effected in our manner of perceiving the world, both in theory and in actuality, and on the reflections of these changes to be found in visual art. Crary is a luminary of the school of art and cultural history associated with the journal *October*, and his approach combines a still-confident and assertive Marxism with ideas and schemas taken over from Michel Foucault, Guy Debord, Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guattari. Those readers who believe that the paths blazed by these figures promise great discoveries will likely think that Crary's work throws powerful new light on important regions of modern culture, while those who worry that such pathways are brightly lit *culs-de-sac* may find that the intellectual energy expended is largely wasted. Even the latter, however, should be impressed by the range and depth of Crary's knowledge and interests and by the vigor of his imagination.

Crary's argument is that the central place given to the notion of "attention" in psychology and aesthetic practice starting in the second half of the nineteenth century was (and remains) a response to the growing disorder and incoherence of social experience under advanced capitalism: attentiveness was a self-defeating strategy for salvaging stability and wholeness where none could be maintained. Modernity spawns an ongoing "crisis of attentiveness," as "the changing configurations of capitalism continually push attention and distraction to new limits and thresholds." But "the articulation of a subject in terms of attentive capacities simultaneously disclosed a subject incapable of conforming to such disciplinary imperatives" (pp. 13–14). The problematic of attentiveness "is a sign, not so much of the subject's disappearance as of its precariousness, contingency, and insubstantiality" (p. 45).

What supposedly brings about this outcome is a phenomenon noted by many psychologists and familiar to all of us. We can bring the things around us into focus by concentrating on some subset of them, but if such concentration goes on too long it will produce the opposite effect, inducing fuzziness, dizziness, what Théodule Ribot called "a kind of intellectual vacuity" (p. 47). Crary concludes that "attention always contained within itself the conditions for its own disintegration, it was haunted by the possibility of its own excess" (p. 47). But this is a fallacious and unjustifiable inference, surely not one that would have been shared by psychologists such as William James or Pierre Janet, whom Crary cites. The reason is simple: we can easily avoid the vertigo or distraction of overlong attention to a single object by shifting the focus somewhere else. Knowing this about ourselves is also attentiveness—to the workings of our own mental functioning—and it is

just this ability to reflect on ourselves as subjects, aided by psychological inquiry, that makes our subjectivity far less precarious, contingent, and insubstantial than Crary and his cobelievers assert. Even if "the border between a focused normative attentiveness and a hypnotic trance was indistinct" (p. 65) in some psychological theories, this does not mean that inadvertently crossing that border ever amounted to a significant problem for modern people seeking to give attention to the world around them.

Crary's reification of the problem of attentiveness is matched by his deterministic and abstract notion of life under capitalism. Thus he is able to write of the three figures who look out from Edouard Manet's painting *The Balcony* (1869) that, because they inhabited Paris during its reconstruction by Baron Georges Haussmann, theirs was "an attention that in seeking the presence of the immediate is instead deflected by the absence and cancellation implicit in processes of capitalist rationalization" (p. 84). The claim made here about the way capitalism overwhelms experience is just as empty as the notion that people's attention can be deflected by an absence (particularly one that likely does not exist for them). Equally gratuitous is the attempt to read Manet's *In the Conservatory* (1879) as "a figuration of an essential conflict within the perceptual logic of modernity," between "an obsessive holding together of perception to maintain the viability of a functional real world," and "a dynamic of psychic and economic exchange, of equivalence and substitution [i.e. of commodity relations], of flux and dispersal that threatens to unmoor the apparently stable positions" of the people in the picture (p. 92). The arbitrariness of this reading is underscored by Crary's attempt to enlist the flowerpots as metaphorical witnesses to it because they "confine, at least partially, the proliferating growth of vegetation surrounding the figures" (p. 93). Non-capitalist flowerpots do not?

The same patterns reappear in the work of Paul Cézanne, but now invoked—in the altered atmosphere of the 1890s—to very different effect. Doing his paintings, Cézanne learned "anew each time how his relentless enterprise of holding onto a visible world is doomed to disintegration" (p. 339), but whereas Manet (and Georges Seurat) sought to impose order in a way that presaged fascist authoritarianism (p. 358), we are asked to associate Cézanne with liberation from the doomed attempt to impose stable form on the world, modeled on Nietzsche's revolt and evocative of the delirium of Deleuze and Guattari. Cézanne is supposed to point toward "the indefinite floating time of an event" that can never be fixed or located either temporally or in space. For the artist as a human subject this means "a radical depersonalization from which he could intuit the creative forces of chaos" (p. 342). Thus attentiveness finally admits its inner contradictions and accepts its continuity with the mental states that render it impotent: capitalist rationality collapses in the face of the incoherent world it brings about. Sustaining this imaginative argument requires a

reading of Cezanne's work that makes it issue in indeterminacy, depersonalization, and disorder; such a construal may find an occasional point of support in the pictures, but for the most part it is far too distant from their spirit and structure to be persuasive. That is one reason why Crary must turn so often to the theorists he prizes, notably Deleuze and Guattari, for formulas that support his claims. Crary's book often lights up with the energy of his arguments (his own attentiveness never dissolves into distraction; what does he make of that?), but the illumination mostly falls back on the dubious and overly rigid theoretical ideas that generate it, casting more shadow than light on the cultural phenomena that are his chosen subject.

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NANCY R. HUNT. *A Colonial Lexicon: Of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo*. (Body, Commodity, Text.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 475. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$20.95.

Nancy R. Hunt's study is an important contribution to the historiography of medical practice, missionary activity, and gender in the Congo, three themes that she brings together quite effectively. Her narrative focuses on Yakusu and its surroundings in the Upper Congo River area. Yakusu was home to a British Missionary Society (BMS) medical mission that, in 1929, established a training school for midwives. Hunt traces the history of childbirth medicalization in Congo from the pronatalism of the late Leopoldian period to the postcolonial birth routine in the late 1980s.

Medicine and medical knowledge in the Belgian Congo constituted a battlefield between colonizers and colonized in which the former attempted to obliterate local beliefs in order to produce docile bodies and minds while the latter strove to preserve their cultural continuity. This book is as much about the meaning of words as it is about the meaning of rituals and performances. Readers have to exercise exceeding patience as the author leads them into the sinuities of semiotics, through a forest of symbols, meanings, and rituals. In the first three chapters, Hunt convincingly conveys the colonial decor within which contested claims about therapeutic practices, rituals, and cultures erupted between the European colonizers and the Lokele people. For the most part, these chapters are devoted to *libeli*, a boy's rite of passage that had been branded as fraudulent by the colonizers before resurging in 1924. Although discussion of this African ritual is tantalizing on its own account, the author does not make a strong enough case as to why *libeli*, which she presents as an eminently male ritual that involves power and food (thus wealth), is such an indispensable context to understanding the history of colonial childbearing practices.

Hunt is quite successful at peering in at the "Imperial eyes" when recounting missionary narratives—

because African recollections lacked the compression, linearity, and mirth of missionary authored tales (p. 138)—that, she argues can "reveal African readings and mediations" (p. 160). However, she falls short in penetrating the "colonized mind" in order to render the balance of the colonial power struggle she narrates. In the second chapter, titled "Doctors and Airplanes," she focuses on the resurgence of *libeli*, which the colonial authorities had long banned. Between extrapolations and judgments from European missionaries and colonial officials, the reader is never offered a clear explanation of what prompted the Lokele to reinstitute the rite. The question raised at the beginning of the chapter, "What provoked *libeli* of 1924?" (p. 88), remains unanswered.

Any reader acquainted with the sensitivity of colonial claims about European redemptive powers will not fail to notice that BMS missionaries at Yakusu are endowed with Promethean abilities to transform natives "from savages to saints." Colonial racism is alluded to so candidly and anecdotally that it seems rather benign, a mere peccadillo. Time and again, BMS missionary doctors are depicted not only as the colonial government's indefatigable indirect agents, touring the land to heal sick souls and wounded bodies, but also as "rational" agents, whereas African minds are crowded with fantasies that the author endeavors to fathom. One example is the story of a European doctor who surreptitiously removed a dead fetus from a syphilitic woman who had passed away, "keeping it for further study," to which the kin of the deceased woman reacted by invoking *tokwakwa*, images and tales about "bad doctors and their plans to cut up victims and put them in tins for sale" (pp. 190–91). Although "locals" as well as scholars define *tokwakwa* as a "form of [a] kin-based social control institution," Hunt unconvincingly dismisses this interpretation. Other such examples abound: the story of a European nurse who, when visiting a hospital carpenter's wife in 1929, found her hiding a pot of medicines—monkey tail fur and parrot feathers—intended to cure her feverish baby (p. 202); the story of men with spears who banished a pregnant woman into the forest to die because she labored four days without giving birth (p. 207); the story of an "angry mob" that opposed a BMS missionary doctor who saved a baby by removing it from a parturient corpse (p. 210).

Arguably, the best pages in the book describe two threshold figures, Bolau and Malia Winnie, two Yakusu female nurses who straddled the divide between European biomedical techniques and African healing experience. Hunt is at her best when narrating how these liminal figures dodged colonial anxieties about demographics and European efforts to medicalize childbearing in Yakusu. Her fascinating portrayal of the Belgian colonial welfare state, where births were not only medicalized but also "bureaucratized," thus becoming statistics that vindicated the pronatalist preoccupation, is well crafted and compelling. So is her analysis of postcolonial parturition in the last two

chapters. After independence and a devastating civil war that wreaked havoc in the Upper Congo region, medicalized parturition declined in most towns and villages. Yakusu-trained nurses and midwives continued, however, to deliver babies in villages, using both the knowledge inherited from the colonial times and the reinvented local *savoir-faire*. Notwithstanding, Hunt's richly textured and groundbreaking study, albeit a *mélange* of genres, is likely to appeal to a wide array of specialists from anthropologists to medical historians.

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#### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

PAUL JOHNSON and PAT THANE, editors. *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-Modernity*. New York: Routledge. 1998. Pp. ix, 244. \$85.00.

In 1977, Peter N. Stearns noted that few scholars had published on the history of old age. While social history had addressed itself to childhood and the adult life of men and women, little research had been given to the last stage of life. Since that time, of course, numerous monographs and articles focused on the history of old age in both America and Europe. Coming nearly twenty-five years after Stearns's pronouncement, this collection of essays edited by Paul Johnson and Pat Thane adds significant voices to the study of old age and illuminates several debates that remain central in the field. Most clearly, as a group, these essays repeatedly argue against the long-standing myths that, despite the work of the last quarter of a century, continue to dominate scholarly ideas about old age. Convincingly, these essays demonstrate that old age has always existed. Even in ancient times, people did not assume that the forty-year-old was elderly; they marked the threshold to great age at sixty or seventy. Second, many of the writers argue that attitudes about old age have always been ambivalent. There never was a golden age for the elderly, during which they were treated with unquestioned respect. Literary portrayals of the old often rested on the conventions of the genre; physical depictions of the aged body served metaphoric purposes. Finally, several of these essays illustrate that assumptions about the increasing isolation of the old cannot be supported. Throughout time, the family has remained a key factor in the lives of the old, providing support and an exchange of resources.

According to the introduction by Johnson, the articles in the book are organized around three key issues: economic well-being, participation, and status. Obviously, these are important issues that have shaped much of the work done in the history of old age since the late 1970s. Yet readers searching in this volume for articles that show the links among these themes will be rather disappointed. The best of the articles, such as

David Thomson's "Old Age in the New World" or Christoph Conrad's "Old Age and the Health Care System in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," demonstrate well the relationship among the key themes and the impact they had on attitudes toward the old, and their role in modern society. For Thomson, the demographic, economic and intellectual realities of frontier New Zealand society clearly affected welfare attitudes about the old as well as the elderly's participation in society. For Conrad, institutional and medical beliefs about the old and the care of disease changed their involvement in the medical system and their treatment by physicians. Other articles in the book direct themselves more to a single theme: Tim G. Parkin (in "Ageing in Antiquity") and Shulamith Shahar consider the issue of status; Richard Smith, in "Ageing and Well-Being in Early Modern England," looks more closely at impoverishment, and Johnson, in "Parallel Histories of Retirement," and Thane in "The Families Lives of the Old," focus on labor and family participation respectively.

A second and somewhat less well-acknowledged debate also shapes many of the articles in this volume. When historians first wrote on the history of aging, they generally looked at issues of status and perception; cultural narratives dominated the field. Many then turned their interest to the social realities of aging. They explored such issues as labor force participation rates, family structure, and economic well-being. According to Johnson, the two approaches often led to "a tension between relativistic and positivistic approaches to the history of old age, but there is no obvious reason to privilege one approach over the other. The experience of old age in the past was not just the result of 'social construction' of categories by regulatory agencies, nor was it simply a 'natural' response to physiological aging" (p. 1). Yet, despite Johnson's admonition, articles in the book still weigh the relative merits of these approaches and favor one over the other. The tension that he claims need not exist continues to shape the dialogue. In "Balancing Social and Cultural Approaches to the History of Old Age and Ageing in Europe," for example, David Troyansky argues that in pre-nineteenth-century society cultural factors best illuminate historical understanding: "Although the categories of participation and well being are clearly appropriate for studying the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries . . . in early modern society, participation and well-being may best be understood in moral rather than economic terms" (p. 97).

What these essays reveal, then, is the need to take the next step in aging history: to form the bridge between cultural perceptions and social realities. As several of the contributors show, the realities of aging often did not meet cultural assumptions. Despite the repeated pronouncements of social scientists concerning the increasing isolation of the old, the aged remained integral parts of their family networks; although welfare roles often listed the elderly as ideal



pensioners, not all aged persons were impoverished or alone. Why, then, did cultural assumptions and social realities often diverge so sharply? How can we understand individual perceptions of old age that often differed so significantly from economic actuality? While the essays in this volume illustrate the great range of approaches and themes to the history of old age, the editors might well have addressed some of these key themes in a concluding chapter. As it stands, there is little attempt to weave the strands of old age history together or to resolve several of the internal arguments that the authors have with each other.

In addition, the book would have profited from an expanded bibliography that invited the reader to dig more deeply into the field. Although the book does include a fine chapter on New Zealand, its focus is almost entirely on Western Europe. Space may have limited contributions on aging in other areas, but references that allowed the reader to have reached beyond the notes of the individual chapters would have served to illuminate the range of the field.

Despite these criticisms, this book is a valuable contribution to the growing study of old age in the past. In addressing a broad range of subjects, both in terms of periods and approaches, it demonstrates both how far the field has come in twenty-five years and the numerous challenges that now confront it.

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J. N. HAYS. *The Burdens of Disease: Epidemics and Human Response in Western History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 361. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$24.00.

The social history of medicine has grown over the last fifteen years to become one of the liveliest of history's subject areas. Characterized by an immense eclecticism, it has widened the scope of an earlier whiggish history of medicine to encompass the myriad ways in which health, illness, and medicine affect society and are affected by it. Historical demography, environmental history, history from below, women's history, the histories of magic, religion, institutions, ideas, and politics have all been integrated into the narratives of recent social history of medicine. New research sites such as the colonies and the laboratory have added extra dimensions to the subject.

J. N. Hays's book illustrates many of the merits of the new history of medicine. The book will be required reading for any university-level course on the social history of disease and, indeed, of medicine generally. Drawing on an immense amount of reading in the secondary sources together with a judicious sprinkling of primary sources, Hays has produced a masterly and reliable synthesis of how diseases have affected societies and of the ways that different Western societies have understood and responded to their presence. The chronological coverage of the book is impressive. It ranges from the humoral theories of the Greeks to the

specific disease ontologies of the present and considers cultural factors such as the impact of the Reformation on religious explanations of disease and the stigmatizations associated with AIDS today. The perceived social causes and links to plague, cholera, and tuberculosis are elucidated with great clarity, while at the same time Hays traces the changing shape of the medical marketplace and latterly of the medical professions. In other words, this book encapsulates the recent history of medicine in all its diversity, including the cutting-edge topics of imperial medicine and the laboratory. Having congratulated Hays on an excellent work of synthesis, it is worth considering the limitations and problems thrown up by his work, for they reflect those of the subject as a whole.

The status of disease is the thorniest issue. Is it an objective biological reality or a social construct and hence culturally relative? Hays common-sensically takes both approaches, using "disease" for the former sense and "illness" for the latter. This allows him to include, for instance, both the biological realities of plague—its symptoms and swift death—and the way it was understood at the time as a punishment of God. Often such an approach leads readers, especially students, though not Hays, to devalue culturally specific meanings in favor of the "objectively correct" (i.e. modern) meanings. More significantly, it could be argued that this dualism creates an intellectual dichotomy that is deeply unsatisfying to those who hanker after unifying explanations.

The origins of this dualism are embedded deep in modern Western culture, where the nature and/or nurture debate has ranged across race and education and has taken a potent new form with the alliance between genetic research and the big money of the biotech companies. In relation to the history of medicine, a narrative that involves both "disease" and "illness" challenges the hold of theoreticians, especially the early 1970s social constructivists, over the subject. It allows diverse approaches to flourish and gives empirical information a specially favored status. Also, it ensures that in much of the history of medicine unifying theories such as Michel Foucault's no longer seem to make sense of what has become a bitty narrative of localized coherences. A slightly different way of putting it is that both the contents and the contexts of the history of medicine have been ably charted, but few now put the two together, and when they are combined, it is often at the expense of that extraordinary breadth of historical vision that characterizes the best current work in the subject. Grand theory, which seemed so enticing in the early 1970s, now appears to narrow and bias our knowledge. Again, this reflects the wider world of Western culture and politics. It can also be argued that postmodernism, with its denial that any system of explanation has normative status, leads either to no consistent theories or to the juxtaposition of radically different theories, in this case those of the natural sciences and the social sciences. For postmodernism, despite being infused



with the social sciences, does not give a privileged status to them or to philosophy, history, or the natural sciences. The common-sense strategy of joining disease, the objective and the real, with illness, the subjective and social, at once hides and is expressive of some of the dilemmas of modern culture. In other words, as Hays's book shows, the history of medicine is a thoroughly up-to-date historical discipline.

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ADRIAN HASTINGS, editor. *A World History of Christianity*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1999. Pp. xiv, 594. \$45.00.

The composition of a history of Christianity presents unusual challenges, for it is a religious movement that spans 2,000 years and all parts of the globe. Recognizing that no one scholar can be expert in all times and places, editor Adrian Hastings has assembled a team of specialists, each authoring a chapter within his or her area of specialization.

The resulting volume transcends the typical focus on Western Europe by offering two chapters on the Byzantine Empire and post-Byzantine Eastern Europe and one each on India, Africa, Latin America, the Far East, North America, and Australasia. The chapters on non-European regions span the entire period of Christian presence, while the history of Mediterranean and Western European Christianity is divided chronologically into five chapters interspersed among the others. The placement of the chapters was determined, apparently, by the first appearance of Christianity in that region, even if the bulk of its known history occurred centuries later. Thus geographical coherence is attained at the cost of chronological order.

As so often happens in multi-authored volumes, each chapter is structured differently and takes a somewhat different approach to the history of Christianity. The chapters on late antiquity and modern Western Europe, by Hastings and Mary Heimann respectively, focus on intellectual history. Hastings concentrates on the early Christian thinkers whose conceptions laid the groundwork for the official definition of the Christian faith, setting them in their political and intellectual context in an elegant narration. Heimann looks less at Christian theologians *per se* than at the Christian content of the "great thinkers" of the modern age, making cogent observations along the way concerning modern-day scholars' propensity to accept Enlightenment epistemology uncritically.

The other chapters concerning the Western experience pay less attention to intellectual history. Martin Goodman's essay on the beginnings of Christianity focuses on the societal context of the Roman Empire of the first and second centuries. This approach allows him to evade the thorny issue of what, exactly, Jesus and his earliest devotees believed and did. Benedicte Ward and G. R. Evans's chapter on the medieval West, in contrast, examines understandings of the religious

life; it is the only chapter to devote substantial attention to lay piety. Andrew Pettegree's chapter on the Reformation places the most emphasis on church-state relations, as does Philip Walters's chapter on the Orthodox East. The latter is stronger on Eastern Europe than on Russia, where the author's interpretation is notably out of date. Political imperatives are also a major theme of Mary B. Cunningham's essay on Byzantine Christianity, especially as they were manifested in theological debates. She is the only author to address the liturgical ramifications of theological and organizational decisions.

The chapters on India, Africa, and East Asia (by R. E. Frykenberg, Kevin Ward, and R. G. Tiedmann respectively) all devote considerable attention to Western missionary efforts. The missionaries generally appear as a well-intentioned and culturally sensitive lot, although the authors do not deny excesses of zeal or arrogance in a minority of cases. The essays on India and Africa in particular attempt to give more than customary attention to the development of autonomous indigenous traditions of Christianity. The chapters on North America (Robert Bruce Mullins), Latin America (Hastings), and Australia and New Zealand (David Hilliard) emphasize the adaptation of West European forms of Christianity to local conditions: political culture in North America; the issues of social justice in Latin America; and the scarcity of human resources in Australia and New Zealand.

Although novel in giving equal weight to diverse geographic locales, the volume is quite traditional in its treatment of church history otherwise. The "history of Christianity" here comprises the history of its ecclesiastical institutions, its leaders, and its thinkers as they intersected with secular governmental authorities. The result is a heavily male history in which gender does not appear as a category of analysis. Women pop up on rare occasion in the narrative as converts and dedicated church workers: for example, virgin women's communities in China and women missionaries in Africa and New Zealand. Otherwise, the quintessential Christian is male, and women, who often made up the majority in Christian communities, are invisible.

Popular beliefs and practices receive only intermittent and inconsistent treatment. In essays on the Third World, syncretic tendencies are generally lauded as evidence of indigenization, provided the natives did not diverge too greatly from the theological and ecclesiological norms of Western Christianity. Asian Christian accommodations with Confucianism, for example, are presented as valuable, albeit controversial, adaptations. African Christians' struggle to wrest control of the definition of proper conduct from missionaries is celebrated, even when it involved defending female circumcision. Syncretism of a similar sort in Europe, however, is denigrated: "their [medieval lay people's] Christianity remained close to primitive superstition, and . . . their ideas about God often confused beliefs in magic" (p. 120).

Furthermore, "Christianity" itself is defined in a narrowly orthodox fashion, comprising almost exclusively its Trinitarian variety as enunciated by official Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Monophysite, and mainline Protestant denominations. Movements that took inspiration from Christianity but did not adhere to the mainstream theological tenets and ecclesiological structure were apparently deemed undeserving of serious consideration within the context of Christian history. Gnosticism appears as "Christian ideas and vocabulary [mixed] with all sorts of basically incompatible beliefs" (p. 29). Manicheism is described as a "fashionable" but intellectually simplistic "semi-Christian" religious system that St. Augustine ultimately recognized as "rubbish" (p. 55). The Taiping movement in nineteenth-century China is characterized as "a Chinese heterodox millenarian sect with a syncretic Christian veneer . . . (at best a premature and misguided example of indigenous Christianity)" (p. 392). Modern Pentecostalism merits a page, but other American sects, such as the Mormons, Christian Scientists, or Jehovah's Witnesses, receive but fleeting acknowledgment, if that, as "radical alternatives" (p. 432).

Despite the diversity in structure and focus, the essays together provide a broad and coherent picture of how the dominant tradition of Christianity developed intellectually and institutionally, and how it spread throughout the world. The extensive bibliographical essays that accompany each chapter provide excellent guidance for further reading. However, the value of the volume as a reference work is undermined by the limited index, which cross-references little more than personal names and places. The authors assume a level of background knowledge that makes the volume inaccessible to beginners. The geographical organization of the volume requires that readers already possess substantial knowledge of the milestones in the development of European Christianity. The text is replete with passing references to figures, concepts and movements (such as John Chrysostom, predestination, and Arminianism) beyond the normal undergraduate's ken. Although the volume is being marketed as a textbook, it will be of greatest use to specialists, who will value its detailed yet comprehensive coverage and lucid syntheses of complex issues.

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WOLFGANG REINHARD. *Geschichte der Staatsgewalt: Eine vergleichende Verfassungsgeschichte Europas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1999. Pp. 631. DM 98.

That a study of the "history of state power" can also be referred to as "a comparative constitutional history" might seem paradoxical to an English-speaking reader who associates constitutions with documents specifying the structure of government and the rights of rulers and ruled. For German historians, however, "constitu-

tional history" primarily concerns the actual structure and organization of states and not simply formal rules for the conduct of rulership. This is therefore a work of impressive scope, beginning with the emergence of European monarchies, republics, and democracies and tracing their evolution through developing institutions, expanding financial resources, the formation of armies and navies, the role of diplomacy and the function of culture, the emergence of the modern national state, and, finally, its export to Japan, China, and the Islamic world. To bind the work together Wolfgang Reinhard draws on Max Weber's analysis of the state and his typologies of power: charismatic, traditional, and legal domination. For Weber, the state was defined by its monopoly of the use of force; hence power and the state form a unity. But even in instances of charismatic domination, as for example National Socialist Germany, power emanates from organization. The successful exercise of power requires that human, material, and financial resources be concentrated and then deliberately employed. Domination is a matter of organization on something more than a transient basis. In an early passage, Reinhard quotes Michael Mann to the effect that the powerful are organized, while the powerless are not; it would be more accurate to suggest that the organized have the potential to be powerful, while the unorganized have no such potential at all.

Reinhard is assiduous in his coverage of European geography; since the organizing thread comes from Weber's typologies of state, domination, and bureaucracy, the book is freed from the need to assign precedence to any one region, such as France or Prussia. References to developments in Spain, Sweden, the Low Countries, Poland, Hungary, the Italian states, England, and Sicily abound. Given this dedication to comprehensive regional cover, there is however some loss in precision. The social and economic foundation of particular groups of "nobles" are obscured by the approach, together with the coalitions that they form to support a particular ruler or to oppose the claims of other coalitions. The thematic divisions—the development of institutions, the relation of estates, nobility and popular forces, the church, the means and instruments of power—fragment our appreciation of the development of power relations in any one instance, such as the relation of the Spain of Philip II to the English throne and to the emergence of the Dutch Republic.

In both aspiration and organization, it can be said that this book is a product of a modern German historiography that, for all its comprehensive and inclusive coverage, tends to minimize the sheer importance of conflict. Reinhard by no means neglects the economic and military bases of power, but these are dealt with separately from the institutional part of the history. They do, however, belong together, for the powerful states of the seventeenth century were forged in bitter conflicts. This is, of course, also the story of loss of power on the part of Spain. The English navy

became a powerful force because it had to fight the Spanish, then the Dutch, and then later the French; some kind of evolutionary law of state power runs like a red thread through the history that Reinhard recounts. How successive clashes and alliances forged the dynamic development of state power in Europe, and then contributed to its export to the Americas, Africa, and Asia is an important story that appears in fragments throughout this stimulating book but is unfortunately not its principal subject.

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HANNES SIEGRIST and DAVID SUGERMAN, editors. *Eigentum im internationalen Vergleich (18.-20. Jahrhundert)*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 130.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 294.

In their introduction, editors Hannes Siegrist and David Sugarman point to the tendency for legal history to operate as a separate subdiscipline, often with little sense of historical change or context. The "new legal history" pioneered in the United States has changed this. This book seeks to promote such work concerning property law in European and comparative history. The editors discuss various approaches and point to the importance and rapidly changing nature of the subject in modern times (e.g., genes, electronic images on the Internet, economic globalization, postcommunist developments).

The first section is concerned with property in the person and family and provides overviews mainly based on the U.S.: Morton Horwitz on changing conceptions of property and the person, and Lawrence Friedman on laws of inheritance. Two specifically modern developments render more abstract classical conceptions of property as a person/thing relationship essential for material security and spiritual dignity. One is the capacity to transfer and reproduce body parts; the other that property increasingly takes the form of claims, e.g. to state pensions, rather than control of goods separate from the person. This, along with the expansion and differentiation of potential inheritors of property, also makes inheritance law increasingly complex.

In the second section, Robert Gordon surveys property/citizenship links in U.S. history (where the trend has been both to extend and separate property and voting rights), while Dieter Gosewinkel considers citizenship as "state membership" and how far this conferred special property rights in German states. His persuasive argument is that until 1949 German public law protected the property rights of citizens rather than inhabitants, but this was undermined by the trend in private law not to make distinctions between propertied citizens and non-citizens.

The essays on land and means of production are too complex to summarize. A major point to emerge from the three essays by Arnd Bauernkämper (landed prop-

erty in East and West Germany), Stephen Merl (long-term attitudes to landed property in Russia and the Soviet Union), and Chris Hann (peasant/land relationships in Hungarian and Chinese villages) is that communist societies usually entrench forms of "private property" (for example, in family use rights to specific land) that retain some continuities with pre-liberal conceptions of property. The classical liberal conception of property in land in developed Western societies is increasingly qualified by public concerns (environment, urban development, transportation, etc.). In both Eastern and Western Europe (less in China) land is ceasing to be the most valued form of property. Jakob Vogel's essay on "German" mining law (highlighting rights of the "first finder" rather than state or landowner) shows the importance of "myth" in constructing a legal tradition, while noting the limits of legal application and its connection to powerful interests.

In the section on housing and culture, Winfried Speitkamp writes about the formulation of laws from the late nineteenth century concerning objects of cultural significance. Despite the proliferation of voluntary, state, and academic institutions and laws promoting conservation projects, private property law set strict limits to such projects. Karl Christian Führer provides a model of comparative history, showing the broadly similar but specifically varied ways in which war and inflation between 1914 and 1923 pushed German, French, and British governments into restricting landlords' property rights, gradually undoing such interventions in Britain and Germany (hardly at all in France) by the 1930s.

The final section considers intellectual property rights. Elmor Wadle compares German and French law, pointing to the earlier formulation and codification in France, partly made possible by the greater insistence on the private property approach. This "private property" approach is shown by William Fisher III to underpin the explosion in intellectual property right claims in the United States. Instead of treating patents, copyrights etc. as monopolies granted for specific reasons, otherwise providing protection through proof of specific damage, any distinctive product, practice, style or image is treated as private property. Where the line will be drawn is difficult to predict.

The classical liberal conception of property as the exclusive claim by a (legal) person over an object (not necessarily physical) serves as the benchmark against which most of these essays sketch out restrictions and alternative conceptions. Technological innovation, the proliferation of property types, political ideologies, and state powers: these and much more shape the way in which property law is formulated and applied. One can think of many other possibilities for historians to explore, such as the role of property law in the formation of civil society and as a way of exploring interests and organizations. This book abundantly justifies the claim that historians of power, economy,

and culture must integrate the history of property law into their work.

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OLIVIER BERNIER. *The World in 1800*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 2000. Pp. xi, 452. \$30.00.

Wide-ranging comparative works can add much to historical scholarship, offering suggestive insights that narrower works can not provide. Two fine examples for this period are Christopher Bayly's *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830* (1989) and Lester Langley's *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850* (1996). Neither is cited in Olivier Bernier's study, which is a distinctly weaker book. I leave it to others to decide whether it lives up to its billing as a "compelling narrative," "a riveting chronicle," and "a dizzying journey around the world." Bernier is presumably not responsible for the decision to structure the book by continental units. This reduces the possibility for comparison. Bernier explains his book by arguing that "our world was born in 1800" (p. ix). This assertion is not supported by any real scrutiny of concepts of modernity and modernization or by any assessment of alternative candidates for such claims.

Instead, readers are offered narrative, and narrative of a fairly conventional kind. Experts on American slavery or Native Americans will be pleased to know that "there remained one place where reason and freedom combined to make life better" (p. 223). A simplistic account is offered of Africa: "Before the arrival of the European traders, the Africans had lived in a non-scientific, pre-industrial Iron Age society based on an economy of subsistence" (p. 404). So much for trade and much else. The nature of the book's tone is suggested by the description of the slave trade as "a commercial and political equivalent of AIDS" (p. 405). Bernier's book reveals the continued appeal of narrative, but it fails to provide the global history we need.

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SYLVIANE A. DIOUF. *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. pp. ix, 254. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.50.

Sylviane A. Diouf has written a sophisticated and important book on the history of West African Muslim slaves in the New World. The author's cogent analyses of source materials from Old World-West African Islam and New World-transatlantic slave communities establishes a strong and persuasive case for rich and extensive Islamic influences in black religious and cultural traditions in Brazil, the United States, and the Caribbean islands before the twentieth century. This

creative and refreshing interpretation of West African-Islamic spiritual continuities in the African diaspora is fascinating and very readable.

The author's major contribution lies in her great insight into the worldview and the ethos of the African Muslim slaves in the Americas. The result is this book, consisting of an introduction and six chapters in which Diouf has brilliantly discussed the following: "An Understudied Presence and Legacy"; "African Muslims, Christian Europeans, and the Atlantic Slave Trade"; "Upholding the Five Pillars of Islam in a Hostile World"; "The Muslim Community"; "Literacy: A Distinction and a Danger"; "Resistance, Revolts, and Returns to Africa"; and "The Muslim Legacy." To her credit, Diouf does not overstate her case. She demonstrates that West African Muslim slaves struggled to maintain the five pillars of Islam, literacy in Arabic, and Islamic dress and modesty in America, but "like other slaves, they were beaten, whipped, cursed, raped, maimed, and humiliated" (p. 210); and finally their orthodox Islam, which was "the catalyst of revolt and insubordination" (p. 3), did not survive after slavery was abolished in the United States.

Diouf contributes significantly to the new wave of recent scholarship on African-American Islam that has been established by comprehensive texts, such as Aminah Beverly McCloud's *African American Islam* (1994) and Richard Brent Turner's *Islam in the African-American Experience* (1997). At the same time, Diouf's work builds on the rich narrative and source materials on New World African Muslim slaves that Allan D. Austin has contributed in *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Sourcebook* (1984) and *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles* (1997). Certainly, Diouf's book is an excellent addition to the new literature on African-American Islam and it is highly recommended.

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JAMIE L. BRONSTEIN. *Land Reform and Working-Class Experience in Britain and the United States, 1800–1862*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 372. \$55.00.

This book adds to a genre that is still too rare: distinguished studies that provide a transatlantic perspective on the nineteenth century. Jamie L. Bronstein has written a fine study of movements in Great Britain and the United States that aimed to secure working people on land of their own. It should be read not only by specialists in its respective national fields but also by those interested in the contribution that can be made by such transnational and comparative studies.

The book is centered on the 1840s and compares the Chartist land movement in England with the National Reform movement in the U.S. A third group, the Potters' Joint-Stock Emigration Society, which resettled English pottery workers on land in Wisconsin, also



gets some attention. Bronstein provides convincing evidence that British and American land reform deserve to be examined together. They shared intellectual roots, in older writings from Thomas Harrington to Thomas Spence that provided a "common legacy" of land-reform ideas (p. 51), and in radical and conservative proposals of the 1820s and 1830s. They shared personnel and close interconnections, as followers of Feargus O'Connor in England and of George Henry Evans in America built their campaigns in the mid-1840s. Moreover, although America differed from Britain in its much wider franchise and availability of land for settlement, Bronstein argues that from the perspective of working-class land reformers these contrasts were relatively unimportant.

Successive chapters, grounded in an impressive array of sources, trace the origins and emergence of land reform movements, the rhetoric of their leaders, and the overlap and rivalries in both countries between these and other movements. Bronstein places particular emphasis on the political culture of the respective campaigns and also undertakes a detailed comparison of the grassroots support for the Chartist land campaign and the National Reform movement.

Even as she stresses the comparability of the groups she studies, Bronstein never loses sight of their differing outcomes and wider significance. The Potters' Emigration Society, after holding off Chartist competition and removing members to Wisconsin, ultimately collapsed under the burdens of distance, inadequate funds, and the difficulties of settlement. The Chartist land movement, having helped keep Chartism itself alive between the general strike of 1842 and the resurgence of 1848, also faced internal difficulties, but more important still suffered the weight of government repression. By contrast, even though it dwindled as a cohesive movement after the 1840s, National Reform could claim long-run successes. It had a critical influence on the passage of homestead exemption laws, on debates about limitations on land ownership, and on the campaign for the federal Homestead Act that was finally passed in 1862. Bronstein concludes that the failure of the Chartist land plan contributed significantly to the decline of Chartism in general, whereas National Reform had a permanent legacy.

Her account stresses two issues in particular. First, she contends, land reform was not, as many historians have argued, a backward-looking diversion from the "real" interests of workers. In the fluid context of the 1840s, "independence" on the land could appear a realistic, even progressive counterweight to the power of landlords and emergent capitalists. Second, she suggests that historians should reevaluate their assumptions about the class characteristics of such movements. Land reform was a cross-class campaign. Moreover, its supporters in England seem to have been drawn more heavily from among the ranks of factory workers than those in the U.S., who came from a variety of occupations. Nevertheless, in both countries many land reformers were people of little or no

property. Bronstein's analysis will contribute to the broader reassessment that historians are now making of the relationships among class, occupation, and politics in mid-nineteenth-century labor and reform movements on both sides of the Atlantic.

Bronstein might perhaps have made more of another issue. As she shows, American aspirations for land reform became a strand in the widening debate over "free soil" from 1848 onward. During the 1850s, a campaign that drew on Jeffersonian traditions and had firm Democratic roots largely transferred to the emerging Republican camp. "Vote Yourself a Farm!"—the National Reformers' slogan of the 1840s—at length became a Republican campaign slogan, as Abraham Lincoln wrapped himself in a Jeffersonian mantle. Later the one-time antirenter Thomas Devyr would claim that land reform "led to the Great Civil War" (p. 124). Although Bronstein notes this without comment, the fact that Devyr remained a Democrat gives his remark particular poignancy. The remark may signify the importance of a movement Bronstein has done well to recover from the condescension of posterity.

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VICTOR SILVERMAN, *Imagining Internationalism in American and British Labor, 1939–1949*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 298. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Between 1941 and 1946, trade union leaders from Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States cooperated in the great crusade to defeat fascism. The major tangible result of their labors was the creation of a worldwide federation of trade unions to represent workers the world over in the construction of a just postwar world. A few years later, the organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), shattered on the rocks of the Cold War, splitting into blocs reflecting the postwar power and interests of the Soviet Union and the United States.

In this well-argued monograph, Victor Silverman places the WFTU squarely in the tradition of earlier failed internationalist attempts by labor beginning with the International Workingmen's Association in 1864. But unlike the earlier attempts at labor internationalism, the founding labor movements of the WFTU—American, British, and Soviet—were at the center of the war effort. Unlike their marginalized predecessors, they were indispensable allies of their governments and direct representatives of the forces—vast citizen armies and total industrial mobilization—that were essential for victory in modern war. As such, they were at the heart of the antifascist alliance that spawned the popular front of the left during the war. By the end of the war, social democrats and communists were in power across much of the globe. It was these factors, according to Silverman, that justified the idealism,



almost utopianism, that he argues workers and their leaders held for the potential of the WFTU. He takes the WFTU seriously. He shows how workers caught up in the great crusade to win the war could believe strongly in their power to reshape the postwar world and how labor leaders, used to sitting in the councils of power, could envision an independent international role for themselves all out of proportion to what actually occurred.

The unified WFTU depended for success on bringing the wartime alliance into the postwar period and on the continuing growth of labor's power in the world economy. Neither of these happened. In fact, the diplomatic Cold War was underway as early as 1946, even as the optimism of the WFTU was at its height. Silverman concentrates his study on the United States and the United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent, the Soviet Union. He demonstrates that although the internationalist urge was strong, national priorities quickly intervened. The drive of the Soviet Union and the United States for influence in the postwar world and an exhausted Britain's acceptance of a future as a vassal of its former colony sealed the fate of a corporatist vision of world government with labor as a full partner.

Although it is true that by 1950, attitudes among trade unionists in the United States and the United Kingdom reflected the hardening Cold War consensus, Silverman argues that their leaders defected from internationalism first. The heart of the argument in this book is that the Cold War in labor was imposed from the top. Labor leaders found their independent power undercut by the decay of the wartime alliance and its idealistic postwar goals. Silverman links the demise of the WFTU to the failure of the United Nations to achieve the rule of international law and a more equitable world system. As labor leaders were forced to choose according to domestic political pressures—the survival of labor-friendly administrations—rather than international priorities, they moved into strong support for the Cold War foreign policies of their governments. Silverman argues that trade union rank and filers took longer to give up the idealism of the war years. This may or may not be true. The true sentiments of the workers, after all, are always the crux of the matter. For example, while Silverman concentrates on the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) because of its key role in the formation of the WFTU, he fails to explain adequately the anti-WFTU role played by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which represented more workers than the CIO.

Nevertheless, it is true that the breakdown of the wartime alliance did result in the containment of their own working-class organizations by the great powers. Nationalism replaced internationalism. This made any broad-based extension of labor power beyond Europe and North America impossible. There is a clear connection to the subsequent decline of labor movements

across the world. Silverman does not like the ending, but he tells the story very well.

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GEORGE ROBB and NANCY ERBER, editors. *Disorder in the Courts: Trials and Sexual Conflict at the Turn of the Century*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 253. \$45.00.

George Robb and Nancy Erber's useful collection of essays focuses on the regulation of morality at the turn of the century, when new categories of the sexual "normal" and "abnormal" and beings such as the "New Woman" and the homosexual emerged. Following the pioneering work of Ruth Harris and Robert Nye, each author sets out to demonstrate how court cases and the press' responses to them revealed important shifts in attitudes towards gender, propriety and deviancy. Antoinette Burton skillfully uses the mid-1880s trials of Rukhmabai, an Indian child bride who refused her husband's demands for conjugal rights, to argue that the debate over age of consent—as over sati and purdah—allowed the British to use the bodies of Indian women to assert that Indian men were not fit for self-government. Hindu militants responded by presenting the case as an example of British interference. *Western women necessarily took up Rukhmabai's cause*, but, as Burton points out, the British were so intent on condemning the Indian husband as crude, lower-class, and violent that they ignored Rukhmabai's opposition to colonial rule and calls for government reform. One trial, Burton demonstrates, could produce multiple, competing narratives.

The other contributors deal with two main topics: six look at spousal conflicts in the Anglo-Saxon world and four examine homosexual scandals, of which three took place in France. Most of the British topics are familiar. George Robb reviews the famous 1889 trial of Florence Maybrick, found guilty of the arsenic poisoning of her husband primarily because of the evidence of her adultery. Robb dwells on the irony that in order to defend Maybrick feminist activists had to employ a melodramatic text that construed her as the traditional passive female victim. The 1891 Clitheroe case, in which a husband kidnapped his wife and, on appeal, was told that husbands no longer controlled their wives' bodies, is used by Ginger Frost to examine the clash of the older patriarchal model of marriage and the new companionate one. She points out that both sides exaggerated the impact of the law. Some feminists might have believed that coverture was dead, but such a liberty was meaningless to a penniless wife with children. Ann Sumner Holmes uses the Russell divorce case to remind us of the idiocy of nineteenth-century English divorce law. Her main point is that the upper classes condemned not private vices but public violations of the social code. Julie English Early asks why so many people felt sorry for Dr. Crippen, the famous

wife murderer. She shows that because the press constructed his mistress as a demanding "New Woman" and his wife as a domineering slattern, the public came to regard this "Mr. Pooter of crime" as a beleaguered man worthy of some sympathy.

Only with Annalee Golz's essay on spousal homicides in Ontario and Gail Savage's on the magistrate courts' treatment of marriage conflicts do we hear the voices of the working class. Golz asks why so many males who killed were found guilty of the reduced charge of manslaughter. She convincingly demonstrates that courts, by elaborating on a melodramatic narrative in which alcohol was held responsible for domestic murder, could bewail working-class idleness, animality, and brutishness and divert attention away from the poverty and power relationships that structured the lives of the poor. Similarly Savage, although introducing her essay as a study of "emotional dynamics," draws on a handful of cases of family violence to document the experiences of gender loyalties in working-class households.

The essays devoted to homosexuality are for some reason scattered through the volume. William Peniston uses the 1876 trial of the Count de Germiny, arrested for attempting a pickup at a urinal, to remind us that homosexuality per se was not a crime in France. As the notion of a homosexual identity had not yet solidified, to explain his actions the press had to fall back on clichéd references to aristocratic excess. Morris B. Kaplan makes a similar point in his insightful analysis of the 1889 Cleveland Street Affair, which involved aristocrats who met telegraph boys in a London male brothel. Kaplan tellingly notes that "even the highest legal officials deliberated whether, it might not be better to allow the guilty to go uncharged rather than publicize the commission of such acts" (p. 83). Some officials were so fearful that sex might undermine the state that they insisted on knowing if the telegraph boys, when committing their indecent acts, were wearing their uniforms! By 1903, when the Baron d'Adelsward Fersen and Count de Warren were found guilty of what Nancy Erber calls their "Queer Follies"—the corruption of minors, whom they recruited from the Lycée Carnot—the accused were subjected to medical experts looking for hereditary defects. Yet Erber shows that experts were still divided; was homosexuality a freely chosen vice or an involuntary affliction? Finally, Nicole Albert, in her essay on sapphism in fin-de-siècle France, argues that lesbianism was rendered invisible, first inasmuch as the French criminal code was "somewhat unique" in not mentioning it and secondly in that texts dealing with the issue were censored.

On a few occasions some authors push their interpretations too far. Is it helpful to claim that Dr. Crippen was part of a larger attempt to redefine middle-class masculinity? Was the Count de Germiny—who clearly benefitted from his wealth and position—the victim of the "hysterical fears" of the police, courts, and press? Should we be surprised by

the "blatant lack of respect" (p. 198) shown by a satiric journal like the *Le canard sauvage* to those accused of sex crimes? And can one attribute the "invisibility" of lesbianism to censorship when the only two books cited as being prosecuted were written by men who simply sought to exploit the subject? Aside from one or two minor flaws, all the essays are well worth reading, and the collection as a whole brilliantly demonstrates how an examination of sensational court cases helps us better to understand the history of moral regulation.

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## ASIA

KAI-WING CHOW, ON-CHO NG, and JOHN B. HENDERSON, editors. *Imagining Boundaries: Changing Confucian Doctrines, Texts, and Hermeneutics*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 269.

Generalizations. We can't live with them and we can't live without them. Easy to make, they are equally easy to dismantle. In fact, we know (at least proverbially) that "all generalizations are false, including this one." So how can anyone feel comfortable generalizing about something as large and complex as "Confucianism?"

The editors of the volume under review suggest a reasonable, if not particularly novel, strategy. Having decided that there is indeed something in China's cultural heritage that can be described as "Confucian," they encourage us first to take into consideration various "systematic interpretations" of the "Confucian tradition," recognizing that "a certain degree of determinism and reductionism is the besetting sin of all generalizations, no matter how tenable and valid they are" (p. 2). They then advocate tracing the "inexorable constant shifts and alternations, here and there in time and space," that have occurred within the "intellectual boundaries" of this particular tradition. Their ultimate aim is to show how the "boundaries between Confucian and other traditions were imagined, negotiated and shifted" (p. 2).

The problem with this strategy is that we are never told exactly what is "Confucian" about the "Confucian tradition." It is fine to resist essentialism, but how can one critically evaluate something in the absence of identifiable features? Were there not some beliefs shared by all of the thinkers whom the editors have subsumed under the rubric "Confucians?" Or do they have some other rationale for employing this slippery term?

The first essay, by Michael Nylan, titled "A Problematic Model: The Han 'Orthodox Synthesis,' Then and Now," suggests some of the interpretive difficulties. As she points out, even during the Han dynasty, the term *Ju* (usually translated "Confucian") had at least three distinct meanings, only one of which referred directly to what she describes as "Confucius'

Way of *jen* [benevolence] and the Five Relations [i.e. ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, younger and older brother, friend and friend].” And we know that interpretations of even these two presumably “core” concepts varied significantly among those who considered themselves followers of Confucius (which is, of course, one way to define “Confucians”).

In an attempt to sit more comfortably between the rock of generalization and the hard place of particularity, the editors tell us that their anthology “is not devoted to delineating a body of texts, doctrines, discourse, and practices in order to define what Confucianism is in any given period” (p. 3). Rather, they seek to show how Confucianism “was mapped along the grids of text and discourse, sometimes in relation to other traditions such as Taoism and Buddhism, [and] at other times with reference to internal sectarian interests” (p. 3).

The approach most favored by both the editors and the contributors to this volume is to examine the “Confucian canon” as it evolved over time. As On-cho Ng points out, the Chinese “classics,” like all other philosophical and religious “classics,” had a privileged status precisely because they were capable “of absorbing and accommodating the diversity and historicity of their interpreters” (p. 168). To be sure, canonical texts in China, as elsewhere, often owe their privileged position to political factors, such as state sponsorship and support, but as Nylan points out in her well-crafted essay, the efforts by Han Wu-ti and his successors to “limit court academicians to specialists in the Five Classics” and to convene court conferences “to establish norms and conventions” of interpretation (p. 36, n. 5) did not separate the self-conscious followers of Confucius from their opponents, who were also identified as *Ju*. And even in late imperial times, as Ng points out in his study of Li Kuang-ti (1642–1718), Ch’eng-Chu “orthodoxy” admitted of a far greater diversity than is commonly recognized.

We should hardly be surprised, then, to find that throughout the imperial era interpreters of the “Five Classics” and other “canonical” works (notably the “Four Books”) often had widely divergent responses to these texts. The essays in this volume explore the hermeneutics of such individuals, sometimes focusing on individual thinkers and sometimes adopting an explicitly comparative perspective.

Yuet Keung Lo, for his part, analyzes the metaphysical gymnastics of Huang K’an (488–545), showing how Confucian learning accommodated ideas from Neo-Taoism and Buddhism during the Six Dynasties period. Kandice Hauf demonstrates how Wang Yang-ming (1472–1529) similarly expanded the boundaries of Confucianism in the Ming era by engaging Taoist and Buddhist philosophical notions. Ng discusses Li Kuang-ti’s neo-orthodox (my word) studies of the *Chung-yung* and the *Ta-hsüeh*, revealing a rhetorical strategy designed to attack Wang Yang-ming’s teachings by focusing on human “nature” (*hsing*) rather

than Wang’s theories of “mind” (*hsin*). Ping-chen Hsiung focuses on the brooding, “middlebrow” world of T’an Chen (1630–1704), whose unhappy career and intellectual isolation gave him an idiosyncratic but later quite influential perspective on the Confucian “statecraft” tradition. Lauren Pfister looks at the exegetical reflections of Lo Chung-fan (died ca. 1850), whose thought was profoundly influenced by Christianity.

Tze-ki Hon compares the “Old History” and the “New History” of the Five Dynasties period, demonstrating how two different conceptions of politics emerged within a period of about seventy years in the Northern Sung. John Henderson identifies neo-Confucian “strategies” for identifying various “heresies,” some of which, ironically, blurred the boundaries of the “unorthodox” beliefs they were designed to delineate. Kai-wing Chow provides a brief history of hermeneutical controversies surrounding the *Ta-hsüeh*, revealing how this influential chapter of the *Liji* could be elevated to a separate canon by Chu Hsi (1127–1200) on the one hand and denounced as a heterodox Buddhist-influenced text by Ch’ên Ch’ueh (1604–1677) on the other.

Together, the essays in this volume reflect several important themes: the fluidity of the Confucian canon; the constant need to define Confucianism in terms of competing thought systems; and the effort to identify ideas and discourses that were “uniquely Confucian.” In short, Confucianism was constantly being reinvented. Viewed in this light, the “manufacture” of Confucianism by the Jesuits, vividly described by Lionel Jensen in *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Tradition and Universal Civilization* (1997), was part of a long-standing and ongoing hermeneutical process.

Although some of the essays in this volume are more interesting and better written than others, on the whole, the book is a valuable contribution to the literature on traditional Chinese philosophy. In addition to providing illuminating perspectives on a wide variety of thinkers and texts, this volume implicitly reminds us that an understanding of any phenomenon involves a perpetual dialectic between the processes of generalizing and particularizing. Without the former we confront only a welter of undifferentiated details, but without attention to the details, what validity or utility can generalizations possibly have?

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F. W. MOTE. *Imperial China: 900–1800*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 1107. \$39.95.

Thanks to the pioneering efforts of a number of scholars, the Sinocentric version of Chinese history has now yielded to a multidimensional vision that weaves centuries of “alien rule” into the fabric of Chinese political order and institutions. Whereas the older perception of China’s relations with Inner Asian nomads was cast in terms of “Sinification” or “Siniciza-

tion,” recent scholarship deprecates these terms because such expressions imply that acculturation and assimilation in China were unidirectional. It has become more common to view “China” as a historical construction. Thus, more and more East and Central Asian specialists have come to rebuke the meaning of various alien regimes that dominated China from *ca.* 960–1368 and 1644–1911 within the notion of China’s political and geographical inevitability. F. W. Mote reminds readers in this fascinating volume that the origins of the Sinocentric view lay in centuries of nationalistic prejudice deeply ingrained in Chinese historiography. Even today, as Mote clearly demonstrates, modern scholars from both Taiwan and mainland China find problematic the explanation of non-Chinese rule over parts or all of what was China. Although these writers may replace the older epithet “barbarians” for non-Han peoples living around, near, or even in China, “modern Chinese in China . . . now class [these groups] as their “non-Han but Chinese” junior partners in the growth of a multiethnic Chinese nation” (p. 28). Thus, the historical relations between non-Han and Chinese are subsumed under rhetoric, and the integrity of these peoples’ own contribution to Chinese civilization is too often disregarded.

Mote’s purpose in this massive tome, the product of more than five decades of teaching, writing, and research, is to set the record straight. His book is the first major study that examines in certain detail the exact processes by which Chinese and non-Chinese practiced acculturation and accommodation with each other over nine centuries. Never hesitant to link the implications of the past to present-day concerns with ethnic identity, nativism, and nationalism, Mote has composed a volume which is both sensitive and sensible. Beginning with a summary of politics of the relatively brief Five Dynasties and concurrent Ten States era (907–960), he leads the reader into the worlds of native rule of the Song (960–1279) and competing conquest dynasties controlling North China at one time or another, such as the Liao (916–1125) under the Khitans, the Jin (1115–1234) under the Jurchens, and the Xi Xia (1038–1227) under the Tanguts. He stresses how diplomacy and trade became the “vehicles” by which the Song government pursued a system of ritualized interstate relations with these groups. While in private the Chinese could not fail to express their sense of cultural superiority, in practice they addressed their conquerors in terms of “equality”: in their “implementation of ritual niceties in the forms of communications between states, in exchanges of ceremonial gifts, in such courtesies as announcing imperial deaths and dispatching mourning envoys, in the adherence to sworn oaths of submission and allegiance, as well as in other details of ritual” (pp. 380–81).

Given the importance of ritual in Chinese society, the Song rulers must have felt convinced that these non-Chinese states adhering to Chinese conventions

were evidence enough that in fact they did have power over their militarily stronger neighbors. We see then how the concept “China among equals” best characterizes the Song government’s pragmatic adaptation to its circumstances. Mote also makes the important point that once the Ming government came into power in 1368, the regime reconstructed in practice, and in theory, the earlier “tribute system” by which foreign states during the Han (202 B.C.–A.D. 220) and Tang (618–907) regimes confirmed their acceptance of Chinese superiority through a ritualized presentation of tribute offerings which was reciprocated with lavish gifts from the Chinese emperor. “Their restoration was so successful that by the time the European maritime powers began to enter the East Asian shipping lanes in the sixteenth century” (p. 376), Westerners came to believe that tribute had always been the normal mode of Chinese intercourse with foreigners. The myth that China imposed upon itself was also accepted by modern China historians, including the late John King Fairbank, who influenced generations of students with his portrayal of “the Chinese world order.”

With the other two conquest dynasties, the Mongol Yuan (1279–1368) and the Manchu Qing (1644–1911), all of China was under alien suzerainty. In the case of Mongol rule, Mote maintains that despite the intrusion and severe disruption, Chinese civilization during the Yuan displayed more continuities than discontinuities with its past, especially in the visual arts and in the achievements of philosophical and political writing. He also acknowledges the contradictory attitudes of the Chinese toward the Mongols: on the one hand, they recognized the legitimacy of Yuan rule, but, on the other hand, they had “unshakeable faith that civilization inevitably would transform the aliens, [which] made them eager to find evidence that the transforming impact of Chinese civilization was working” (p. 506).

After the fall of the nativist Ming in 1644, “alien rule returns,” and here Mote dissents from his own central argument by invoking the one-way street of acculturation into Chinese life. He stresses the near disappearance of “Manchu distinctiveness” by the eighteenth century (p. 921) and hence disregards the work of other leading scholars such as Pamela Kyle Crossley and Evelyn Rawski, both of whom have convincingly argued in their recent books and journal articles that the Qing concept of emperorship and the complexity of Manchu rulership were unprecedented in “Chinese” history.

Despite this caveat, I recommend the book as a very worthwhile contribution to China scholarship. Mote’s elegant and clear prose—enhanced by twenty-two exquisite maps, nine “dynastic charts,” and the reproductions of well-known paintings—makes for compelling and pleasurable reading.

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LINDA A. WALTON, *Academies and Society in Southern Sung China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1999. Pp. x, 309. \$42.00.

One of the most remarkable features of late Imperial China was the leading sociopolitical role played by scholars and literary men, who were selected to serve as government officials through an elaborate system of written examinations. Educational procedures, obviously, were fundamental to the grooming of this most unusual premodern elite, and by the end of the Sung dynasty (960–1279), some 600 government schools and over 400 so-called academies (*shu-yüan*) are known to have been in existence. Schools, of course, were hardly unique to China—this book opens with some engaging comparisons to medieval European universities and Islamic colleges of law—but literacy and mastery of key texts held a special importance in traditional Chinese civilization. Linda A. Walton's new book examines in detail one particular kind of Sung dynasty educational institution: the academy.

The tag "private" is often added to these academies in order to distinguish them from government schools. Indeed, conventional wisdom sees them emerging, originally, in opposition to official schools, with their career-oriented, examination-driven curricula, almost as a "form of resistance." Another interpretation of the academy movement in the Sung dynasty sees them as a forum for "True Way" Learning (*Tao-hsüeh* or *Daoxue*), in the tradition of Chu Hsi (Zhu Xi, 1130–1200). Chu Hsi's restoration of the White Deer Grotto academy in 1179 became an "acknowledged model" for a movement that first gained momentum in the depths of a purge. As True Way Learning climbed from "proscribed heterodoxy in 1195 to state orthodoxy by imperial proclamation in 1241," and from "being a challenge to prevailing dogma, to being a dogma itself," the academies that were associated with it prospered (pp. 5–6, 8, 32, 40).

Walton does not challenge these conventional interpretations so much as shed new light on some nuances. Interestingly, these Confucian academies expanded into geographic "sacred space" that had previously often been the preserve of Buddho-Taoist religious institutions. These new Confucian academies both competed with Buddhist monasteries and reflected (although Walton is careful to sidestep the thorny question of "influence") some of their forms of architecture, layout, and community life. The academies became veritable shrines to patriarchs of the Confucian True Way movement, as well as being schools. Such shrines put Chinese spiritual life on a newly Confucian footing, marking an important aspect of the late Imperial transformation.

Since nearly all of these academies were run by local elites, with open official blessing, Walton refuses to call them "private." These academies occupied, instead, a public position somewhere in between the genuinely private and the fully official. Walton rightly sees this as further evidence of the long-term with-

drawal of central government from direct intervention in local affairs that a number of scholars claim was characteristic of late imperial China. Academies were a device for "using voluntary, local efforts to replace state institutions" (p. 9). This coincided with a Confucian preference for government by *chiao-hua* (*jiao-hua*), "the transformation caused by teaching." Educated people were expected to behave themselves without any need for supervision, and the empire would therefore, ideally, be self-regulating. In such a Confucian vision, educated gentlemen would naturally form the elite, whether they held office or not.

Walton shows how this expectation helps explain the apparent paradox of rising levels of participation in the Sung examination system coinciding with dwindling odds of successfully passing through it. Participation in the educational process itself, without the necessity of office holding, certified elite status, and inculcated a shared empire-wide higher culture. In these academies, therefore, the interests of the imperial government and local elites "intersected, as the elite sought to affirm its status and prestige, and officials to confirm the authority" of a government that was "increasingly reliant on local elites for maintaining order" (pp. 147–48).

Therefore, although this book, in one sense, is quite narrowly focused upon a particular type of educational institution over a sharply defined period of time, its significance for understanding late imperial China is broad. Walton has read widely in the primary sources. She makes extensive use of local gazetteers, literary collections, commemorative inscriptions, and, notably, the texts of fifteen lectures that have survived from the thirteenth century. Almost inevitably, much of the detailed substance of the book consists of academic genealogies for the various schools. One might expect that this would doom it to being somewhat tedious. It is not. Perhaps the final (and most surprising) compliment I can offer is to acknowledge that I read this book with genuine pleasure.

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FRANCESCA BRAY, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 419. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Francesca Bray's new book is not only fascinating and elegantly written, it should also change the way we do history. Bray analyzes the framework of everyday life to fashion a new understanding of Ming and Qing China. Using an interdisciplinary approach and a variety of primary sources, the author recovers a history of technology for people who have often been assumed to have none: non-Westerners and women. In addition, her work demonstrates the importance of material culture as an expression of power relations basic to the social structure of China. Material culture



both embodies power relations and serves as a means of transmitting values. One of the strongest forms of the expression and experience of ideology is its concrete material manifestation in sets of technologies that constitute systems. Here Bray links gender, technology, and cultural history through a close analysis of the systems of domestic space, textile production, and human reproduction.

Technological systems, Bray argues, represent and diffuse dominant cultural values. She explores the role of technology in shaping and transmitting ideological traditions, focusing on the contributions of technology to the construction of gender. She examines how technologies contribute to producing people and relations between people, a project that requires her to look at technology as a form of communication. She defines a language of physical practices and things, translating between material actions and subjective processes to make arguments about gender and technology in China. Her work connects traditional Chinese values to real lives of people, complicating and enriching our understanding of "Confucianism."

The author's approach and methods are interdisciplinary in the way most fruitful for understanding her subject. Trained as an anthropologist and historian of science, she adds to those disciplines techniques derived from the *annalistes* school of history as well as from gender studies, archaeology, and text criticism. Her sources abundantly support her argument.

The primary sources Bray draws upon are extraordinarily rich and diverse. The importance of work and family in traditional Chinese ideology meant that officials and literati focused attention upon these subjects. In doing so, they produced a massive body of documents, both official and private, in several genres. A partial list includes records, treatises, laws, encyclopedias, manuals, essays, letters, and inscriptions. Incidentally, her translations are excellent. In addition to textual records of material culture and its interpretations, Bray finds evidence in the visual arts: illustrations, paintings, and models. Recognizing that most surviving sources were created from an elite male perspective, Bray reads them critically to obtain information they may not have always intended to divulge. Her discussion always remains aware of nuances of class and gender.

The book's three main divisions consider technological systems applied to three major areas of life in late imperial China: space, work, and motherhood. Part one, on the construction of Chinese social space, considers form and meaning in the house, how the dwelling encodes the patriarchal order, and how it can be read as a text. As material shells of family life, domestic spaces embody hierarchies of gender, generation, and rank that form the structure of the Chinese social order. Part two peers inside the house to examine the productive work, especially on textiles, that women did there, and the changes that took place in cloth production during the late imperial period. The third section investigates the meanings of what

went on in the women's quarters: childbearing and motherhood. As she explores reproductive technologies and their uses, the author covers medical and gender history, reproductive medicine and fertility, and reproductive hierarchies.

The author shows a generous attitude to earlier scholars, acknowledging, for example, the universal debt of sinologists to Joseph Needham and his great work on science and civilization in China. Yet she goes beyond the work of her predecessors in recognizing the cultural relativism of the criteria we have used in evaluating technological success. In the realms of the history of science and technology, she dismantles the orientalist notion of an "unchanging China." Bray points out that in asking why China had no scientific or industrial revolution on the Western model, historians have been asking the wrong question. She argues convincingly that we should judge science in China on internal developmental terms, not on the basis of a Western triumphalist master narrative, dominated by glorious innovations, all leading to the European scientific revolution as a natural outcome and as natural proof of Western superiority. In contrast, the author interests herself in the meanings of technologies to the people who developed and used them. She investigates continuities as examples of cultural resilience and response to change rather than of backwardness or stagnation.

The University of California Press is to be praised for taking the time and money to make this book an attractive object, nicely printed on decent paper with good illustrations. At a time when production values for academic books have reached a new low, this volume is especially pleasing. In addition, the text does what all sinological works that hope to reach a broad audience must do: it provides maps and a chart of dynastic dates. For the expert, the footnotes are satisfying, and the glossary of technical terms helps in reading both this text and sources it quotes. The bibliography is unusually comprehensive.

Bray links the technologies of space, work, and motherhood with family and social hierarchies, economy, and society's needs. In her work, gender studies and science studies have come of age. After reading this book, we can no longer leave women out of Chinese history or leave China out of the history of technology. In short, this is a well-argued and theoretically sophisticated work that is at the same time clearly written and accessible to the general reader as well as the specialist. It may be enjoyed in the solitude of a sinologist's study or shared with students in classes on history, technology, or gender in China.

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CHARLOTTE FURTH. *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960–1665*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of Cali-

fornia Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 355. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

This book is a remarkable and highly original work of scholarship. Charlotte Furth draws on insights from social history, anthropology, sociology, and studies of Chinese gender systems in her path-breaking study of the evolution of *fuke*, or medicine for women, a recognized speciality in Chinese medicine. She uses medical classics, practical handbooks, case histories, and belles-lettres to construct a sophisticated and detailed account of this complex subject covering the seven centuries from the Song dynasty to the end of the Ming.

Furth rehearses feminist debates about the relationship of gender and sex, reminding the reader that earlier feminist definitions of sex as biological difference and gender as cultural constructs have been challenged by those who argue that no such sharp distinction can be made, and that even the categories of male and female in a particular culture are "invented" in the course of cultural practice. Furth admits that as a cultural historian she finds these ideas attractive and that her approach is heavily influenced by them. In her narrative, the symbolic bodies under discussion inform us about the social world to which they belonged and its rituals, fashion, morality, and law. Yet, as she also points out, certain basic bodily functions, such as the ones with which her research is concerned—menstruation, conception, childbirth, and lactation—stand across cultures as materially grounded forms of human embodiment. By reminding us of this, she reminds us also of our common humanity.

Furth's first chapter provides an introduction to Chinese medicine and to concepts integral to it such as *yin* and *yang* and *qi* and *jing*. In subsequent chapters, she charts the development of *fuke* and of understandings of fertility, conception, gestation, and birth in imperial China. Anyone who has encountered modern Chinese ideas about health will find some familiar beliefs here. They will have heard, for example, of the need for balance between hot and cold influences and of the origins of illnesses in an excess of either, or the insistence on a month's rest as the time required to recover from childbirth. But although they contain a few familiar notions, these chapters do not make easy reading. *Fuke* was based on a sophisticated tradition of medicine and an understanding of the human body totally different to the ideas of bioscience that inform and structure the modern Western reader's understanding of health and illness, and Furth takes us well beyond the scraps of information that we may previously have gathered about Chinese medicine. Even with such a learned guide, it can be difficult to comprehend a body of learning for which one has few points of reference.

Much accessible, and deeply interesting, are the final two chapters in which Furth shifts from medical theory and understanding to accounts of actual clinical en-

counters and practice. In chapter seven, she translates excerpts from case histories written up by Cheng Maoxian, a physician of the seventeenth century who practiced in the prosperous commercial city of Yangzhou. She also offers readings of these case histories that illuminate Cheng's social and intellectual world and throw light on his own motives and dilemmas as a practitioner. We learn that the doctor is ideally the trusted advisor of an elite family. He is called in by the male head of family and relates to his patient through this man, who is present at the consultation. When the patient is female, this makes it possible to deal with the problems of modesty and female honor inherent in a situation where a male outsider has to meet a woman and ascertain intimate physical details about her condition. Cheng deals with the problem of rival doctors who offer conflicting advice by explaining to his patients that the others have made misdiagnoses that could be dangerous. He is strong and confident when he argues against colleagues or patients who challenge his regime, but he always attempts to give reasons grounded in medical theory for the course of action he advocates.

Although he attempts to win over his patients to his way of thinking, Cheng perceives a gulf between doctor and patient created by the doctor's greater understanding of medicine. He inveighs against the short-termism of patients and their families. They are too interested in a rapid disappearance of symptoms and do not understand that this is not synonymous with a cure. When a patient appears to be beyond cure, the doctor cannot leave, for this would be a moral abdication, yet he fears that if he continues treatment he will be blamed for the inevitable death.

Chapter eight looks at the female practitioners of the Ming period. Women had obvious advantages as midwives through their knowledge of female bodies, their experience of their own deliveries and those of family members or neighbors, and their ease of access to the "inner chambers." But a few women also took up areas of medicine other than obstetrics. This was possible because medical knowledge was usually transmitted through the family in China. Female members of elite families with a tradition of medical practice might sometimes be trained by male relatives. Thus class and kinship could intervene to modify the normal gender divisions in China. In her account of female healers, Furth adds to the evidence put forward by Dorothy Ko (*Women of the Inner Chambers: Teachers and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* [1994]), Francesca Bray (*Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* [1997]), and other scholars that ideas about female seclusion in imperial China have tended to be too rigid and over generalized.

Furth has produced an illuminating account of the development of Chinese medicine that also raises issues about gender systems, the culturally constructed body, the understanding of historical texts, and the relationship between medicine and society. It will be read and reread not only by students of Chinese

history and the Chinese medical tradition but also by those who want to understand the close relationship in any society between its culture, history, and the accumulation and transmission of medical knowledge.

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ROXANN PRAZNIAK. *Of Camel Kings and Other Things: Rural Rebels against Modernity in Late Imperial China*. (State and Society in East Asia.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1999. Pp. xi, 305. Cloth \$69.00, paper \$24.95.

After the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, China's failing Qing dynasty undertook a program of radical reform. Among other things, the so-called "New Policies" mandated organs of local self-government, sought a new system of public schools, established a modernized military force, and encouraged economic development. The Qing reforms have received considerable academic attention, and some of this work—in particular, classic studies by Edward Rhoads on Guangdong and Joseph Esherick on Hunan/Hubei—has suggested that the New Policies could arouse strong popular resistance.

Until now, however, we have not had a book in English focusing on this opposition. Roxann Prazniak's excellent and pioneering work not only fills a major historical lacuna but does so on the basis of impressive scholarship that includes archives, local gazetteers and oral histories, reports by foreign observers, and a broad array of Chinese and Western secondary sources. Her book is important for specialists on China and should interest everyone who studies popular rebellion.

The book presents five detailed case studies chosen from different parts of China—counties in Shandong and Hebei in the North, Sichuan in the West, Jiangsu at the mouth of the Yangtze, and Guangdong in the South—and also provides shorter vignettes of many other places. Along the way, Prazniak introduces a diverse cast of courageous popular leaders, a group for whom she clearly has great respect and even affection. Among the most memorable are Qu Shiwen, an elected community head; Wang Congmang (the eponymous Camel King), a charismatic farmer involved in temple affairs; the widow Ding Fei, an activist in a Buddhist vegetarian sisterhood; and Liu Xiangting, a member of the famous secret society, the Gelaohui.

Prazniak describes how the New Policy rebellions rested on a long and self-conscious tradition of political opposition dating back almost a millennium: one that drew on a variety of elements, including the classical philosophic concept, the Mandate of Heaven; a host of popular religions; and even famous Chinese novels. Women often played unusually prominent roles. A half-century after the defeat of the Taiping Rebellion, many of Prazniak's rebels, even in areas far removed from Taiping control, felt ties to that uprising—powerful testimony to the cohesion of the oppo-

sition tradition. The immediate background to a number of Prazniak's cases was local conflict in the previous two decades, often involving her protagonists and facing the same opponents.

The direct causes of the New Policy rebellions were, most importantly, heavy new taxes imposed to support the reforms and widespread corruption among the local notables responsible for implementing the innovations. These grievances often coalesced when the elite exploited the new taxes to squeeze the populace, employing techniques that included the manipulation of exchange rates between silver and copper and the misuse of new census data. However, illegalities could run the gamut from embezzling public funds to monopolizing new business opportunities.

Other catalysts to unrest included efforts by New Policy leaders to commandeer the temples of local religious groups for use as government offices and schools, a centuries-old goal of Confucian political theorists. The new armies and police bureaus could attract opposition, of course, because they represented a direct threat to the people and were, in fact, used against the various uprisings. Finally, in an era of nationalist ferment, the foreign presence in China aroused hostility to those in power, particularly when they seemed to be conspiring with foreigners.

Prazniak underscores opposition to "modernity" in her subtitle and alludes to it frequently in the book. However, a close reading of her histories indicates that, in actuality, there were few, if any, cases where the people opposed modernization per se, whether they faced it in the form of new ideas and institutions or in increased levels of commercialization. Indeed, the very excellence of Prazniak's presentations, with their vivid detail and careful analysis, allows the reader to learn something even more interesting: the political sagacity of China's rural population. Opposition to the New Policies does not emerge as a generalized defense of tradition. Rather, it was a response to reforms implemented in the midst of a deteriorating dynasty, in an atmosphere of moral decay, with a dog-eat-dog mentality that favored the powerful. Prazniak notes the implications of her story for the reforms in contemporary China, and the reader will, indeed, be struck that in terms of atmosphere, the two situations are remarkably similar.

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LI LI. *Mission in Suzhou: Sophie Lanneau and Wei Ling Girl's Academy, 1907–1950*. (Asian Studies, number 2.) New Orleans: University Press of the South. 1999. Pp. xiv, 139.

The past decades have witnessed a renaissance in studies of the nineteenth and twentieth-century Christian mission involvement in China by both Chinese and North American scholars. Part of that corpus of research has focused on the phenomenon of American women missionaries. This volume by Li Li is an

important addition to that corpus, both for the story that it tells and for the research upon which the narrative depends. This is one of rare books devoted to mission in China and published in North America that draws on Chinese archival sources, which have been generally unavailable to American and European scholars. To Li's credit, he negotiated access to those materials.

The case study presented is that of Sophie Lanneau, who served as a missionary with the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (Richmond) in China during a turbulent period of Chinese history. During her time in China, she witnessed the Chinese Republican Revolution, the Nationalist Revolution, World War II, the Civil War, and the victory of the Chinese Communist forces, which finally forced her to leave China in 1950. Li describes Lanneau's transformation from North Carolina native into the leader of a school for girls in the city of Suzhou, China. He narrates the story of the years of Lanneau's personal and institutional struggle through the turmoil of Chinese history during the first half of the twentieth century and finally as an exile from China, with her school taken from her.

To achieve her mission, Lanneau had first to survive as a female missionary in a male-dominated mission organization. Then she had to negotiate the form and structure of the educational services she hoped to use as evangelistic tools with the wealthy Chinese patrons who could afford those services and on whose tuition money the survival of the project depended. The resulting triangulation between the Chinese consumers, the Southern Baptist Mission Board, and the missionary is a classic example of North American "mainline" mission history in Asia during the century that ended with Indian Independence and the Communist Revolution in China. The use of education as a tool for cultural and religious transformation by the Southern Baptist mission has close parallels with what the better-financed Methodists and Presbyterians were attempting in China at the same time. More research is needed to compare Southern Baptist mission theory and praxis in China with the other Southern Baptist missions in Latin America and Africa.

Li ably leads the reader through the conflicting goals and needs of the actors in the drama fueled by expectations that for all sides resulted in disappointment due to intercultural misunderstandings and incongruent values. He is undoubtedly correct in his analysis of the differences in perceived needs and desires for the Wei Ling Girl's Academy. He also builds a convincing argument about the internal conflict that Lanneau experienced over the frequent compromises she made in her evangelistic efforts in order to save the educational institution and to conform to the regulations imposed by the changing Chinese governments. The one argument of Li that seems less well founded is the argument about the reason for Lanneau's exile. He argues that she was exiled because she had not identified her educational institution more

fully with China and that her continuing concern for evangelism was the central problem that disqualified her for residency in China after the Communist Revolution. Certainly the geopolitical climate was more complicated than that!

This caveat is not, however, meant to detract from the value of Li's book. It is a very important addition to published research on the roles of American women in China during the century ending with the victory of Mao Zedong's forces. It is a model of the genre, sensitive to gender, cultural, political, educational, and religious issues. It is balanced in its use of Chinese and Baptist sources. The extensive bibliography provides a guide to Chinese as well as "Western" published material. The index facilitates access to the volume. Unfortunately, the quality of production of the volume by the publisher does not match the contents.

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JOSEPH W. ESHERICK, editor. *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900–1950*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. x, 278. \$55.00.

In many ways, the considerable urban transformation that China experienced during the first half of the twentieth century set the stage for contemporary China's urban dynamism. But how was this transformation possible in a period of political disunity? How did the modernization efforts of individual Chinese cities reconcile modernity with national characteristics and local conditions with national aspirations? And how do the experiences of China relate to global trends? Issues like these are explored in this beautifully designed and well-edited volume, which seeks to serve a number of purposes. Part of a general contemporary trend to reappraise the dynamism and diversity of Republican China, its intention is to elucidate the processes of urban transformation in China 1900–1950 in relation to modernity and national identity. Second, it aims to correct the imbalance of present-day scholarship on Chinese urbanism, with its heavy domination of studies on Shanghai; the volume grew out of a conference entitled "Beyond Shanghai" held in 1996. Third, the purpose is to facilitate comparison with similar processes outside China. One might add that the volume also seeks to promote a new generation of Chinese city historians, as several contributions are based on recent dissertations or book projects. They are supported, however, by a number of well-established scholars. Ten chapters cover individual cities, while three chapters deal with general issues of the history of modern Chinese urbanism, putting the individual city histories into perspective. The complexity of the aims of the book makes for a less than elegant structure, but it should not be prematurely dismissed as yet another conference volume caught up in cross purposes. It is, in fact, a very substantial collection of papers.



Editor Joseph W. Esherick's lucid introductory discussion of modernity and nation in China's urban transformation alerts the reader to a number of issues in Chinese urbanism. Esherick points to the differentiation of Chinese cities into a whole range of new city types, all of which are examined in this volume. The remaining chapters are divided into three main parts, the first of which focuses on "The Modernist City." In "Canton Remapped," Michael Tsin describes the emergence of city planning in Canton in the early 1920s. Despite the brevity of the chapter, it is theoretically ambitious, seeking to demonstrate the dual logic of the modernist project—emancipation and discipline—in the visions and programs of its first city planners. Ruth Rogaski's "Hygienic Modernity in Tianjin" traces the evolution of modern hygienic regimes in the treaty port of Tianjin, with a particular interest in the negotiation of medical knowledge at the local level. "Hygienic modernity" is Rogaski's translation of the modern Chinese concept of *weisheng*, and the author offers a sensitive reading of the process in which *weisheng* gradually assumed this new meaning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In "Urban Identity and Urban Networks in Cosmopolitan Cities: Banks and Bankers in Tianjin, 1900–1937," Brett Sheehan seeks to demonstrate the significance of supralocal urban networks. The bankers examined in the study "had an urban identity that was diffuse and unfocused on particular cities" (p. 48). The argument is well framed in a discussion of current scholarship, but the chapter is too filled with facts, some of which are repeated more than once. David D. Buck excavates the history of a Japanese-controlled city in "Railway City and National Capital: Two Faces of the Modern in Changchun." Starting in 1905, the Japanese transformed Changchun into a modern railway city. The establishment of Changchun as capital of Manchukuo in 1932, however, ushered in the "high modernism" (a concept developed by James C. Scott) of a strong centralizing state. Among the finest chapters of the book, this one covers a longer time span than some of the other contributions, satisfying the historian's yearning for "time" in a volume mainly devoted to "space." Kristin Stapleton's "Yang Sen in Chengdu: Urban Planning in the Interior" is a fascinating study of an unlikely urban reformer. During 1924 and 1925, Chengdu was controlled by the warlord Yang Sen, who used his power to promote a number of reforms in the city, particularly street widening. Why this enthusiasm for urban reform? "By 1924, advocates of city planning and development had articulated an alluring vision that made well-regulated cities the key to a powerful Chinese nation" (p. 104).

The second part, "Tradition and Modernity," features a study by Liping Wang of the transformation of Hangzhou into a modern tourist city: "Tourism and Spatial Change in Hangzhou, 1911–1927." The ancient city of Hangzhou lost out to Shanghai as the economic center of Jiangnan, but in the early part of the twentieth century the city emerged as one of China's

foremost tourist destinations, in large measure thanks to the deliberate efforts of urban reformers who launched it as a "culture garden." Madeleine Yue Dong's chapter, "Defining Beiping: Urban Reconstruction and National Identity, 1928–1936," deals with another ancient city struggling to reposition itself under adverse circumstances. In 1928, Beijing, long-time capital of China, was renamed Beiping when the Nationalist government established Nanjing as its new capital. The countermeasures were not unlike those of Hangzhou, as Beiping strove to reinvent itself as the cultural capital of China, "a modern showcase of Chinese tradition" (p. 132). Charles D. Musgrove's "Building a Dream: Constructing a National Capital in Nanjing, 1927–1937" describes the largely unrealized (since 1929) plans to build a grand new administrative center in Nanjing, combining classical Chinese features with modern technology and materials.

The third part, "City and Nation," has two chapters on the Nationalist government's temporary wartime capitals. The first is Stephen R. MacKinnon's excellent chapter: "Wuhan's Search for Identity in the Republican Period." During the ten months of 1938 when Wuhan served as a temporary capital for Chiang Kai-shek's retreating Nationalist regime, the city experienced an unprecedented flowering of public debate and creative energies. Wuhan in 1938 is "a reminder of alternative paths not chosen in modern Chinese history" (p. 172). Lee MacIsaac describes Chiang Kai-shek's final refuge in "The City as Nation: Creating a Wartime Capital in Chongqing." The government tried to project an image of Chongqing as the symbol of the nation, but it undertook no great projects similar to the Nanjing plans, and the "downriver" refugee elites continued to see native Chongqing as "antimodern" (p. 190).

Two general chapters conclude the volume. Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom's "Locating Old Shanghai: Having Fits about Where It Fits" is a discussion of "Shanghai exceptionalism" (p. 192). Prewar Shanghai was so anomalous, yet the object of so much study, that it makes good sense to try to venture "beyond Shanghai." But the city is always present in studies of modern Chinese urbanism, even when not examined directly. Wasserstrom systematically discusses five approaches related to the problem of comparison, arguing for "multiple Shanghais" as the most suitable. David Strand comments on and connects the preceding chapters in his concluding essay, "New Chinese Cities." In a sophisticated discussion, Strand reminds us that early twentieth-century urbanism was "dynamic by dint of its very derangement and unpredictability" (p. 217). In studying the visions of urban reformers, one should guard against an overly rosy reappraisal of Republican China, since dynamism and disaster were never far apart.

This excellent volume of studies in modern Chinese urban history would have gained by taking the full step of going beyond the framework of "beyond Shanghai": that is, by including a chapter on Shanghai itself. But



even without that, the volume is the most comprehensive contemporary collection of studies in its field. The comparative approach also makes it interesting for historians outside this field.

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HANCHAO LU. *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 456. \$50.00.

Among the ever-growing legion of books about Shanghai, this contribution stands out for its remarkable depictions of everyday life. Based on excellent use of archival materials and social science surveys, carefully blended with oral accounts, Hanchao Lu argues that Shanghai's special character derived from the increasing commercialization of every aspect of ordinary people's lives. In support of this thesis, he explores three specific topics in depth: the lives of rickshaw men, conditions in Shanghai's shantytowns, and finally the daily rounds common among Shanghai's masses.

Lu sets forth an unusually favorable view of life in Shanghai, even among rickshaw men and shantytown dwellers. He does not highlight how lives were broken on the turn of capitalism's wheels in Shanghai's urban milieu. Instead, he portrays Shanghai as a city full of suffering and challenges, but one where the rewards of urban residence were real and obvious. He cites a contemporary rural folk song in which the peasant is depicted as so burdened that the only alternatives are escape, prison, or suicide (p. 127). He then concludes that flight into a hovel in one of Shanghai's shantytowns was preferable.

In his chapter on Shanghai's rickshaw men, Lu describes them as petty traders whose work was less demanding than that of a farmer. He finds little evidence in Shanghai of the militant organization or political causes that David Strand discussed in *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s* (1989). Strand characterized Beijing rickshaw men as oppressed workers struggling against capital, bosses, and the new technology of streetcars. Those qualities never surface in Lu's account. For Lu, the lives of rickshaw men serve as an example of how the daily web of small commercial transactions shaped the lives of most Shanghai residents, no matter what their relative poverty or wealth. He concludes that rickshaw men, along with other peasants and country people moving into Shanghai, "were made into petty traders of all sorts. In turn these 'small potatoes' became the true brickwork of the commercial world and its culture we call 'Shanghai'" (p. 105).

For Lu, the best indicator of this increasing commercialization and its social consequences is found in the housing and daily rounds of Shanghai's residents. The poorest managed to find shelter in one of the ever expanding shanty towns that grew up at the fringes of the city. Lu refers to the wealthy and foreigners only in

passing, and places his greatest attention on those he calls the "little urbanites" (*xiaoshimin*). It is to this great jumble of humanity—including factory workers, store owners and their clerks, government employees, most office staff, waiters, salesmen, teachers, newspapermen, writers, and various entertainers, along with their dependents—that Lu addresses his attention. These people lived side by side with few class distinctions in a distinctive Shanghai type of housing—built along small alleyways off the main streets—known as "alleyway houses" (*lilong fangzi*). More than half of the book deals with descriptions of these houses and the crowded, bustling life that they contained. In these sections, Lu colors his accounts with well-selected terms drawn from the Shanghai vernacular, such as "tiger stoves," meaning boilers in a common type of neighborhood store that, in a local rhyme, "in the morning prepared water for inside the skin [drinking] and in the evening sold water for outside the skin [bathing]." Indeed, the best aspects of this work are Lu's descriptions of the routines of work, shopping, housekeeping, eating, and leisure of ordinary Shanghai residents.

In his conclusion, Lu states that "in looking at the everyday life of the people of Shanghai, one repeatedly encounters the past, the persistence of tradition and reminders of things indigenous" (p. 296). He sees Shanghai as remaining distinctly Chinese but altered because "the story of the daily life of ordinary people reveals the deep penetration of commercialization" (p. 313). Lu emphasizes that all urban functions including sanitation, education, and community security became commercialized. While historians of Europe have studied the state's efforts to penetrate and order the new urban society (as in Ann-Louise Shapiro's *Housing the Poor of Paris, 1850–1902* [1985]), the state is not a serious factor in Lu's view of pre-1949 Shanghai. When the state finally does enter the book, it is after 1949, as the new Communist government suppressed the very commercialization on which Shanghai's culture was based.

Lu could have done more with the question of how government shaped life in Shanghai, and he also generally dismisses the question of how life in Shanghai—in spite of its clearly Chinese characteristics—might be comparable to conditions in new industrial and commercial cities that developed around the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. If he sidesteps some major issues, however, Lu still deserves praise for a detailed, enlightening, and wonderfully readable account of daily life in early twentieth-century China's greatest city. His account will be consulted and quoted for many years by those dealing with the realities of daily life in Chinese cities.

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ISENBIKE TOGAN. *Flexibility and Limitation in Steppe Formations: The Kerait Khanate and Chinggis Khan*.

(The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage: Politics, Society and Economy, number 15.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1998. Pp. xxii, 192.

Were the rise of Chinggis Khan in Mongolia and the creation of the world's largest empire at the beginning of the thirteenth century the culmination of a long-term historical development in Central Eurasia or something completely new and different? Until well into Chinggis Khan's lifetime, the region was divided among rival nomadic confederations that had been fighting, allying, and betraying one another for generations. At his death, the Mongol Empire was centralized, autocratic, and ruled over much of Eurasia.

Isenbike Togan argues that the success of Chinggis Khan was a natural development in a drive for unification in Mongolia, and Central Eurasia in general, during the twelfth century. In particular, she argues that the empire's organization owes much to the heritage of the Kerait confederation in which Temüjin, the future Chinggis Khan, spent much of his political life. Indeed, Togan comes very close to arguing that it should have been the Kerait and not the Mongols who united the steppe. In this analysis, the Mongols do not represent a radical break from the traditions of older confederations. Rather Mongol unification is portrayed as an internal struggle in which under Chinggis Khan's rule "commoners" were favored and used to displace the "aristocrats" who had dominated the existing steppe confederations. Togan also attributes a large role to Muslim merchants, whom she sees as an important force behind unification in the furtherance of trade.

The book is divided into four main parts. The first discusses patterns of universalism versus localism in Central Eurasia, which she argues was a product of internal political developments within steppe nomadic societies. The second gives a broad overview of the political and economic setting of the region that stresses such concepts as power sharing (dual kingship), the role of merchants, and the differences between Islamic and East Asian traditions of rule. In the third section, Togan examines the Kerait confederation in detail, focusing particularly on the relation between To'oril (Ong Khan), the Kerait khan, and Temüjin, the future Chinggis Khan. The final chapter examines the early organization of the Mongol state and attempts to trace its organization and policies to those of the Kerait.

The book's greatest strength is its analysis of the complex history of the Kerait. Using a variety of sources, Togan has gone further than anyone else in elucidating the workings of the confederation and produced a masterful account. She demonstrates that the Kerait had the most prestige among the steppe tribes at the time, a prestige that survived their destruction when Chinggis Khan married his sons to Kerait royal princesses who became powerful members of the Mongol conquest elite. However, her analysis of the dynamics of tribal politics is less successful. In

some cases, this is because the sources are inadequate: Kerait khans like To'oril lose and regain power for reasons that are never explicit. But there is also a problem in applying concepts like "dual kingship" to a people who had no such institutions. To say that Temüjin ever shared power with To'oril as a sort of dual sovereign is to misread the situation. Leaders were constantly shifting their favor from one client to another without yielding any real power. Indeed, as soon as Temüjin achieved the status of To'oril's "adopted son" and possible heir, his rivals (including To'oril's natural sons) united to run him out of the confederation. Only after the murder of To'oril and his sons did Temüjin claim any autonomous power, and he never shared it with anyone.

Togan insists that the Mongol Empire was a direct outgrowth of old confederation politics. If it was, it rejected all aspects of its heritage. No other nomadic empire was more centralized or less confederative than the Mongols were. No other went as far in successfully destroying existing tribal structures. Nor was this an empire created to serve commoners at the expense of aristocrats. Chinggis Khan made special efforts to recruit large numbers of the old aristocracy (consisting mostly of ambitious younger brothers and sons) into the elite imperial guard (*keshig*). More important, Chinggis Khan understood that the unification of steppe tribes in Mongolia depended on the exploitation of resources from neighboring sedentary states. Unlike the Keraites under To'oril, he gave his primary attention to organizing military campaigns outside the steppe as a way to unite the tribes within it and never looked back. Togan has provided an excellent picture of the old Kerait system on the eve of its destruction, but she underestimates the degree of innovation represented by Chinggis Khan's military and political reorganization of the steppe tribes.

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RESIL B. MOJARES. *The War against the Americans: Resistance and Collaboration in Cebu; 1899–1906*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 1999. Pp. 250. \$20.00.

As the recent contretemps over the Balangiga bells illustrates, the Philippine War of 1899 to 1902, although all but forgotten even during its centennial, still arouses a surprising amount of controversy. For many years it has been forced into narrow ideological frames, culminating in the "our My Lai of 1900" interpretation, a view expounded even in some recent university texts. In large part due to the pioneering work of Glenn A. May, in the past twenty years Philippine scholarship has moved away from nationalist mythology and focused on the war in the provinces. During this same period, American military historians have emphasized the counterinsurgency campaigns in the boondocks. The result is a growing consensus among specialists that the Philippine War is best

understood as a series of regional struggles that varied greatly from island to island. Resil B. Mojares's study of the war on the Visayan island of Cebu is an important contribution to this interpretation.

Based on impressive research in the relevant American and Philippine archives and with a local's understanding of the dynamics of provincial society, Mojares presents a vivid picture of a island torn by personal and factional divisions that predated the American arrival. As in other Visayan provinces, a substantial number of local elites collaborated, and those who fought the Americans were as much motivated by factional, ethnic, or kinship ties as they were by loyalty to Emilio Aguinaldo. The turmoil within the island's social structure further weakened a resistance movement that was poorly armed, virtually untrained, indifferently led, and lacking substantial popular support. The result was that the burden of military service was borne by relatively few people: Arcadio Maxilom, the designated leader of Cebu's military forces, had no more than 200 riflemen, 500 auxiliary troops, and perhaps a few thousand part-time irregulars—a minuscule contingent from an island of more than 500,000 people.

That Cebu remained at war for so long owes more to American weakness than guerrilla strength. The island was a military backwater important only because of the port of Cebu City. Once that had been occupied, the U.S. Army high command assigned a small garrison—averaging about 1,500 soldiers—and focused its attention on more important islands. Maxilom's misguided effort to fight a conventional war allowed the Americans to achieve two decisive victories in late 1899. Thereafter, the Cebuanos reverted to guerrilla war, avoiding battle and seeking to prevent the invaders from exerting control over the population. The result was a stalemate that was finally ended in late 1901 when the Americans concentrated a strong force on the island and conducted a brief but devastating campaign. With many of his commanders already dead or surrendered, with disease and famine threatening, and with substantial pressure from his compatriots, Maxilom finally surrendered.

As sometimes occurs in regional history, Mojares is on less sure ground in his treatment of the war outside of Cebu. This is especially true in efforts to demonstrate that Cebuano resistance was one part of a larger "war between nations" (p. 2) between Americans and Filipinos. There is still no conclusive evidence that the successive revolutionary governments headed by Aguinaldo exerted the powers of a legitimate and sovereign nation-state even on Luzon, much less in the Visayas. In his efforts to make the resistance on Cebu a part of the larger "national" struggle, Mojares occasionally strays beyond what the evidence can support. Thus, for example, he argues that the "Maxilom government was in communication with the national organs of the republic, as indicated by the large number of circulars and memoranda from the Aguinaldo government copied and circulated in the field" (p. 79). But the sole reference cited is to an April 16, 1899 proclamation

issued before Aguinaldo formally recognized Maxilom as Cebu's political and military chief. A similar problem occurs in Mojares's assertion that the peasantry was actively involved in the resistance to the Americans. He takes issue with May, claiming he errs in "tending towards presentist valuations by not fully taking into account the specificity of nation-formation at the time the war was fought" (p. 242). But Mojares's own scholarship supports May's findings that resistance was led by the local elites and that the peasantry was largely indifferent.

These criticisms should not detract from Mojares's accomplishment in detailing a long-forgotten war in an isolated province. This is an important contribution to the growing field of regional studies. It is supported by commendable work in the primary sources and written with passion and sympathy. It is hoped that other scholars will take up the challenge of reassessing the Philippine War in other provinces. For those that do, Mojares provides a worthy guide.

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DAVID LUDDEN. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 4, part 4, *An Agrarian History of South Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 261. \$64.95.

David Ludden's contribution to the *New Cambridge History of India* series provides an ambitious *longue durée* study of the agrarian history of the subcontinent over the past two thousand years. Ludden is well-qualified for the task; he had already adopted such an approach on a more confined canvas in his much-acclaimed *Peasant History in South India* (1985). Here, however, he is dealing with a vast region with many diverse systems of agrarian power, so it becomes much harder to trace out any strong and unifying themes. He avoids being at all dogmatic, describing a number of interweaving developments over time that together have created the complex mosaic that is rural South Asia today.

One theme does, however, stand out from the others: that of the gradual expansion of core agrarian areas into surrounding uncultivated lands. In South India, the former was known as *nadu*, the latter as *kadu*. More widely, *kadu* appears to have been synonymous with what is known as *jungle*, which means "wild" or "uncultivated," rather than "tropical forest," as is often assumed. The core agrarian regions were tiny initially, confined mainly to river valleys and delta regions. Ludden argues that from around the fifth century C.E., they began to expand more rapidly. In the process, the peoples of the wild areas—the *mlecchas*—were gradually pushed back, until today—now known as "tribals"—they occupy the most marginal lands of forests and mountains. Ludden sees this process as driven primarily from below, by patriarchal lineages of cultivators that established village settle-

ments, populated them with lower-caste servants, artisans, and menials, and then forged links with overarching structures of power, such as the dynasties of warrior-chiefs or large Bramanical temple complexes. These alliances were often unstable, leading to constant shifts in the boundaries of states.

This reading of agrarian history from below yields some important insights. Ludden shows, for example, how rulers at every level were able to forge alliances with important lineages through marriage. This was true of the Islamic dynasties that ruled large parts of India from the thirteenth century onward; they, too, married into lineages that worshipped Hindu deities. In underscoring this continuity between Hindu and Muslim rule, Ludden provides an interpretation of Indian history that resists a religious-communal understanding—something of great value at a time when a vicious and divisive religious-fundamentalist rendering of history is seeking to assert itself in India.

Ludden's model does not, however, appear to be so appropriate for many of the drier regions of India, such as the Punjab, Rajasthan, and the Deccan. There the small pockets of intensive cultivation seem to have existed in a state of symbiosis with the shifting societies of cultivators, pastoralists, hunters, long-distance carriers, soldiers of fortune, and migrant laborers. Many of the ruling chiefs emerged from the latter societies and continued to maintain strong links with them. Often the inhabitants of the "wild" were seen as being vital to their power, symbolized, for example, in the coronation rituals of Rajput rulers involving anointment by the representatives of such peoples. Until the nineteenth century, it would seem—contrary to what Ludden suggests—that there was no overall tendency or strategy to subsume such regions within the cultivated area. I may add that in these regions the warrior lineages, rather than peasant lineages, forged the above-noted alliances through marriage with superior rulers.

Another problem with Ludden's approach is that he is not prepared to accord much importance to changes that were driven primarily from above. In particular, the systems of governance imposed by first the Delhi Sultans and later the British are not, in my opinion, given the weight they deserve. There is no room in this review to go into detail in these respects, but there were. I believe, revolutionary changes within rural society at both times, the first entailing a bureaucratic and commercial transformation, the second a wholly new system of property and the eradication of the old symbiosis between the agrarian and the wild. These state-driven developments transformed rural social organization and agrarian mentalities in a range of radical ways.

In this book, Ludden stresses the continuities, applying an impressive depth of scholarship and sympathetic insight into the subject. The ruptures are generally acknowledged, but because of the overall

argument of the book, they fail to be accorded their full due.

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CHITTA PANDA. *The Decline of the Bengal Zamindars: Midnapore 1870–1920*. (Oxford University South Asian Studies Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 231. \$24.95.

Understanding the nature of landholding in India has long been a ceaseless preoccupation—of magnates and potentates, research scholars, and social theorists. Conversely, agrarian agencies and forces—holding socioeconomic and sociopolitical, not to mention sociocultural and socioreligious power—have for centuries assiduously sought to evade disclosure of land resources. Debates over agrarian policies and realities in India, many of them going back to the eighteenth century, are obviously as alive today as ever. Yet Chitta Panda, claiming to challenge existing historiography, merely retells what has long been known. Old arguments, however garbed in fresh data, are not innovations. Whether or not the landed magnates (zamindars), those who ruled over vast estates in localities of rural Bengal, prospered or suffered from the "Permanent Settlement" is not a new question. Whether or not powers and privileges were conferred, delegated, or destroyed by the East India Company is not a new question. Whether or not the "lower orders" of the agrarian system, consisting of lesser landholders and/or "landless labourers"—so-called "cultivators" long known as *ryots* but now labeled "peasants," in fashionable and politically correct rhetoric of our day—suffered (or benefited) from zamindari rule or from decisions of the Raj is not a new question. Whether or not what happened in landed relationships of Bengal was entirely or even substantially a "natural" consequence of already prevailing conditions or a consequence of an "unnatural" or "colonial" intrusion is also not a new question. Salient features of these hot-button issues still captivate ideologues, scholars, and decision makers. They have all been argued, over and over again, since the days of Lord Cornwallis, if not since the time of Warren Hastings and Robert Clive. That such matters should still provoke altercations no less vociferous in our own day says something about the enduring nature of our own fascinations and of the complex intellectual conundrums that the subject itself still evokes.

There can be little doubt that, among what remains of the old aristocracy of Bengal, the very fact that the Raj ever existed still arouses strong emotions. Blame for whatever may or may not have happened during the days of its sway is a never-ending argument, with demons that never die. Yet, if one considers that nowhere else on earth have conditions in relationships between land and man been more complex than in India, that nowhere else have more elaborate and intricate collaborations and convolutions of relations



between local elites and alien rulers evolved, and that by no other means could the construction of the Raj or what we now call "India" have occurred, then one can see how tired exercises such as those found in this book are. In the end, they are little more than simple repetitions. New facts, rising from new data and new evidence, add new ways of stating the old arguments. Nonetheless, the quantum of new insights adds little to what we have known all along. Once again we learn that zamindars, ancient or recent, huge or tiny, were hapless victims. Caught between an impersonal machinery of the imperial system, with its arbitrarily imposed revenue demands, and fractious local pressures and protests from those whose sweat and toil enabled the building of so many new palaces and temples, they suffered. The plight of a landed aristocracy whose conspicuous consumption and ostentatious extravagance led so many into the indebtedness and bankruptcy and the failure of these local elites to "appropriate the colonial legal system" or to control "recalcitrant peasantry" can be lamented. But, in the end, these grandees can hardly be absolved of responsibility for their own decisions (or indolence). Not all zamindars failed. Not all suffered loss. If a gradual disintegration of some agrarian structures can be verified, then responsibility for such disintegration can hardly be made to rest evenly upon all who were powerful or wealthy. Some in the seats of governance, whether imperial or national, can be held to account for the decline of the Bengal zamindars. Yet, none can be absolved of responsibility for the massive starvation that occurred, at frequent intervals, among the lowliest of subsistence laborers. All who held power, however tiny, can be held accountable for deaths during the great famines. In comparison, the decline of landed magnates seems less consequential.

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GYAN PRAKASH. *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 304. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.95.

Recent years have seen increasing interest in the role of science in the history of European colonialism. With this has come greater attention to the place of science as motive and agency of empire. Nowhere has this attention been more intense than in relation to British India. As Gyan Prakash observes, the emergence of modern India is inseparable from the history of science. Over the last decade, a growing and industrious group of Indian historians, among whom Irfan Habib, V. V. Krishna, Deepak Kumar, Dhruv Raina, Kapil Raj, and Satpal Sangwan are among the best known, have been mining rich treasures in the archives of London and Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. Their work has reordered our understanding of British intentions and achievements on the subcontinent. Combined with

the magisterial studies of David Arnold, Mark Harrison, Christopher Bayly, and Matthew Edney, and commanding the insights of Michel Foucault and Bruno Latour, Homi Bhabha, Tony Bennett and Carol Breckenridge, we have now not only a growing body of critical literature on "imperial" and colonial science in British India but also enough differences to spark debate. To this literature, Prakash has been a distinguished contributor. In revisiting the period and place, his new book confirms his standing among the leading scholars on the history of science and culture in British India.

With the practices of science, the British constituted India as a laboratory for modernity. But the signature of modernity was ultimately to rest in Indian hands. Prakash applies and extends the vocabulary of post-modern studies to a set of key categories of knowledge—notably, the history of museums, language, public health and medicine, and the apparatus of bureaucracy, industrialism, and planning—and traces the passages by which Indian nationalism came to occupy ground once held by British colonialism. It was in the nature of colonial governments to look to the "sign of Science," the cultural authority of rationality, as the talisman of political legitimacy. The state "staged science" as a reflection of both temporal power and moral authority. Here, for example, the Western-influenced museum became an instrument of authority, creating and representing "objective" values, while at the same time treating India, and Indians, as classifiable objects, a people to be "civilized." So too, with Western medicalization came the colonization of the "body" and the culture of difference, underwritten by science.

As Prakash rightly observes, colonialism has always amplified the importance of practices of classification. To know is to name; to name is to control. The colonial state found science a willing tool. "Governmentality," in the Foucauldian sense of pastoral power, saw the ineluctable extension throughout India of Western methods of "surveying" the land, collecting statistics, regulating trade, taxation, public health, railways, and supplying the infrastructure and apparatus of the modern state.

It is a powerful story. Occasionally, the manner of telling—"The irruption of this dislocation unleashed another, uncertain dynamic of translation" (p. 8)—may be challenging to the pre-postmodern reader. But Prakash is more transparent, and certainly at his best, in his description of the ways in which colonial science and government both estranged and united the intellectuals of India, fostering a hybridization of ideas, a negotiation of boundaries, that would ultimately produce a space shared between European universalism and an emerging national culture. The introduction of the "museum idea," a European invention, at first bestowed colonial power but then challenged native elites to meet and understand their own communities. From this process, slowly and tentatively, emerged a nation state—in Jawaharlal Nehru's words, "a bundle



of contradictions held together by invisible threads"—nuanced into modernity by aspiration and struggle and by the methods of science.

Prakash reminds colonial historians—who are these days unlikely to forget—that it is unwise to portray Western knowledge as fully formed at some metropolitan “center,” which was merely tropicalized as it was diffused outwards. Britain’s intellectual traffic with India, like Europe’s traffic with the world at large, always moved both ways, and the reciprocal influences were often simultaneous. India shaped Britain as much as Britain shaped India; in many ways, the interaction *was* the historical reality. At the same time, Britain met the implicit contradictions of its colonial experience. The militant state ultimately confronted the paradox that it must give back to the colonized what the colonizer had created. The “civilizing mission” of Europe, as a cultural justification for colonialism, could never be allowed to end; yet the success of rational science, as one of its central tenets, would ultimately undermine the distinction between ruler and ruled.

It is to the credit of a work of such breadth and complexity that many of its features will be debated. Prakash’s critique of Benedict Anderson’s concept of nations as imagined communities—which famously ignored colonial differences—is long overdue and welcome. On the other hand, his treatment of colonial technology and its political economy is relatively weak, surprisingly, given the long history of suppression of Indian by British interests and the subsequent shortcomings of colonial and international strategies for “development.” Whether it is necessarily a “compulsion of empires to undo their operations” (p. 47) is a general proposition best tested in local circumstances, and in the language of its time. In what ways was British colonialism in India unique? Do we not seek (and find) “colonial differences” elsewhere? And are not many factors involved, of economics and military power, in which science has but a fugitive role? Like many others, Prakash sees British India and its associated states organized as a space consolidated by the instrumentalities of reason. But this apparent inevitability does mask a cultural process that was at the time new to the colonial power itself. The cultural voice of science was being trained in Europe when it was first heard in India. Prakash argues that colonial governmentality was not a tropicalization of Western forms but their dislocation—with the implication that India could be run only despotically. This may be so, but the premise leaves unchallenged the fact that many Indians found in colonial science a route to personal advancement as well as the mastery of nature (albeit, for the most part, not until well into the twentieth century).

Other scholars have also mapped some of the empirical ground traversed in the early and later chapter of this fine book, but Prakash brings to its analysis a voice of interpretative flexibility. Indeed, perhaps not the least of his achievements is to combine the emerg-

ing tradition of scholarship on colonial science in India with the perspectives of postmodern theory, thereby bringing to what has become an emerging nationalist historiography a refreshing sense of ambivalence and negotiation. There surfaces an image of science that in its colonial guise remains an instrument of coercion but that also carries within it a latent power of liberation. The author’s success in translating science into “another reason” may not satisfy all, or all equally; but it does open the way to our seeing, in contemporary science and in the “divided love” that many bear it, an intimation of the vast potential that resides in India’s scientific, literary, and philosophical imagination.

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#### OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

DREW HUTTON and LIBBY CONNORS. *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 324. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$24.95.

A detailed account of environmental interest and action in Australia from the 1860s to the present would seem of interest only to environmental historians. Although they will find it useful, anyone interested in comparative history of the British Empire, the neo-Europes, or social movements in industrial societies can read this book with profit.

This is the first full-scale environmental history of Australia to take account of recent events, and the authors—activists as well as academics—have managed to combine a serious historical study with a sympathetic inside view. They emphasize the modern period but treat all. The first section describes the first wave of environmentalism, which started in the mid-nineteenth century, peaked in the early twentieth, and lingered until World War II. The next two deal with the second wave, the modern movement. One discusses the campaigns of 1973–1983, the outpouring of enthusiasm and activism that made environmentalism a common word and a political cause. The other shows the changes that came with the more professional movement that followed the ebbing of the great wave. The last section is a short finale, “Dancing in the Dark: The Movement in the 1990s.” The research is thorough. The authors have looked at a wide range of printed and archival sources and conducted many interviews. They are explicit about their goal and the theory behind it. They aim to “understand the historical development of the environmental movement as a social movement” (p. 3) and in the introduction lay out the theory of social movements that underpins their analysis. They take a broad view, treating not only environmentalism but its ties to other causes, and they see Australian developments as part of the international and transnational movement. They insist,

though, on close attention to place and local events. Environmentalism, they say, "can only be understood and interpreted through localized studies" (p. 1) and the chronological division of the text "is derived neither from philosophical development nor from structural attributes, but from changes in the strategic direction of the movement" (p. 14). The decisive influence on the movement has not been new threats or government opposition but the "ways in which campaigners learn from one another" (p. x).

American environmental historians will find this book a useful guide to events in Australia, but they will also get a wider view of environmentalism. Australia had the familiar conservationists saving forests and preservationists pushing for parks, but there were as well public health reformers, city planners, humane activists (devoted to combating the mental pollution of the nineteenth-century cities), and the uniquely Australian bushwalking movement. To translate that last into American terms, imagine loose federations of local Sierra Clubs in each state, more interested in hiking than mountains, as the dominant force for the protection of nature from the 1890s to the environmental era. The movement's relation to other reforms is, from the American point of view, very strange. Australians did not separate the built and natural environments, resulting in organizations, such as the Victorian Town Planning and National Parks Association, difficult to imagine here. American labor unions have not often supported environmentalism. In Australia in the 1970s, strikes backed environmental campaigns. In this country Ralph Nader is seeking a national forum and there are no significant state green parties. In the 1970s the Tasmanian Greens held for a time the balance of power in that state's legislature.

The emphasis on environmentalism as a social movement makes this book of interest to a larger audience. Here is a good account of the interplay of European culture and local conditions in a modern society much less populous than the United States and more closely tied to a distant cultural hearth. Comparison can be extended to the book itself. This is not, fully, the kind of specialized scholarship characteristic of American academic writing. It is directed to an educated but general audience by scholars with loyalties to the cause they analyze. Teasing out the differences between the movements in these two countries and historians' different treatments of them would be a useful exercise for readers, environmental historians or not.

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GLENN WAHLERT. *The Other Enemy? Australian Soldiers and the Military Police*. (The Australian Army History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 208. \$35.00.

One important theme in Australian historiography relates to the nature of the Australian soldier. Was he

a larrikin who despised authority? Can it be argued that he was a more accomplished and disciplined soldier than his British or European counterparts? Or did he have a lust for killing like other soldiers during the wars of the twentieth century?

Glenn Wahlert addresses some of these questions through an erudite examination of the relationship between Australian soldiers and the military police during the two world wars. In foregrounding the activities of the police, Wahlert not only sheds light on its unknown role but also significantly advances the work of earlier historians in challenging the one-dimensional image of the Australian soldier. In doing so, the author convincingly draws a direct connection between the level of discipline of the soldiers and their attitude toward the military police.

Provost marshals, as senior policemen, had been a powerful and influential group during the nineteenth century in Australia, when they were responsible for enforcing discipline within the colonies. This included applying sentences passed by the court such as floggings and hangings. Coupled with moves toward responsible and representative government, the office of provost marshal was replaced with that of sheriff in late 1825. With the introduction of compulsory military training for all males in 1912, provost staff were reappointed in the same year. But it was not until World War I that military police units were formed and Australian soldiers had much to do with them.

In Australia's history, the military police have been openly despised among officials and enlisted men alike. It is no wonder, given that their main function was to enforce obedience in the army. This is a dramatic story of uneven disciplinary actions and inappropriate methods of law enforcement as well as of soldier unrest, riot, drunkenness, and assault. As the war progressed, there was an improvement in the ways in which discipline was exercised, but the police maintained a confrontational and ruthless approach. Wahlert illustrates the ways in which there was a continuing problem with the discipline of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) but shows that the methods of punishment were also punitive and harsh. During World War II, the military police assumed different tasks. They ran dispatches, guided convoys, and cleared routes. The very nature of the war, with its extension to the Southwest Pacific and the arrival of a specific threat to Australia at the end of 1942, saw numerous changes to the military forces. After the torrid campaigns in Greece and North Africa, the police earned respect from the soldiers, albeit reluctantly. With the increasing level of specialization and professionalism of the provosts between 1943–1945, the army and the military police became less antagonistic toward each other. But the relationship between soldiers and provosts remained tense and uneasy, and this respect was never expressed as admiration. Wahlert concludes that through both the wars, the military police were at best tolerated and at worst condemned.

This book is to be welcomed for the diverse and

complex picture it presents of the Australian soldier. The author manages to display an even hand between sympathy and understanding, without ever losing sight of the need to expose the flaws within the AIF. It is, however, disappointing that Wahlert misses an opportunity to explore the ways in which the army and the police attempted to shape a particular type of Australian masculinity. A nation's manhood, it was argued, was formed in wartime. A closer consideration of how manhood was negotiated through the violent clashes described in this book—such as the infamous Battle of Brisbane in 1942, when soldiers and provosts resorted to a fistfight in the streets of Brisbane—would have broadened the parameters of the discussion to consider how Australian masculinity and national identity were formed through war.

Related to this is the need for some further context of the shifting notions of what was deemed to be a punishable offence in wartime. What does it mean to enforce law and order in a situation where the morality of civilian life was often not considered applicable? How did this meaning shift over time? In what ways were these offences tied to shifting understandings of accepted modes of masculine behavior? To relate both the offences and the punishments inflicted on soldiers to a history of masculinity and national identity would have broadened the level of engagement of this sophisticated and meticulously researched monograph.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

CHRISTINA BURR. *Spreading the Light: Work and Labour Reform in Late-Nineteenth-Century Toronto*. (Studies in Gender and History Series.) Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. x, 254. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.95.

When E. P. Thompson charged historians with the task of considering the "totality" of working-class experience, including private and public social life, institutional groupings, and economic behaviors, he would have applauded studies such as this one. Christina Burr sets out to investigate Toronto's working classes during an "important formative moment" in the last third of the nineteenth century, when local reformers and workers "struggled to interpret and transform the conditions of workers in industrializing society" (p. 4). Her examination is buttressed with Foucauldian analysis and by work over the past decade in women's history that, among other important strands, has traced the connections between work and family. The model Burr most closely emulates to compare male and female-dominated workplaces is Joy Parr's groundbreaking study *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880–1950* (1990). Three chapters devoted to a close examination of male and female-dominated industries constitute the core and most valuable section of the

book. The process through which women were relegated to low-paying, low-status, and unstable employment in the unionized printing trades in Toronto is clear evidence of institutionalized marginalization. A discourse of domesticity in this period reinforced notions of masculinity, further confirming male privilege. Also still much in evidence in the early twentieth century were the immigrant female and sweated labor underpinning the garment industry, the roots of which are well investigated by Burr. This case study also allows for a view of how older, family-based modes of production intersected with and supported new factory-based methods.

Burr concludes that industrial capitalism at the same time created and divided the working class along lines of sex, race, skill, occupation, and nationality; most centrally, she argues that class, gender, and race had a "distinct but interconnected existence" among the Toronto working classes as reflected in and shaped by the rhetoric of labor reformers. To this end, Burr's study of the material history of selected groups of working men and women is viewed against a backdrop of the reform rhetoric, most significantly represented by journalist and lecturer Phillips Thompson and cartoonist and writer John Wilson Bengough.

Well researched, gracefully written, and heavily illustrated by Bengough's revealing caricatures, Burr's analysis begs some central questions. As a study of the production of working-class consciousness, most particularly as that consciousness forged elements distinct from middle-class notions, it is surprising to find here almost no treatment of the authority exercised by religious precept or practice among the working classes of Toronto. Since the study is positioned during a period widely recognized as having been fundamentally shaped by the power of Protestant evangelicalism for the working classes, this omission is the more startling. Even the book's title could easily be mistaken for an evangelical text. Burr's sensitivity to the role of prose, poetry, song, and other literary expressions in the lives of working people, particularly those grounded in melodramatic forms, would have offered a compatible context for questions of religious expression.

One possible reason for evangelicalism being ignored is that it did not figure prominently in the spiritual life of either of the labor "brainworkers" profiled by Burr. In turn, the reader is brought to question the degree of authority exercised by latter on working-class consciousness. Burr positions the labor reformers as central to the creation (and the fragmentation, as they debated contentious points) of an alternative rhetoric to that presented by prominent members of the journalism community, primarily George Brown of the *Toronto Globe*. But many questions remain unanswered: are journalists the best source to take the measure of a community's rhetorical position? What percentage of working people read Thompson's column in the Knights of Labor periodical, *The Palladium of Labor*? How many agreed with

his notions expressed there, or in the mainstream *Globe*? Although Thompson saw his role as educating working people, did his subjects accept his leadership? Indeed, there is some evidence of his unpopularity. On the issue of gender politics, for example, Thompson tapped into the middle-class view of the era that linked working-class women and vice. Burr describes the fury unleashed on Thompson after he published a critical account of the home life of mill girls in the *Globe* in 1882. Letters to the editor protested his assessment of working women's private lives. An estimated 1,500 mill operatives held a protest meeting about Thompson's articles; a procession of men and women marched through Cornwall with Thompson in effigy pelted by mud, stones, and eggs, after which it was burned. Banners displayed mottoes: "The Workingman's Bogus Friends," "The Slanderer of Our Wives and Daughters," "The Despoiler of Our Homes" (p. 49).

Was this the mouthpiece of Toronto's working class? At the very least, Burr needs to acknowledge the contested process through which "brainworkers" like Thompson acted as interpreters for fluid cultural concepts. Even considering such caveats, however, this is a useful study of working-class men's and women's views during a germinal period in Canadian labor history.

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MICHEL HORN. *Academic Freedom in Canada: A History*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 446. \$39.95.

Academic freedom in Canada, as Michiel Horn sets forth at the beginning of this comprehensive, meticulously researched history, has rarely been a "burning question" (p. 3) for university faculty or administrators. Indeed, apart from some occasional specialized interest from historians of higher education or from those exploring the difficulties faced by radicals and socialists in universities prior to World War II, academic freedom has elicited only cursory attention from the Canadian historical community. Horn's history draws upon a vast array of sources assembled from university archives across Canada, with the exception of the Catholic universities of Quebec. This book traces, from the earliest conflicts between faculty members and college boards of governors in the 1860s, down to the physical expansion of universities and proliferation of faculty in the 1960s, the distinctive context in which Canadian university teachers secured a modicum of academic freedom.

Three concepts, according to Horn, influenced definitions of academic freedom in Canada. The first, mediated through the influence of American research universities after the 1870s, was the German research ideal by which professors were free to teach and publish. This, however, had only a marginal impact on the Canadian university environment before 1914, given the lack of research schools. The second, and

more influential idea, was the British tradition of linking academic freedom to professorial self-government and academic free speech. The third, a response to the distinctively North American practice of university government, by which professors were subject to academic hierarchies appointed by governing boards composed of business and professional people, sought to assert, by codifying procedures under which faculty could be dismissed, the autonomy of the professor.

At first sight, much of this story would appear familiar to scholars of higher education in the United States. However, academic freedom in Canada was asserted in the face of far more serious constraints than existed south of the border. As Horn rightly observes, until 1951, Canada lacked a counterpart to the American Association of University Professors, which meant that faculty who sought to defend their rights against university governing bodies did so largely as individuals. It is small wonder, then, that so many chose to resign quietly, and that so many university archives are silent on the reasons and motives for the conflict between university authorities and these professors. In what forms the spine of this story, Horn provides a thorough analysis of the relationship between professors and the network of "provincial" (or state-funded) universities that developed across English Canada after 1900. Here, although professors were not subject to the religious tests typical of colleges controlled by the churches, their academic freedom found itself ground down between two powerful pressures: the suspicion of boards of governors against anything that smacked of political or economic unorthodoxy, and the desire of university presidents to protect and enhance the autonomy of their institutions by scrupulously avoiding any public controversies. Professors found their presidents ambiguous champions at best. Most, like Presidents Robert Falconer and H. J. Cody at the University of Toronto, defended a modified German ideal of research freedom but sought, through various subtle and unsavory measures, to silence the political statements of faculty members such as Frank Underhill of the History Department.

The particular quality of this book lies in its ability to challenge a number of cherished myths about the achievement of academic freedom in Canada at the end of the 1950s. The establishment of the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) in 1951, and its intervention in the landmark dispute between the historian Harry Crow and the authorities at United College, Winnipeg in 1958, is usually cited as the Canadian charter of academic freedom, and it certainly did provide much-needed publicity and energy for the CAUT. Despite Horn's sympathy for a number of Crow's key supporters (the book is dedicated to Kenneth McNaught, a friend and fellow faculty member of Crow), he provides a carefully balanced treatment of Crow's antagonist, Principal Lockhart, and the board of governors. Indeed, what surprised this reader was the rather ambiguous resolution of the Crow case. Despite the highly publicized intervention of the



CAUT, in the form of the Fowke-Laskin Report, which condemned the board of governors for dismissing Crow and ordered his reinstatement, and considerable sympathy in the media for the dissident faculty (a first, given the propensity before 1950 for newspapers to link political statements by university faculty to radical subversion), the board of governors in fact succeeded in their campaign to remove Crow and his allies from the college. Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that however significant incidents like the Crow case may have been for public relations, a modern concept of academic freedom was largely the beneficiary of the demographic expansion of the 1960s in Canada's public universities. The demand for university faculty created a seller's market and amplified the strength of faculty associations and unions that, in nearly all cases, secured greater autonomy through procedural reforms governing tenure and dismissal and through the control over academic matters exercised through new university senates.

Horn's book thus constitutes more than just a cataloguing of the often-troubled relationship between university faculty and university administrations. It offers, for intellectual and cultural historians, considerable insight into the social and institutional climate in which issues of freedom and autonomy were discussed and defined. Because the book precisely describes the limits on the public statements of faculty, it provides considerable insight into the late development of certain disciplines like sociology and political science in the Canadian university context. Of equal significance, Horn's work, the fruit of massive and sustained archival research, finally provides a critically vital Canadian counterpoint for historians of higher education in the United States and Britain.

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CAREN IRR. *The Suburb of Dissent: Cultural Politics in the United States and Canada during the 1930s*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 293. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

Caren Irr offers a post-Cold War reassessment of 1930s radical literary cultures in the United States and Canada. Arguing that "America" and "Communism" were both internally riven and mutually constituted in heretofore unacknowledged ways, Irr proposes that Depression-era leftism produced a "subculture" that was a complex and diverse "hybrid" of nationalism, proletarianism, and mass culture (p. 5). Playing on W. H. Auden's famously self-deprecating description of the leftist intellectual's habitation of the "suburb of dissent," Irr proposes an "ethnography" of this suburb "liminally" situated "on the margins of the larger culture of labor" (p. 6). This zone was, moreover, "transnational," providing a "contact zone" (p. 9) between the related but hardly identical experiences of the left in Canada and the United States. Understanding the 1930s in their complexity, she concludes,

demonstrates the absurdity of proclaiming their isolation within the larger arc of cultural history.

Irr's argument is broad-ranging and, in several places, rich in insights both general and local. A brilliant discussion of 1930s U.S. Marxist and Marxist-influenced literary histories—such as those by V. F. Calverton, V. L. Parrington, and Granville Hicks—refutes the received view that these studies straitjacketed aesthetics in politics, demonstrating instead that the leftists' commitment to a "progressive" American nationalism led, if anything, to a simplification of the political in the service of a seamlessly teleological (and, ironically, highly canonical) literary-historical narrative. An informative taxonomic analysis of U.S. proletarian fiction propounds the thesis that Depression-era left-wing novels only rarely adhered to the stereotypical heroic-worker plot routinely attributed to the genre, producing instead nonessentialist and dialectical notions of working-class identity. Against this U.S. backdrop, Irr's chapter on left-oriented Canadian fiction reveals the many particularities, political and historical, producing in Canada a literature less "proletarian" and more "regional," one that extended from the 1930s well into the 1950s.

Chapters on individual authors bear out important features of the larger arguments about nationalism and leftist hybridity. Irr's nuanced reading of John Dos Passos as "an internal critic formed by the nationalism he would oppose" (p. 45) shapes her analyses of reification and temporality in the *U. S. A.* trilogy. By contrast, Hugh MacLennan, Canada's answer to Dos Passos, is shown to have more readily subordinated conflict to synthesis in his fictional accounts of national history. The sense in which Richard Wright's Bigger Thomas is a "native son" is illuminated through Irr's deft commentary upon the formulation of nationalism in Wright's "Blueprint for Negro Writing" (1937). Nathanael West's *A Cool Million* (1961) is read intertextually in ironic dialogue with both mass culture and the proletarian novel of "conversion." Dorothy Livesay's documentary poems are read as a "public mosaic" (p. 24) of contemporaneous popular and left discourses.

While productive of several superb narratives and readings, the ambitious historical, generic, and theoretical scope of this book is at times a source of some confusion. One problem is that the up-to-date critical categories announced at the outset do not always fit with the evidence intended to corroborate them. Irr never demonstrates, for instance, the existence of any mutually determining "contact zone" in her thesis about the "transnational" relation of U.S. to Canadian cultural politics; her project involves a meat-and-potatoes comparativism, in which any Canadian influence upon its southern neighbor is nonexistent. Nor does the argument about the "liminality" of left cultures—and indeed the entire "suburb of dissent" motif—square with the assertion that the radical 1930s should be seen as central rather than marginal to cultural history. Another problem is that some of the



book's sharpest insights into individual texts—the "untranslatability" (p. 130) of the murder of Bessie in *Native Son* (1940), the "utopian" dimension of mass culture in *A Cool Million* (p. 196)—are unrelated to the themes informing the book as a whole, leading one to wonder whether the modish theoretical apparatus is, at least in part, smoke and mirrors. A third problem is that Irr is not as emancipated from the legacy of anticommunism as first appears. Dos Passos and Wright are valorized largely for being "outsiders" to the communist discourse that they critically engaged; "subcultural communalism" is invidiously contrasted with the "holistic, unified Communism" of the "official left" (p. 5); while *A Cool Million's* ironic intertextual relation to the proletarian novel is premised upon a view of the genre as formulaically optimistic—a notion that Irr has taken pains to refute elsewhere in the book.

That this study does not fulfill every aspect of its ambitious project does not, however, substantially detract from its powerful deconstruction of the Communism/Americanism binary that has until recently closed off intelligent investigation of the 1930s. In its subtle examination of the interpenetration of nationalism, proletarianism, and mass culture during the left's heyday in North America, Irr's book makes a lasting contribution to the growing body of post-Cold War commentaries on the leftist culture of the Depression decade and beyond.

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GILLIAN CREESE. *Contracting Masculinity: Gender, Class, and Race in a White-Collar Union, 1944–1994*. (The Canadian Social History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. vii, 278. \$21.95.

This book is a contribution to the growing body of feminist historical writing that seeks to explain in a specific historical context how jobs are socially defined to privilege white male workers. Gillian Creese focuses on white-collar men and women office workers at British Columbia Hydro from the organization of the Office Employees' Association (OEA) in 1944 to the crisis of downsizing and restructuring in the early 1990s. The union affiliated with the Office Employees' International Union (OEIU) in 1955 and was renamed the Office and Technical Employees' Union (OTEU) in 1964. Creese's study helps to broaden the scope of labor history beyond the study of blue-collar men and further illustrates how the process of gendering work is also racialized.

The racialized-gendered division at British Columbia Hydro, Creese argues, was manifest in a consistent wage gap in which white men prevailed in better-paying, higher-status positions in the middle and upper ranks of office management. Women were confined to the routine clerical jobs with no career mobility at all. Women of color were even less likely to be in mana-

gerial, professional, and clerical positions and were more likely to be in service and manual jobs. The struggle for breadwinner wages among the predominantly male membership of the OEA in the post-World War II period involved the renegotiation of white masculine privilege and male breadwinner rights, which Creese argues, "were defined at least as much in relation to other men as in relation to women" (p. 83). Struggles over the value and masculinity of white-collar work were contested first in relation to male blue-collar workers, and then in relation to women and men and women of color. Throughout most of the fifty-year period studied, women's work remained in the office. The transformation of clerical work into technical work only reinforced the divisions between masculine technical domains and feminine clerical domains.

In the latter part of the book, Creese explores the issue of how the contemporary women's movement shaped the direction of union politics among British Columbia Hydro workers in the 1970s and 1980s. A Women's Committee of the OTEU was organized in the late 1970s and provided a forum for women activists to develop strategies for change. Embedded in union traditions however, were liberal ideas of equality and "sameness" that conflicted with a feminist politic of "difference." The members of the Women's Committee began to raise new issues in the 1980s, including the representation of women among the union staff and in elected office and bargaining demands around sexual harassment, day care, job sharing, flex-time, family leave, paternity leave, and reproductive health issues. There was no question, Creese concludes, that in the early 1980s the Women's Committee constituted a significant challenge to masculinist traditions in the union.

Office workers at British Columbia Hydro saw their work conditions deteriorate in the late 1980s and early 1990s under the combined influences of the neo-liberal economic policies adopted by both the federal and provincial governments and corporate demands for restructuring and downsizing. Major changes in the demographic composition of Vancouver through immigration brought more non-white workers into the office, albeit in low-paying service and manual jobs. This restructuring, Creese suggests, was also a racialized-gendered process. Men, however, experienced more downward mobility than women, and they had no choice but to bump down the job ladder to maintain employment.

Creese had at her disposal a rich collection of union records that allowed her to illustrate how "doing gender" on the job and in the union both disadvantaged women workers, and also forced an on-going renegotiation of masculinity among men. While this is not a new argument, Creese's contribution adds race to the dynamic. Unfortunately, this is where Creese is at her weakest. Although she conducted thirty-two interviews with men and women employed at British Columbia Hydro, she acknowledges that she did not

interview any men or women of color. It would have been useful to learn more about their experiences on the job. Nevertheless, this book is a useful contribution to the growing literature that probes the interconnections among class, gender, and race in the process of defining skill in the workplace and in the union.

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MONA GLEASON. *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada*. (Studies in Gender and History.) Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. 196. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

A recurring theme in Western history is the notion of a "crisis" in the family. Each round of hand-wringing brought its package of nostrums. In the mid-twentieth century, Canadian psychologists shared with counterparts elsewhere the belief that the World War II had "had a disrupting effect on a number of things, ranging from the state of the family to the relationship between men and women to the nature of growing up" (p. 80). To remedy this state of affairs, psychologists offered "new ways of thinking about the meaning of family life, new ways of measuring success within the family circle, and new ways of conceiving of the importance of mothers and fathers" (p. 96). In this fine study, Mona Gleason identifies the major figures in the movement, describes the nature and source of the ideas they promoted, and suggests some of the short and long-term effects of their work.

The concept of "normal" lay at the heart of the new analysis and prescription. Guided by psychologists, Canadians would create normal families who would bring up normal children. Normal "families had fathers who ruled at home, worked in the public sphere, and left the duties of parenting largely up to mothers, who, in turn, listened to the advice of male experts" (p. 51). Their children "were considered normal if they succeeded in constructively manipulating and mastering their own emotional selves for the increased comfort of those around them" (p. 105). Achieving this goal required parents to "rethink their relationship with their children by reinterpreting their duties in terms of satisfying 'needs': the need for affection, the need for belonging, the need for independence, the need for social approval, the need for self-esteem, and the need for creative achievement" (p. 108). Since children moved through a series of mental and physical stages on their way to maturity, parents and teachers could assess them against developmental scales; they "watched for signs of deviance; they sized up behaviour, read it, interpreted it, and ultimately labelled it along a continuum ranging from normal to abnormal, acceptable to unacceptable" (p. 142).

Since schools also played a role in creating normal children, psychologists thrust themselves into classrooms. As psychologist Karl Bernhardt explained, "for the school to do a good job with the child, the teacher must first have accurate information about the child's

health, emotional adjustments, interests, special abilities, and defects" (p. 123). Psychologists therefore preached the merits of progressive education. Although schools actually took little beyond jargon from these experts, they did employ intelligence (IQ) tests in evaluating their charges.

Gleason gives particular attention to the two most important postwar psychologists. A Great War veteran initially trained as Methodist minister, Samuel Laycock took a Ph.D. under the guidance of intelligence expert Charles F. Spearman of the University of London. Initially trained as a physician, William Blatz took a Ph.D. at the University of Chicago but soon eschewed the behaviorist psychology prevalent there for a form of functionalism. Laycock became a professor of educational psychology at the University of Saskatchewan and Blatz Director of the Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto. To promote their views, Blatz and Laycock "gave public lectures, made television appearances, co-hosted radio shows, and wrote hundreds of magazine and newspaper columns on various aspects of the nature of normal mental health" (p. 38).

Gleason identifies the generally unstated assumptions that lay beneath the research, writings, and public pronouncements of the psychologists. She points out that the "idealized version of families and family members constructed through popularized psychological discourse ensconced a white, middle-class, heterosexual, and patriarchal ideal within the very meaning of 'normal'" (p. 140). In turn, their limited perspective led psychologists to ignore or even demonize differences rooted in class and ethnicity.

Gleason describes some of the outcomes of the work of the psychologists. Perhaps their most notable, positive, practical accomplishment was to help eliminate corporal punishment in homes, institutions, and schools. And, like most good research, this book suggests other avenues that might be explored. How, for example, did the labeling practiced by psychologists actually play itself out in the lives of the families and children they branded? When the school declared a primary grade pupil to be "slow," did the label turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy?

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CARLA GARDINA PESTANA and SHARON V. SALINGER, editors. *Inequality in Early America*. (Reencounters with Colonialism: New Perspectives on the Americas.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1999. Pp. 329. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

This collection of essays is dedicated to Gary Nash, the much-esteemed historian who pioneered studies of race and class in early America, most notably in *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (1974), *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness with Origins of the American Revolution* (1979), and *Race, Class, and Politics: Essays on American*

*Colonial and Revolutionary Society* (1986). These themes so close to the heart and conscience of Nash have been united by editors Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger, along with gender, under the umbrella term "inequality," which became the call to arms for a conference held in Nash's honor that took place at the Huntington Library in 1997. Out of that conference came many of the pieces in the volume plus additional invited works. Contributors include peers as well as former students, and the published results have about as much coherence and completeness as the contents of a shopping basket on a late night's trip to the supermarket. Some works are coolly investigative and empirical in method; others are calls to arms aimed at the teaching of early American history.

Three studies in the collection focus on what one might call the "lost opportunities" of a new or reforming society to reduce injustice. Mary Beth Norton, in "Either Married or to Bee Married: Women's Legal Inequality in Early America," concentrates on the years before 1670, when women (and Africans) were presumably freest under the still fluid conditions of a frontier society. In a valuable examination of women's participation in Maryland and New England courts, Norton finds that even single women had no separate legal identities of their own. Coverture, she argues, was simply the most prominent institutional embodiment of a much broader and deeper disfranchisement of the second sex than historians have yet recognized.

Two other "lost opportunities" emerge from examinations of the outcomes of religious revivals and reforms in the eighteenth century: J. Richard Olivas discovers that the breadth of the pulpits' call in Boston's version of the Great Awakening did not lead to large numbers of new admissions, nor did new members differ socially from those already admitted. Olivas' examination of church records discloses that ministers and church officers closed ranks to hinder, then squelch, the aspirations of those of the newly awakened who came from the lower orders. Sylvia Frey likewise locates a discontinuity between the rhetoric of spiritual equality of Protestant evangelists in the postrevolutionary South and the divided and unequal nature of the churches they built. The truly revolutionary promise of Christianity seems to remain forever fettered by human intransigence despite repeated cycles of enthusiasm.

Another pair of well-crafted essays explore the remarkable resiliency of subjugated humans in recognizing and seizing opportunities to construct more meaningful lives for themselves. Neal Salisbury describes how Indians appropriated Christianity for their own purposes in "'I Loved the Place of My Dwelling': Puritan Missionaries and Native Americans in Seventeenth-Century Southern New England." Billy G. Smith makes use of runaway advertisements in colonial newspapers to discern the means and goals of eloping slave women. He provides a brilliantly original and subtle reading that brings these elusive denizens of the colonial past more fully into our ken. Along very

different lines and making use of very different materials, Sterling Stuckey speculatively links the annual African-American dance celebrations of Pinkster in Albany, New York, to West African religious traditions, on the one hand, and, more controversially, to the origins of black-faced white minstrel shows and to scenes in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851), on the other. Altogether, this is a provocative effort that I hope Stuckey will develop at greater length in the future.

In "Sheep in the Parlor, Wheels on the Common: Pastoralism and Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Boston," Laurel Thatcher Ulrich revisits a topic first treated by Nash some thirty years ago: the failure of a publicly sponsored spinning factory modeled on British predecessors intended to provide employment for the poor. War-related casualties and interruptions of trade had filled New England's premier port city with needy widows and their children. Whereas Nash attributed the failure of the factory to the resistance of preindustrial women to factory discipline, Ulrich lays it to faulty economics. "If the purpose of the factory was to bring down the cost of poor relief, the town fathers picked an expensive way to do so."

In the closing section of the book, four authors address the conceptualization and teaching of early American history. Ronald Schultz leads off with "A Class Society? The Nature of Inequality in Early America," in which he finds class a poor tool for understanding a preindustrial society, an assessment with which many will heartily agree. Philip D. Morgan calls for a comparative approach to the depiction of slavery in early America through the lens of work and its organization, a concrete approach with which students can identify. Most importantly for teachers, however, he recasts traditional patriarchal relations in a new and harshly unromantic light, one that prompts the reader to recall Norton's pessimistic reading of gender relations in the earliest years of white settlement.

In a more passionate vein, "Slave Labor Camps in Early America: Overcoming Denial and Discovering the Gulag," Peter Wood pleads with teachers to resist slaveholder self-portraits and repudiate "Gone with the Wind" images of plantation gentility. Instead, he asks us to substitute those of modern slave labor camps. Only in this vivid and contemporary way, he argues, can historians overcome students' denial of responsibility and get across to them both the enormity of the crime of slavery, the mental abuse of its victims, and the long-term psychological consequences of that abuse.

Nash likewise offers teachers tips for countering students' non-reflective use of the idea of inevitability in "The Concept of Inevitability in the History of European-Indian Relations." Efforts to place settlers' actions in their cultural context in order to explain white perspectives are necessary and important for understanding their behavior, he agrees, but Nash also urges teachers to identify specific actions at specific

times and to name the persons involved. In this way, abstract impersonal forces give way to altogether human actors with faces and motives that look uncomfortably familiar.

Precisely because this collection is such a hodgepodge, the reader-teacher comes away with a yearning for a more coherent picture of the society that gave birth to the republic. The separate lenses of race and gender have become more finely ground through the efforts of many gifted scholars, greatly clarifying the ways in which protocapitalism worked to reshape the patriarchy governing marital, parental, and master-servant relationships. Now the two lenses need to be aligned *together*, binocular style, and combined with a more sophisticated understanding of the intraclass rivalries that animate the subjects in our field of vision. Only in this way will we be able to make sense for our students of the ideological and political conflicts of the period. In the spirit of this collection, then, let me issue my own call to arms: it is time for scholars and teachers to put away the powdered-wigs approach to colonial history and come to terms with the restless, protean dynamism of early American society.

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JEFFERY A. SMITH. *War and Press Freedom: The Problem of Prerogative Power*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Pp. viii, 324. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Jeffery A. Smith ends his impressive study of press censorship with a warning from one of America's founders: "Those who would give up essential Liberty, to purchase a little temporary Safety," wrote Benjamin Franklin, "deserve neither Liberty nor Safety" (p. 228). The choice of Franklin is apt. Smith, a leading scholar of the colonial press and law, uses the legal precedent and the founders' intentions as a backdrop to his thoroughly researched and eloquently argued polemic on the excesses of censorship during times of war. A readable book that will find its way into undergraduate and graduate history, law, and press courses. Smith's study should also be read and its footnotes mined by scholars of the fields it touches.

Smith's central thesis is that "no exigency of the nation, not even war, can rewrite the First Amendment and its absolute ban on prior restraint and on subsequent penalties for news coverage and commentary" (p. 4). To argue this point, Smith ranges across the full history of United States wars, from the Revolution to U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf. In each conflict, Smith demonstrates that the censorship by the three branches of government (particularly the executive) far outweighed the danger to the nation. During World War I, for example, the government targeted the black press even as many black journalists were supporting the war effort, most notably W. E. B. Du Bois with his "close ranks" editorial. For World War II, Smith outlines the restrictions placed on Japanese Americans

even though there were no documented acts of sabotage or espionage among the affected community. In fact, like African Americans during the World War I, Japanese Americans in the World War II generally supported the U.S. war effort, and many served with distinction in the armed forces.

As he explores anti-press laws, Smith is mindful of legal and constitutional precedent. Smith analyzes the Supreme Court decision *U.S. v. Schenck* (1919), which included Oliver Wendell Holmes's observation that free speech does not protect a person from shouting "fire" in a crowded theater. Smith argues that the Supreme Court was wrong to establish this standard for limiting the speech of unpopular ideas, in this case those of a socialist: "The theater analogy made little sense when applied to the Schenck leaflet," writes Smith, "which presented opinions rather than false statements of fact" (p. 57).

Smith's argument meets its greatest resistance when we consider the only war in which significant numbers of Americans died at home: the Civil War. Smith correctly argues that Abraham Lincoln's abuse of the press had no political precedent or constitutional basis, but one would have liked a greater acknowledgment of the real threats to the riven nation. Calling the warnings about risks to public safety "trite" (p. 99), Smith downplays the dangers, which included a string of Union losses that tested the North's resolve, and significant minorities of Copperheads and draft-resisters. Admitting these dangers would have allowed Smith to make the difficult argument that Civil War censorship did more harm than the potential and real threats facing Lincoln. Smith does offer a number of ways in which the censorship itself hurt the Union cause: William T. Sherman's march across the South was underreported, for example, as was the widespread corruption and graft in the North. And Smith intriguingly argues that the suspension of habeas corpus, as it affected journalists too, was a violation of the First Amendment's restriction on laws "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press."

Perhaps the most troubling trend outlined by Smith is that past censorship can serve as a justification for erosions of press freedom, including the citing of Lincoln's censorship as precedent during each twentieth-century war. "When the president does it," Richard Nixon once said, "that means it is not illegal" (p. 188). Using Lincoln's censorship as a justification reaches its climax of absurdity when Ronald Reagan played this hand during the invasion of Granada. It is at this point that we realize the importance of Smith's impressive book and its forcefully argued conclusion: that the resolve in the Founders' writing about press freedom has been substantially and cumulatively weakened by successive overreactions to perceived wartime threats.

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JOHN E. WORTH. *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*. Volume 2, *Resistance and Destruction*. (The Ripley P. Bullen Series.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1998. Pp. xiv, 272. \$49.95.

John E. Worth's study of the Timucuan chiefdoms is completed with the publication of his second volume. His first volume on the subject concerned Timucuan assimilation. The two volumes, published together in the Ripley P. Bullen Series by the Florida Museum of Natural History, provide a definitive history of the Timucuan chiefdoms from their pre-Columbian existence to their eighteenth-century extinction.

Worth's work is essential reading for students and scholars of borderlands and colonial Florida anthropology and history. His scholarship is superb, and he employs primary source materials unknown to previous researchers in the field. The author apparently has spent months, if not years, searching through Spanish archival *legajos* to find the necessary sources for his study of the Timucuan chiefdoms. The result of his research is a comprehensive and well-written account of not only the Timucuan chiefdoms but of Spain's systematic efforts to assimilate, control, and employ them.

As elsewhere in the Spanish Empire, the consequence of the conquest and colonization of Florida, of course, was almost immediate aboriginal depopulation. And the unexpected demographic collapse of the native population, according to Worth, became an unresolved problem in all of Spain's attempts to maintain a stable mission system. Depopulation, not only from European disease but from frontier raids, native migration as well as labor system-related exhaustion, exposure, and starvation, forced Spanish officials into "an almost continual process of adaptation and change driven by rampant demographic collapse in the mission provinces" (p. 1). Unfortunately for Spaniards and natives alike, the demographic reductions continued despite all colonial efforts to the contrary.

In Timucua, Spanish plans to resettle aboriginal people not only failed to stop the depopulation but produced resistance, rebellion, and ultimately more depopulation as a consequence of the insurrections and subsequent executions of native rebels. All of the remaining Timucuan chiefdoms were abandoned at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Slave raids led by the English-supported Yamasee and Apalachicola Indians left Timucua in ruins. Survivors fled to Spanish St. Augustine and lived at the mission Nombre de Dios until Florida was transferred to Great Britain after the Seven Years' War (1763–1764). The few Timucua alive at the time accompanied the Spaniards in the mass migration to Havana, which left Florida almost empty of colonists. In Cuba, Timucuan culture ceased to exist, according to Worth, blending with that of other Indian immigrants.

The tragic end of the Timucua would be but one

incident in the larger native tragedy resulting from the Spanish conquest and colonization of the New World. As Worth appropriately remarks at the conclusion of his history, "the Timucuan chiefdoms of Florida's prehistoric interior ultimately became an early victim of the European colonial era" (p. 158). His work is first-rate ethnohistory and should not be missed.

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JANE KAMENSKY. *Governing the Tongue: The Politics of Speech in Early New England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 291. \$19.95.

Since Perry Miller published the first volume of *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (1939), historians have known that Puritans were about language. Puritan writings have been exhaustively analyzed from the structures of argument to tropes to use of biblical imagery, yet little attention has been paid to the spoken word. With the exception of Harry S. Stout's powerful study of sermons, (*The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* [1986]), the very act of speaking and the structures and boundaries governing public expression have remained unexplored. Jane Kamensky moves into this space with skill and insight, navigating carefully the methodological problem of locating authentic, oral voices in old written records.

Kamensky first provides the framework, reconstructing English ideas about speaking: the dangers of uncontrolled speech, methods of control, and the refinements Puritans brought. For the English, correct or proper speech represented a social order smoothly in place. Authorities kept disorder at bay by enforcing speech codes; disorderly speaking served as a successful strategy for dissenters to challenge an "illegitimate" order. In moving to New England, Kamensky follows the difficult yet rewarding terrain traversed by dissenters who suddenly found themselves keepers of the establishment. Using prescriptive literature, sermons, journals, and court records, she tracks negotiations among Puritans to balance the premium previously placed on free expression against the new need to maintain order. Most revealing is Kamensky's reconstruction of the genre of apologies, speech actions designed to undo the harm perpetrated by misspeaking. Her perceptive comparisons of those apologies that were accepted against those that were not reinforce her argument about the relationship of Puritan speech to the maintenance of order.

Kamensky pursues dedicated examinations of Anne Hutchinson, Ann Hibbens, and John Porter to explore the dynamics of gender power and parental authority. The disorderly potential of speech is developed in detail; the crossing of gender and age boundaries frightened the authorities as deeply as political revolution. Although Kamensky's analysis of Hutchinson's trials sometimes displaces the complex web of ideological and social upheavals threatened, placing the spo-



ken word at the center does provide a paradigm within which intellectual, social, and gender historians can converse.

Her final, illuminating case study of the Salem witch trials places the ideology of witch-speak in counterpoint to the speech arenas of church and court. Here, the same power dynamics—age, gender, class—are intricately entwined with the threat to magistrates' authority. With the word of young, servant girls taken above that of prosperous, elder statesmen, the role of the spoken word as indicator, preserver, or disturber of social stability becomes crystal clear. The trials demonstrated the extraordinary potential that speech continued to have to harm individuals and society, the weakening ability of speech to counter attacks or repair the damage, and the changing rules that governed the production and interpretation of speech.

This is a smart, engaging monograph, one that not only takes language and speech seriously but also demonstrates the possibilities for historians who pursue such analyses. This focus on speech does not render previous scholarship outdated or irrelevant; rather, it connects such disparate themes as child rearing, blasphemy, gossip, and politics. Kamensky's book reveals the multiple levels of power operating in New England, charts a primary dynamic by which this structure was maintained, and enables the reader to witness cultural change through the spoken words of Puritans uttered more than three hundred years ago.

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GRAHAM RUSSELL HODGES. *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 413. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Since the 1970s, the scholarly literature on race, slavery, and abolition in the United States has broadened its focus, exploring the rich diversity of African-American cultures and how they served to sustain identity and resist oppression. Recently, scholars also have shown renewed interest, after a long period of neglect, in the experiences of slaves and free blacks outside the South. Graham Russell Hodges makes a contribution in each of these areas. Hodges presents a wide-ranging account of African Americans in New York City and nine surrounding counties in New York and New Jersey from the arrival of a marooned African sailor on Manhattan Island in 1613 to the New York draft riot of 1863. Although economics and politics receive some attention, this book is primarily a study of culture(s); while the oppressive practices of whites inevitably shape the story, Hodges places black agency at its center.

Hodges argues that religion was the decisive factor in shaping both whites' efforts to control blacks and

blacks' resistance to white control. Slave religion, a fusion of Christian and African religious ideas and practices, formed the core of a slave culture of resistance that evolved into postrevolutionary African-American culture. Hodges divides white Christians into two groups: pietists (principally Dutch Reformed), who believed in patriarchal decision-making and resisted the liberating implications of slave baptism, and paternalists (initially Anglicans), who supported it.

The book begins with the Dutch colonization of New York and the introduction of African laborers of an ambiguous unfree status, many of whom eventually became freemen and property owners. An increasing demand for labor resulted in the institutionalization of chattel slavery by the 1630s, but Hodges argues that it was the English, after their conquest of the colony in 1664, who transformed New York from a society with slaves into a slave society—not because slavery became the dominant form of labor (Ira Berlin's definition), but because the English codified black enslavement. In the years leading up to the Revolution, authorities in New York and New Jersey responded to a series of slave conspiracies and revolts both real and imagined by passing ever harsher slave codes and by acting to curb manumission and to restrict the rights of blacks who were already free; as a consequence, free black society withered.

Between 1715 and 1741, increasing importation of slaves directly from Africa reinforced the essential Africanity of black culture. Hodges argues that a new African-American identity emerged in the context of celebrations such as Pinkster, whereby "enslaved Africans in the mid-Atlantic [moved] from tribal affiliation to a new concept of nationhood based on slave culture" (p. 88).

At the same time, the rebellious quality of such festivities prompted the "paternalist" sects—first Anglicans, then Quakers, Lutherans, and others—to initiate religious indoctrination to discipline and acculturate their slaves. By the outbreak of the Revolution, most blacks had adopted a syncretic African/Christian religion associated with one or another sect, and Hodges argues that their alliances during the Revolution were based on these religious affiliations; hence, Black Anglicans—the majority—were overwhelmingly Loyalist.

After the war, Hodges argues that it was "the cooperation of elite paternalists in the New York Manumission Society and the unceasing efforts of blacks themselves" (p. 168) that led to the passage of gradual emancipation acts in New York in 1799 and New Jersey in 1804. The New Jersey act greatly reduced the number of slaves, but slavery was never abolished, and most free blacks remained relatively dependent agricultural laborers. After final abolition in New York in 1827, the urban black community, including a nascent middle class, struggled against escalating racism and mob violence, culminating in the draft riot of 1863.

The greatest strength of this book is its systematic attention to African Americans' urban and rural life-ways—their work lives, festivals, and religious beliefs—as elements of a distinctive, nationalist culture that could provide a source of both identity and resistance in the face of slavery, racism, and persistent violence. Hodges's material on emerging class differences is particularly thought-provoking, demonstrating how the increasingly acculturated black middle class preserved the Africanity of earlier slave culture by self-consciously adopting African burial practices and establishing an intellectual identification with the historical Africa.

The scope of the project is another strength, but the strategy of dividing every chapter into recurring topical sections with a summary to make it manageable becomes repetitious. Also, the pietist/paternalist religious dichotomy, useful at the outset to distinguish Anglicans from Dutch Reformed congregations in their attitudes toward slave baptism, becomes awkward for the postrevolutionary period, when attitudes for and against slaveholding do not support tidy parallels.

Overall, however, Hodges has provided a thoroughly researched and compelling picture of African Americans in New York and East Jersey forging a distinctive, syncretic culture that served as the engine of their struggle for freedom.

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THOMAS N. INGERSOLL. *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718–1819*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. xxv, 490. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

"New Orleans," Thomas N. Ingersoll asserts, "was the first settlement in the New World to have a black majority from the beginning" (p. 67). The presence of this large and imposing African population during the community's embryonic phase regimented the white population to an extraordinary degree. The result, according to Ingersoll, was an ordered slave society differing little in its activities and worldview from its counterparts in Charleston, Savannah, and other southern cities with large servile populations. In the course of attempting to prove this rather surprising—and highly controversial—conclusion, Ingersoll challenges virtually every major interpretation in colonial and territorial Louisiana historiography.

According to Ingersoll, members of the New Orleans elite, like their confrères in other southern cities, embraced the precepts of Mammon, the god of avarice representing economic pragmatism, while rejecting those of Manon, the eighteenth-century European icon of sensual (read sexual) license. Ingersoll's description of New Orleans's early evolution is unfortunately deeply flawed, but it is not without its strengths. The author is at his best when discussing the importation of Africans and the subsequent establishment and evolution of lower Louisiana's slave society. He sheds

considerable new light on governmental attempts to regulate slavery in the 1760s. He also notes a possible connection between a major servile insurrection in Cayenne and the beginnings of the governmental crackdown on slave violators of Black Code provisions during Nicolas Chauvin de Lafrénière's tenure as the colony's attorney general. Ingersoll provides important new information regarding the social role of baptismal sponsors and the surprising diversity of Louisiana's African community at the end of the eighteenth century. Finally, his attempt to refute Frank Tannenbaum's thesis that Louisiana's Catholic religious environment mitigated the baneful effects of slavery merits careful consideration.

Ingersoll's contributions, however, are more than offset by the work's most serious flaws. Ingersoll's narrative vacillates between sound, innovative insights and flights of politically correct fancy in which all of the colony's ills are laid at the feet of the community's white male population. For instance, in his discussion of *miscegenation and the origins of New Orleans's free black community*, the author would have us believe that Louisiana's overwhelmingly illiterate white males, particularly those inhabiting a frontier city virtually without private libraries, were disciples of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Recoiling from the fact that "French law gave women a better status than anywhere else," these backwater intellectuals "reacted by trying to degrade the status of women in the eighteenth century, some indirectly by choosing to avoid marriage and legitimate reproduction altogether" (pp. 218–19). Illicit interracial unions were the result.

As with Ingersoll's claims about a conscious attempt by eighteenth-century white Louisiana males to undermine the legal rights of their female counterparts, it is unfortunate that the author's most controversial assertions are frequently deficient in supporting documentation. This is seen in the author's remarks regarding the alleged repressiveness of the colonial legal system and judiciary, which are held to modern standards, not those of eighteenth-century North America (p. 138). The sin of omission, however, surfaces most prominently when he fails to produce data proving authoritatively his contention that New Orleans was little different from Anglo-American slave-owning communities of comparable size in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ingersoll provides regrettably little comparative data, and much of what is provided focuses on the French sugar islands, not the ports of the southern Anglo-American colonies (pp. 122–30). The narrative is also shackled by the author's superficial understanding of the white society that, he asserts, did so much to shape and control the evolutionary path of the city's black underclass. For example, Ingersoll altogether ignores the imperative for social regimentation driven by French policies throughout the age of absolutism.

There is a dire need for a social history of early

Mississippi Valley society. Unfortunately, this work does not adequately fill the void.

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CLAUDIO SAUNT. *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816*. (Cambridge Studies in North American History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 298. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Continuity and change are central questions for all historians, but especially for students of Native American history. We work in an atmosphere of conflict and resistance orchestrated by the demands of foreign invaders, and radical, comprehensive change, it seems, is everywhere. Thus measuring and explaining change has become our preoccupation. We look to culture for continuity, to history for change, and with the maturation of ethnohistory we have a methodology for helping us make sense of the complex historical processes we study. The challenge is to interpret both continuity and change in ways that keep us rooted in the cultures of the people whose histories we write. It is not easy.

Claudio Saunt's new book is the best interpretation of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Creek and Seminole history extant. With rare insight and flashes of brilliance, Saunt has given us an idea of the Creeks in a period of momentous historical complexity that is riveting, sensible, and compelling. In part, the power of this book rests in Saunt's extraordinary research. No one has mined the Spanish record for this period as deeply as he, and many will share my astonishment at what he has discovered. If this book does nothing else, it will advertise the remarkable richness of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida.

As his title suggests, Saunt is primarily interested in change. Two things happened in the late eighteenth century to alter Creek order. One was the imposition by Creek leaders of a national government that imposed a legal code more reflective of European concepts of guilt and innocence than the traditional Creek view based on the rules of kinship; the other was a concentration of wealth in the hands of a shrinking few who seemed to care little for those with less and tried to use the power of government to protect their property at all costs. Both of these changes, rooted as they were in a redefinition of wealth that reflected European rather than Creek values, generated opposition and caused conflict. Thus, to Saunt, the new order for the Creeks was about more than change. His is a story of gender and class conflict, cultural disharmony, abuse of power, resistance, and ultimately civil war.

Although the impetus for change came from the outside, the crucial agents of change were those within who, as the children of European men and Creek

women, were exposed to cultural alternatives. Schooled in the economic and political assumptions of their foreign fathers, adept in manipulating written English for their own benefit, and separated by hard work and economic ambition from the mass of their Creek relatives, these "mestizos," according to Saunt, imposed the new order on the Creeks and created the atmosphere of conflict that characterized the thirty years before the Creek civil war. Along the way, Saunt discusses the entry into the Creek world of African Americans and describes their role in reshaping the Native history of the Southeast. Viewed by some Creeks as property, by others as allies, and by still others as relatives, blacks played a central role in the creation of the new order of things. In his discussion of the complex and fluctuating relations between blacks and Creeks, Saunt is at his best.

Saunt knows that culture is at the center of his story, despite his use of the language of race to explain it. The changes he describes were changes in Creek culture. Thus the conflict that developed was rooted in the ways Creeks embraced or rejected the specifics of change in their culture. But the degree to which Saunt is impressed by change and the "mestizo" agents of change is the degree to which he ignores or downplays continuity. When Creek leaders who were not "mestizos" accumulated property or encouraged governmental centralization, for example, he finds it hard to imagine that their behavior might be explained in cultural terms. And when he announces that the Creek civil war, or the "Redstick War," of 1811–1814 was caused by "three decades of strife over power and property" (p. 250), readers of Joel W. Martin's *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World* (1991) or Gregory Evans Dowd's *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (1992), both of whom argued that the conflict was fundamentally religious, might be a little surprised. In other words, Saunt seems to assume that the Creeks ought to react to economic and political questions the same ways Europeans should react. If wealth appears to be concentrated in the hands of a few, those with little wealth should be jealous, resentful, and ripe for rebellion. Perhaps so, but I think not.

Without a doubt, however, Saunt's is a well written, fascinating, and important book. I welcome it, and him, to the debate and know that our understanding of this rich and complex history will only be enhanced.

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MAX M. MINTZ. *Seeds of Empire: The American Revolutionary Conquest of the Iroquois*. (The World of War.) New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 231. \$28.95.

LAURENCE M. HAUPTMAN. *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State*. (The Iroquois and their Neighbours.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 304. \$34.95.

What did the early modern French, Dutch, and English have in common? All recognized that they could not establish settlements in the interior of parts of North America unless they created partnerships, of one sort or another, with a group of Native American Indians known collectively as the Iroquois. Composed initially of five distinct nations—the Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Mohawk—the Iroquois added the Tuscarora as the sixth nation in the early eighteenth century. The land of this confederacy, known as Iroquoia, was centered in modern-day New York state, though their influence could be felt far beyond, as Huron, Delaware, and Catawba communities knew well. During the age when Europeans were gaining greater control over much of eastern North America, the Iroquois remained a powerful force. Even the English, ever arrogant in their treatment of many native nations, felt compelled to create an alliance with the Iroquois, the so-called “covenant chain” whose links had to be maintained (kept polished, to follow the logic of the metaphor) so that misunderstandings between peoples did not escalate into genocidal rage. But despite their potency, the power and land base of the Iroquois shrank over time.

Explaining the decline of the Iroquois has proven an enormous challenge for historians, and many have responded with superb works of historical reconstruction. Anyone with even a casual interest in Iroquois history will know important works by such scholars as Richard White, Daniel K. Richter, Francis Jennings, Matthew Dennis, William Nelson Fenton, and Anthony F. C. Wallace. Now Max M. Mintz and Laurence M. Hauptman, each a skilled practitioner of the historical craft, have attempted to explain what happened. Their stories, fitting well into the declensionist model of much American Indian history, aim to tell what specifically led to the transformation of the confederacy from rulers of Iroquoia to minority members of a state in a new republic.

For Mintz, the crucial event was the Revolutionary War. He is right that the war took a horrendous toll in Iroquoia, especially the devastating 1779 raid of General John Sullivan of the Continental Army, whose soldiers plundered and burned every indigenous community they entered. The war destroyed the Iroquois policy of neutrality that had governed relations in the region before 1763, when the Iroquois played Europeans off against each other. But the Revolution created a new dilemma that vexed the Iroquois, for whom this war of (to use Mintz’s words) “Britisher against Britisher was difficult to fathom” (p. 10). Yet however difficult it might have been to comprehend, Mintz’s account suggests that what the Iroquois wanted mattered less than what non-Indian generals and soldiers wanted. In the eyes of the Continental Army, the Iroquois—despite the fact many wanted to remain neutral and others sided with the rebels—were enemies whose houses and fields needed to be destroyed.

Mintz is at his best describing the day-to-day evolution of the military conflict. He knows how to use

available evidence to make telling points, evident when he reports on corpses mouldering on the ground after a battle at Wyoming, Pennsylvania. By the end of his narrative, Mintz has convinced readers that what was at stake was Iroquois control over their own lands. In that struggle, they came up losers. “The Iroquois,” Mintz concludes, “found themselves powerless to resist the post-Revolutionary takeover and peopling of their heartland by the new American nation” (p. 183). By taking this stance, Mintz argues that it was military defeat during the Revolution that signalled the moment of final decline for the Iroquois.

Yet however convincing Mintz’s account might appear, it tells only one part of a much longer story. No matter how desperate things were for the Iroquois at the end of the Revolution, their history had not ended. That is the point of Hauptman’s vital study of the postrevolutionary “dispossession” of the Iroquois.

Like Mintz, Hauptman is also concerned with details. Rather than focus on the entire confederacy, Hauptman centers his argument on the experiences of the Oneidas, many of whom sided with the rebels, and the Senecas, who supported the British. His evidence suggests that alliances during the war mattered little in the postwar period when politicians and wealthy landholders in New York trained their sights on land they wanted in the western portion of the state. Demographic details basically tell the story. In 1790, Hauptman reports, there were less than 1,000 non-Indians living in the western reaches of the state. By 1850, their number had grown to over 660,000 and the region, rural at the end of the eighteenth century, had become home to Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, and Buffalo (which itself had over 80,000 residents by 1860). By contrast, the Indians’ numbers plummeted: by the mid-1850s there were 161 Oneidas in New York and approximately 2,500 Senecas. The decline of Indian power in western New York happened not because of the ideology of the Revolution but, instead, because landholders, politicians, and merchants all believed that the region was needed to defend the new nation and to provide land for farmers. Those who used the Erie Canal to haul the produce of the west to the growing cities of the Atlantic seaboard shipped their goods through the heart of Iroquoia.

This story of dispossession does not focus on the overt racism of the government or leading landholders. In fact, as Hauptman demonstrates time and again, prominent New Yorkers (such as the Federalist dynamo Philip Schuyler, the father-in-law of Alexander Hamilton) often claimed they had the best interests of the Indians in mind. Schuyler and his followers spent the decade after the peace of Paris of 1783 acquiring the land of the Oneidas, thus ignoring the constitutional provisions that treaties were a federal, not state, concern. And what Schuyler left unfinished fell to others, such as Joseph Ellicott and Peter Buell Porter who organized the seizure of the Senecas’ Buffalo Creek reservation, and John F. Schermerhorn, a Dutch Reformed minister from Schenectady whose efforts at



the disputed Treaty of New Echota (which led to the removal of thousands of Cherokees from their homeland) so pleased President Andrew Jackson that Schermerhorn soon took control of Indian affairs in western New York. By the mid-1820s, after the signing of two dubious treaties, Hauptman notes that "the Seneca land base was reduced by 86,887 acres" (p. 155). The fraudulent Treaty of Buffalo Creek of 1838, in which the Senecas gave up almost all of their remaining lands near Buffalo, had even more devastating effects. While some Senecas chose to remain, most left on their own "Trail of Tears" that took them to a reservation in Kansas. Like the Cherokees, the Iroquois on this westward migration also suffered from cholera and exposure.

Whereas Mintz's brisk study will be of prime use to those interested in the American Revolution, Hauptman's work will have a more significant impact on historians' understanding of Iroquois history. His book shows how even allegedly well-intentioned "friends of the Indian" conspired with landhungry officials and speculators to undermine Iroquois power in the early republic. Although common themes run through both books, such as the dangers posed by alcohol abuse, the significant changes charted by Hauptman need to be taken into account in any reckoning of Iroquois history. With "friends" like Schuyler, the Iroquois needed no enemies to weaken their hold on their ancestral lands.

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JOHN B. FRANTZ and WILLIAM PENCAC, editors. *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1998. Pp. xxv, 273. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

Citing the paucity of published work on the American Revolution in that part of Pennsylvania "beyond Philadelphia," the editors of this volume have collected nine essays that examine the activities of hinterland residents—the vast majority of the colony's population—during this pivotal era. Eight contributors trace the course of the war in specific counties or regions; a ninth looks at revolutionary-era violence along Pennsylvania's entire Indian frontier. In an introductory essay, editors John B. Frantz and William Pencak reprise events leading up to the Revolution as viewed by Pennsylvanians and highlight a few common threads in the diverse local stories that unfolded during wartime. A brief afterword by Pencak seeks to place Pennsylvania's "revolutions" in a broader interpretive context and also notes the study's relevance to backcountry studies and questions of loyalism and allegiance in the revolutionary era.

The sheer complexity of the American Revolution when viewed through the microscopic lens of local history is the most immediate impression conveyed by this volume. That the revolutionary experience dif-

fered from colony to colony, or between seaboard and backcountry areas, is now a commonplace observation. These essays go even further to demonstrate the difficulty of generalizing about the Revolution from county to county. The result is at times a dizzying collection of local stories but also a suggestive glimpse of how ambiguously a large historical drama plays out on the local stage.

Frantz and Pencak organize their contributors' essays into three broad regional patterns of near-metropolitan, middle, and western experience, but ethnic, religious, political, and economic particulars complicate even those broad categories. Rosemary Warden examined Chester, one of the near-metropolitan counties that profited from trade with Britain in the prewar period. She found, not surprisingly, that many of its citizens only reluctantly supported the break with England. Over the course of the war, the county experienced significant internal strife, as its citizens divided into hostile factions of loyalists, neutrals, and revolutionaries of both conservative and radical persuasion. In neighboring Bucks County, Owen Ireland discovered an early unity in rejecting British claims of parliamentary supremacy, but a later sharp division over how best to resist the imposition of those claims. Neighboring the metropolis, Chester and Bucks also shared many wartime experiences. In both counties, ethnicity and religion mattered more than occupation or social-economic status in determining group loyalties. In both, a pacifistic Quaker elite was replaced with new leaders from dissenting religious traditions and a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Finally, both of these older counties lost political power at the provincial level as newer counties gained greater representation in the Assembly.

The broad middle region, defined by the Lehigh Valley and Berks, York, and Cumberland counties, can be broadly characterized as the heart of Pennsylvania's patriot cause. But even here wartime experiences differed considerably. Eugene Slaski identifies the Lehigh Valley, some fifty miles north of Philadelphia, as essentially a "safe area to which the sick and wounded could be taken and from which supplies for the war could be requisitioned" (p. 47). Although the county lost some of its ethnic diversity during the course of the revolutionary period, most residents survived the war well. Karen Guenther explains Berks County's extraordinary manpower contribution (more than 3,000 residents served in the militia or the Continental Army by 1781) as principally an opportunity for German residents to show support for their new homeland. At the same time, those with a stake in the war who gained new economic freedoms with independence (iron masters, for example), found that they could win both popular opprobrium and economic benefits through support for the patriot cause. York County, examined by Paul Doutrich, experienced particularly rapid social and political development during this period, particularly after Yorktown became the provisional seat of American government in 1777.



Here support for the war effort actually dropped over time as problems with administering the wartime government and an inflationary economy became more vexing. In a singularly amusing passage, Doutrich describes the “culture shock” of Congressional delegates upon encountering the spartan amenities offered by residents of York County bent on “profiting from the plight of their guests” (p. 97).

Most counties in Pennsylvania’s middle region suffered some dislocation but generally fared well in the revolutionary era. They benefited from the wartime shift of the political center from the older to newer counties, and they escaped the factional violence that fractured near-metropolitan and western regions. Cumberland County, the subject of the late Robert Crist’s essay, was typical of this pattern. The large, recently settled county lost two-thirds of its territory to the creation of new political entities but gained increased representation in the Assembly by allying itself with the radical urban faction that pushed through Pennsylvania’s controversial 1776 constitution.

In the Upper Juniata and Wyoming valleys, as in frontier Pennsylvania as a whole, the Revolution was not easily distinguished from other ongoing contests. Frederick Stefon traces events in the Wyoming Valley, where a three-way land contest between the Iroquois Confederation, Pennsylvania claimants, and Connecticut Yankees predated the revolutionary period. The end of the war found the Iroquois stripped of their former power (and ability to protect their lands), but the dispute between the Pennsylvania and Connecticut claimants lingered into the nineteenth century. In the Upper Juniata Valley, white settlers supported the patriot cause when convenient but mostly continued a furious contest with their Shawnee and Delaware neighbors. Tim Blessing argues that Juniata’s tendencies toward localism and self-reliance solidified into deeply felt traditions as the county’s calls for outside military assistance went largely unheeded. Gregory Knouff concludes this section with a comprehensive look at military violence along Pennsylvania’s entire revolutionary frontier. He argues persuasively that “regional and class-based forms of racism were reinforced during the Revolution by an unprecedented collision of military cultures in the state’s hinterland” (p. 172). Traditions of total warfare that developed during this period were unprecedented for Quaker-influenced Pennsylvania, yet characteristic of other backcountry areas.

While this collection will be principally of interest to regional historians and residents who can appreciate the frequent references to minute geographic entities, it does address themes of wider historical interest: the Revolution as civil war, the American backcountry as a crucible for cultural allegiance and identity, and microhistory as test for our grand schemes of narrative convention.

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JAMES H. READ. *Power versus Liberty: Madison, Hamilton, Wilson, and Jefferson*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000. Pp. xi, 201. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$16.50.

Few eighteenth-century Americans questioned the Whig axiom that centralized governmental power inexorably imperils political liberty. This book by James H. Read is a study of how four “founding fathers” grappled with this received wisdom. Three of them, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and James Wilson, rejected the notion, while Thomas Jefferson tenaciously clung to it. Madison, explains Read, decided that an “energetic” federal government posed no threat to personal or public liberty provided that it exercised only constitutionally prescribed powers. For Madison, the critical issue was not the amount of power the general government wielded but simply whether that power exceeded what the people had intended to confer upon it. Read demonstrates that Hamilton agreed that centralized power bolstered liberty, but he did not share Madison’s commitment to the ratifiers’ original intent. Believing that the 1787 Constitution left the states too potent, Hamilton tried to administer the federal government into a much stronger regime than the framers had intended, hoping for popular acceptance after the fact.

Wilson, whom Read considers a neglected founder, made popular sovereignty the cornerstone of his political theory. For Wilson, the American people—not their government—were sovereign. Wilson rather naively assumed the people could easily and unambiguously apportion sovereignty to both levels and the three branches of the government. Of Read’s founding quartet, only Jefferson dreaded an energetic federal government, against which the people needed to be ever-vigilant, as liberty’s natural enemy. Jefferson wished the states to be sovereign because he equated them with popular freedom. So committed to state sovereignty was Jefferson that he endorsed the doctrine of nullification during the Alien and Sedition crisis of 1798.

Read rightly points out that each framer can only be understood in the context of the thinking of the others, and that their theories do not fall into simple antithetical categories. Rather, these men occupy different positions along a “Power” spectrum. At one extreme lies Hamilton, who cherished federal power and did not perceive it as a threat to liberty. At the other end of the spectrum rests Jefferson, who regarded every increase in federal power as an incursion against liberty. Between these two extremes stand Wilson and Madison, with the former a bit closer to Hamilton and the latter a bit closer to Jefferson. Read’s nuanced approach lays bare meaningful differences among the founders. Madison and Jefferson, for example, whose views are all too often lumped together, did not see eye to eye on the relationship between liberty and power. Most important among their differences, Jefferson accepted but Madison rejected the received wisdom of

the age, which held that increasing governmental power inevitably jeopardizes liberty. As far as Madison's opposition to Hamiltonianism in the 1790s is concerned, Read shows that the Virginian did not make an inconsistent retreat from his supposed 1780s nationalism, but adhered rather consistently to logical—if complex—constitutional scruples. Here Read reinforces the recent rehabilitation of Madison initiated by Drew R. McCoy's *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy* (1989) and especially Lance Banning's *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic* (1995).

Unfortunately, Read devotes no attention to the presidencies of either Madison or Jefferson, an examination that would be instructive in evaluating each man's theories. Jefferson in particular would make an interesting and perhaps ironic study. Jefferson's rise to the presidency, the most powerful office in a federal government whose "energy" Jefferson viewed as a threat to liberty, can be explained away easily enough: Jefferson's "Revolution of 1800" needed to overturn the Federalists' monarchical tendencies and restore proper principles of states rights and limited federal government. More difficult to explain (given Jefferson's philosophy as expounded by Read) is Jefferson's expansion of the powers of the presidency and thus of the federal government. After all, Jefferson is commonly regarded as one of our stronger presidents, one who, among other things, led Congress, purchased Louisiana, and enforced the embargo.

STUART LEIBIGER  
La Salle University

STUART LEIBIGER. *Founding Friendship: George Washington, James Madison, and the Creation of the American Republic*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1999. Pp. x, 284. \$35.00.

James Madison was nineteen years younger than George Washington, and though a crucial figure in the founding of the republic, he by no means matched the unique standing, at the time and ever since, of the victorious general of the American Revolution and the first president of the United States. Yet, for a period of six or seven years between 1785 and 1791, theirs was the most important friendship and public colleague-ship in fashioning and bringing into existence the new government under the Constitution, an association sometimes overlooked in the more open and eventually partisan affiliations of Washington and Alexander Hamilton on the one hand and Madison and Thomas Jefferson on the other. It is this crucial collaboration that Stuart Leibiger spells out in detail and gives its own focus in a way that has not previously been done. He much overestimates, though, the originality of his theme. At least since Irving Brant entitled a chapter on their close collaboration in 1789 ("Washington's Right-Hand Man," in *James Madison: Father of the Constitution, 1787-1800* [1950]), the close and effective

cooperation of Washington and Madison during the important formative years has been a staple of historical scholarship.

The book begins in rather pedestrian fashion, recounting something of the well-known early careers of the two men as they slowly encounter each other on the public stage. The unenlightening quality of this part of the book is heightened by what may be leftovers from its origin as a doctoral dissertation. The "survey of the literature" on Madison and Washington in the first chapter, though aware of important recent studies, still supposes it is necessary to overcome or correct clichés and distortions long since set aside. An unhelpful, social science gradation of the Washington-Madison friendship from "unfamiliar or peripheral" before 1781, to "noneffective" between 1781 and 1784, to "effective" in 1784-1785, and finally to "intimate" after 1785 (p. 54) attempts too much precision when a paragraph or two, in clear, vigorous prose, would have better served the purpose. It is equally unhelpful to be told that it was all right for Washington, as the friendship deepened, to close his letters to Madison with "affectionately," because "in the eighteenth century male friends could express their intimacy in such fashion because fear of being accused of homosexuality had not yet established itself in American masculine culture" (p. 53). Simple narration and thoughtful evaluation, without social science pretension or jargon, would be preferable.

The next chapters, on the major friendship between the two men as they saw the need for a strengthened national government, took part in the Federal Convention of 1787, worked for ratification of the Constitution, and then were president and virtual prime minister in inaugurating the new government, are fully and carefully told, though even here there is very little that is not well known to historians. Many telling quotes from each man guide the discussion. Washington declared during the ratification contest that "we exhibit at present the novel and astonishing spectacle of a whole People deliberating calmly on what form of government will be most conducive to their happiness" (p. 83), revealing his own deep understanding of the civic republican ethos he shared with Madison. Leibiger correctly emphasizes, as other recent scholars have done, that Washington was no mere "front man" dependent on the ideas and words of others in public life; he was both articulate and entirely earnest in his vision of the republican nature and destiny of the new nation.

The last chapters, showing the slow political and finally personal separation of the two men during the 1790s, is also carefully done, especially the last three or four chapters when policy and political differences led to nearly complete estrangement. Leibiger shows that even amid differences over Hamilton's financial plans, and especially over reaction to the war between France and Great Britain, the president tried to maintain good relations with the congressman, and Madison retained his deep respect for Washington. Interest-

ingly, though, the final, personal break occurred in 1796 when, in a dispute over the power of Congress to seek executive branch papers related to Jay's Treaty, the president thought Congressman Madison had accused him of usurping power. This, Washington believed, was unfair, distorting, and even disloyal, something the embattled chief executive could not forgive. "Never again did he ask Madison's advice or invite him to family dinners" (p. 209), the author notes, nor did Madison ever again visit Mount Vernon.

The respect and affection so strongly developed and so important to the nation's founding between 1785 and 1791, though, probably never disappeared, deep down, for either man. The public commitment they shared to establish a constitutional republic, and the personal pleasure of their work together, were fixtures for each man, pushed aside by hard feelings during principled political dispute but likely never banished or forgotten. One suspects that their relationship was similar to that of Jefferson and John Adams: a deep sense of concerted commitment to and labor in a common cause, interrupted by honest differences over strategies and tactics of self-government, but a powerful, final perception of underlying agreement and shared effort. Had Washington and Madison lived for nearly two decades after the end of their public labors, as Adams and Jefferson did, they, too, might have had a warm and patriotic reconciliation. It is probably too much to claim, as Leibiger does, that "the Washington-Madison collaboration [was] the greatest partnership of the American founding" (surely over the long run that accolade goes to Jefferson and Madison, whose "half a century" quest for "the blessings of self-government" with "harmony of our political principles and pursuits" [Jefferson to Madison, February 17, 1826] was the most sustained, profound, and efficacious in American history), but he does provide us with a full, start-to-finish view of a momentous collaboration and friendship important to the founding.

RALPH KETCHUM  
Syracuse University

GARY ROSEN. *American Compact: James Madison and the Problem of Founding*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xii, 237. \$29.95.

Thirty years ago, the works of Bernard Bailyn, Gordon S. Wood, and the "Ideological" school of historians dominated our understanding of America's revolutionary period. So hegemonic was their historiographical synthesis that historians essentially abandoned writing on the political thought of the founding generation, as if all that had to be said had been.

Some historians might be surprised to learn, then, that we are in the middle of a historiographical revolution that is reinvigorating our knowledge of the founding period. This new scholarly synthesis was launched by Ralph Lerner's withering assault on the methodology of the "ideological" school in *The Think-*

*ing Revolutionary: Principle and Practice in the New Republic* (1987) and was reinforced by Michael P. Zuckert's systematic deconstruction of the "republican" interpretation of the founding in his *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism* (1994).

Following in their footsteps, a younger generation of historians and political theorists has begun a systematic rethinking of the founding period. New books on the political thought of Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, James Wilson, and John Adams have dramatically reconstituted the historiography of the founding period. Gary Rosen's book is an important contribution to this growing body of literature. Rosen's purpose "is to rehabilitate Madison as a constitutional thinker and a statesman" (p. 12). To that end, Rosen studies Madison's thought from the inside out—he examines the philosophical context of Madison's thinking and the ways in which the Virginian thought through the constitutional and political problems of his day. Rosen's Madison is self-consciously a philosophical statesman.

Rosen's unique contribution to Madison scholarship is to identify what he considers the efficient cause of Madison's entire system of thought: the idea of a social compact. Philosophically, Rosen's Madison was essentially a student of Thomas Hobbes's and John Locke's accounts of human nature, natural rights, and social compact theory. But, according to Rosen, Madison modified, indeed, improved upon that tradition by more fully attending to the requirements of political organization. Ironically, the Hobbesian-Lockean account of the social compact and political right was radically egalitarian: necessity, and necessity alone, drives Hobbesian man straight into civil and political society. Madison, by contrast, elevated popular consent to include choice and deliberation about political forms (something neglected by Hobbes and Locke), but he also recognized that the people were incapable of constitutional design and construction.

Madison's solution—though not original with him—was the constitutional convention. The idea of such a convention was simultaneously to ground a constitution on the consent of the people while lifting it above their immediate passions and prejudices. Madison thought it necessary that the act of constitution making be granted to the "most enlightened and influential patriots."

But how should such men deliberate about constitutional design? The two central chapters of Rosen's book, "The Paradox of Liberal Prudence" and "The Federal Convention as Founder," offer an illuminating discussion of the modes of reasoning used by Madison and his fellow constitution makers as they designed a national constitution. Recognizing the limitations of modern social compact theory to establish just and enduring constitutions, Rosen's Madison rejected Hobbes's utilitarian understanding of prudence for a kind of Aristotelian prudence that would elevate and ennoble the act of political right. In this way, founders such as Madison and Adams reconciled modern natu-

ral rights theory with ancient modes of constitution making. One wonders, though, whether the spirit of moderation invoked by Madison owed more to Montesquieu than it did to Aristotle.

Eschewing the various attempts to fit Madison into the tiresome historiographical categories used by historians to explain the founding period—liberal/republican, court/country, nationalist/states' rights—Rosen makes a powerful case that Madison was first and foremost a constitutionalist. By viewing Madison in this way, Rosen is able to situate Madison squarely between Hamilton and Jefferson. Madison rejected Jefferson's democratic devotion to perpetual change in political forms as inadequately attentive to the fragility of founding and overly hopeful that the people were capable founders. Likewise, he rejected Hamilton's aristocratic disdain for constitutional limits and his equally wishful suggestion that an elite few could maintain the integrity of the constitution over an extended period of time. "Madison's response," according to Rosen, "was to elevate the Constitution itself, to encourage a sort of constitutional veneration—a liberal counterpart to Aristotle's notion of 'true opinion'—that would firmly anchor the regime while respecting the people's ultimate right to challenge it" (p. 8).

This book is powerfully argued, elegantly written, and it represents an important contribution to the current renaissance in founding studies. For the serious student of Madison's political thought, it is the place to start.

C. BRADLEY THOMPSON  
Ashland University

GILMAN M. OSTRANDER. *Republic of Letters: The American Intellectual Community, 1776–1865*. Madison, Wis.: Madison House. 1999. Pp. xvi, 379. \$35.95.

This posthumously published work by the intellectual historian Gilman M. Ostrander provides a readable survey of the development of intellectual elites in America between the revolutionary era and the Civil War. Providing both anecdotal and statistical evidence for the rise of literary and intellectual institutions—and the numerous figures who both shaped and were shaped by them—Ostrander surveys the growth of American colleges, which trained students "for membership in an immortal Republic of Letters that encompassed men of learning in all civilized societies" (p. 13). The book then covers the rise of belletristic writing and the growth of cultural institutions (e.g., publishing houses, newspapers, journals, social and literary associations like Joseph Dennie's Tuesday Club or Boston's elitist Saturday Club, collegiate societies, academic networks, and political groups) in Philadelphia, New York City, "Brahmin" Boston, and the South. Indeed, the book's provincial structure reflects Ostrander's sense that by the mid-nineteenth century, America was culturally a "parochial confederation" (p. 44) united only by the liberal arts college.

Ostrander renders each of America's urban centers of higher learning and cultural production their distinctive characteristics. Because of its Quaker heritage, for example, Philadelphia's physicians and "farmer-artisan intellectuals" (p. 53) wielded greater social and intellectual influence than in other cities. Literary society in "Knickerbocker" New York comparatively provided greater occasion for "mixed intellectual company" (p. 142) of men and women as well as the first self-consciously artistic group of "bohemians." Though increasingly isolated, Boston nevertheless "exercised its intellectual hegemony in the Republic" by forming transplanted intellectual enclaves in both the South and the West. In the South, traditionally gentlemanly codes of conduct at first inhibited men of letters to publish work, though urban centers like Baltimore and Charleston eventually engendered their own productive literary institutions.

To his credit, however, Ostrander generally avoids representing these provincial areas as monoliths. He articulates the cross-regional friendships and exchanges among these areas (which led, for example, to William Gilmore Simms's disastrous speaking tour in the North in 1856). Even more importantly, he shows how and why social, sectarian, ideological, and political differences permeated—and fractured—virtually all of these local cultural institutions. Medical schisms in Philadelphia (involving the American Philosophical Society), Unitarian-Calvinist opposition in Boston, internecine wars for control of Harvard's curriculum, and the Whig-Democratic newspaper wars in New York City (involving such figures as Horace Greeley and William Cullen Bryant) richly characterize this era of cultural development. The book, moreover, presciently incorporates important transatlantic connections: Lord Kames's influence on the poetry of the Connecticut Wits, the American emulation of the British periodical press, the influx of French immigrants contributing to Philadelphia's cosmopolitan life, and the widespread influence of Scottish moral philosophy on American learning. All of this is not exactly "new" but important nonetheless.

This book is much more a historical overview than a conceptual analysis. Indeed, one of its major weaknesses is the failure to theorize a "republic of letters," or, particularly, the cultural significance of the transition from "letters" to "literature" that occurred during this era. Another flaw is the critical boundaries Ostrander inscribes across the republic. Whereas his discussion of literary and cultural antislavery, for example, covers *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), Garrisonian abolitionists, and the Grimké sisters, among many others, he never really considers how figures like Frederick Douglass, the genre of the slave narrative, and black antislavery media like Douglass's newspaper the *North Star* figure in the landscape of the national public sphere. Yet readers will likely find this book a learned and lively survey of American cultural history, both admirably expansive and eminently readable, its bits of anecdotal intelligence (such as John Quincy



Adams's journal entries about painful dinners with Thomas Jefferson) downright titillating. If not really a scholarly analysis unified by a central set of arguments, the book nevertheless provides a worthwhile summary of the makers and the making of the elite intellectual community.

PHILIP GOULD  
Brown University

PHILIP F. GURA and JAMES F. BOLLMAN. *America's Instrument: The Banjo in the Nineteenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 303. \$45.00.

The remarkable transformation of the banjo in nineteenth-century America is handsomely documented in this book, the combined effort of a cultural historian and a renowned collector. At the beginning of the century, the banjo was entirely an instrument of the African American, made of a hollowed-out gourd, a skinhead covering a hole sliced from the side of the gourd, and a fretless neck attached. Adopted by black-face entertainers, the banjo was quickly transformed to meet the demands of stage performance; professional performers needed a more durable, louder, and dependable instrument. By the end of the century, banjo makers had completely redesigned the simple gourd instrument into a technological wonder of wood and metal. The repertory and accepted venues of the instrument had been remade as well. Although the minstrel banjo still held its own, by 1890 the banjo had found a place in the Victorian parlor, the ubiquitous University Banjo Clubs, and on the stage playing light classical music and popular tunes of the day. The true focus of this book however, is on the technical development, manufacturing processes, and the marketing and overall commercialization of the banjo. Some attention is given to the actual music—technique and repertory—but it is cursory.

Philip F. Gura, who wrote most of the text of the book, has produced a clear and extremely detailed account of the banjo in nineteenth-century America providing a larger cultural and historical context. James F. Bollman, contributed two things. First, Bollman contributed the sort of detailed knowledge of a subject that life-long collectors often have. And, second, there is his fabulous collection, which includes banjos and all manner of banjo-related publications, pictorial material, and banjo ephemera. The reader is treated to a feast of illustrations, items from Bollman's collection as well as other private collections. There are eighty color pages of illustrations, and many more in black and white embedded in the text. The illustrations are well chosen and varied. There are mid-nineteenth-century ambrotypes and daguerreotypes of banjoists, photographs and woodcuts showing the workrooms of banjo factories, advertising and patent reproductions, color photographs of extant instruments, and more.

The second half of the book is heavy on technical

details of banjo construction, patents, and histories of manufacturers. For some, this may be a fault, but for anyone interested specifically in the banjo it will be a strength. This is not to say that this is a book intended for banjo enthusiasts (though they will surely love it). Any cultural historian of nineteenth-century America should find engaging this detailed case study of the transformation of a folk artifact into a popular culture commodity. Likewise of interest to historians of American business, advertising, and manufacturing are the descriptions of changing manufacturing processes and the recounting of the enthusiastic advertising campaigns to elevate the banjo from its lowly beginnings to a "higher class" of music and people.

KAREN LINN  
Library of Congress

WAYNE M. O'LEARY. *Maine Sea Fisheries: The Rise and Fall of a Native Industry, 1830–1890*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 391. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

Whether one is interested in the differences between cod and mackerel, the risks and rewards of fishing, the effects of government assistance, the changing food tastes of the general population, the high cost and unforeseen consequences of technological innovation, the influence of geography on an industry, or the lives of fishermen and merchants, Wayne M. O'Leary has written a must-read book. It is a reminder of how satisfying well researched and written history can be.

Dried and pickled cod provided the rapidly growing urban population of mid-nineteenth-century America with a cheap source of protein and enabled a hitherto regional activity to gain a foothold into the national economy. How fragile and short-lived this connection proved to be is the focus of O'Leary's work. Cost inflation of the Civil War years and the end of a state fishing bounty combined to eliminate most small operators scattered along the Maine coast and concentrate the industry in the hands of large merchant firms located in a few ports. Consolidation was further encouraged by revolutionary changes (dories and trawls and purse seines) that allowed more fish to be caught in less time but at a significantly higher cost.

Some Maine fishermen tried to remain competitive with the older methods and failed, while others adopted the new technology but lost to the larger and better financed fleets of Massachusetts. Whatever the new technology may have done to reduce labor costs, operators found themselves paying much more to repair or replace their expensive equipment. And, for all their efforts to overcome various obstacles, fishermen encountered an insurmountable one in the growing popularity of meat. Even the crews of fishing boats wanted rations of meat instead of freshly caught fish. Finally, the Maine fishing industry was the victim of a new and cheaper competitor, Canada, whose government gave much support to its fishermen.

The author's skill and knowledge are best demon-



strated in "The Hard and Dangerous Life," a chapter on the fisherman's struggle to work at sea and support a family ashore. Not only does O'Leary give the reader an unforgettable picture of a hazardous occupation (more Boothbay men died at sea fishing than in Civil War battles), but he describes the hardships of fatherless families. Maine fishing families faced disaster alone, without the vital assistance provided by marine benevolent societies in Massachusetts. Between more attractive working conditions in Massachusetts, the dangers of life at sea, and the young men seeking employment outside of New England, it is not surprising that the number of Maine fishermen declined in the late nineteenth century.

O'Leary has used an impressive variety of sources including local and regional studies, family papers, and the shipping news from newspapers. The book's excellent photographs and captions demonstrate the author's mastery of the details of the fishing industry. Likewise, the appendixes provide more than enough numbers to satisfy those of us who actually read such lists. It is significant that several nineteenth-century government reports are among his most useful sources. Deep sea fishing attracted relatively little attention back in its heyday and only now is beginning to get the coverage it deserves. After all, while deep sea fishing employed more people than whaling, it lacked the latter's drama and had no Herman Melville to introduce generations of students to figurative service aboard ships. O'Leary's book goes a long way to redress this imbalance. It is, quite simply, one of the finest maritime histories written in the last several generations. Beside its value as maritime history, the book provides an outstanding example of the effects of technological change on an industry. The challenges facing American business today are the same problems faced by Maine fishermen and merchants at the end of the nineteenth century. Thus, O'Leary has written a study that will be of value to those who teach survey courses as well as to specialists.

JOSEPH GOLDENBURG  
Virginia State University

JOHN W. QUIST, *Restless Visionaries: The Social Roots of Antebellum Reform in Alabama and Michigan*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. Pp. xi, 562. \$57.50.

In exhaustive detail, John W. Quist examines two counties—Washtenaw, Michigan and Tuscaloosa, Alabama—and finds that residents in both places responded positively to the reform impulse of the antebellum era. As Quist notes, most studies of antebellum reform have focused on individuals who resided in the urban Northeast. The counties that Quist has selected for study were not devoid of urban development. Tuscaloosa in Tuscaloosa County and Ann Arbor in Washtenaw County became local centers of commerce and homes to the University of Alabama in 1831 and the University of Michigan in 1837. But both counties

were removed from the cities of their region, Mobile and Detroit, and that fact permits Quist to focus on "the villages and countryside" (p. 4). With this new focus, Quist intends to test the thesis, advanced by many scholars over the last generation, that the cotton boom and the consequent expansion of slavery made the South an increasingly distinctive region antagonistic toward the free labor economy of the North.

Americans settled both counties during the 1820s. Most of the settlers in Washtenaw County arrived from upstate New York, and, not surprisingly, almost all of them were white. Moreover, the largest group of settlers in Washtenaw identified with the two Protestant denominations—Presbyterian and Congregationalist—that had formed a Plan of Union early in the century to promote the religious traditions of New England in western New York and in the Old Northwest. The whites and blacks who settled Tuscaloosa County came from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee. Among the whites, Baptists and Methodists predominated. Located north of Alabama's black belt, large plantations did not shape the Tuscaloosa economy. Nevertheless, the county's slave population rose steadily from twenty-eight percent of the total population in 1820 to nearly forty-four percent in 1860. More than a quarter of the white households owned slaves.

Did slavery make Tuscaloosa distinct from Washtenaw? In the first wave of organized benevolence, Quist finds many similarities. Bible societies, missionary societies, and Sunday school unions all promoted Protestant religion. Temperance societies attacked the evils of strong drink. In both counties, opposition to organized benevolence quickly faded, although in Tuscaloosa, Antimission Baptists, in isolated pockets, resisted the national reform movements as threats to their congregational independence. In Washtenaw and Tuscaloosa, most evangelical Protestants sought moral perfection as champions of material progress. "In both counties," writes Quist, reformers "found the emerging market economy compatible with their way of thinking" (p. 302). In Tuscaloosa, even slave traders became active in benevolent reform.

As the benevolent slave traders illustrate, however, Tuscaloosa reformers also found slavery compatible with their way of thinking. Arthur Hopkins, once the Huntsville law partner of James G. Birney (before Birney moved to Ohio as an abolitionist and Hopkins became a leading reformer in Tuscaloosa), led the state's Whig Party. He also served as the founding president of the Alabama Colonization Society. A solid temperance man, Hopkins took a leading role as well in the Alabama Bible Society and the Alabama State Sabbath Convention. Hopkins, however, owned slaves, and unlike his former law partner he opposed emancipation for reasons that seemed to him to be consistent with his Christian faith. As Hopkins explained to Birney in 1834, without the restraints of slavery blacks would become "miserable vagabonds & hapless paupers" (p. 321).

In 1835, the controversy over abolitionist use of the mails caused reformers in Tuscaloosa and Washtenaw counties to follow diverging paths of development. Leading citizens in Tuscaloosa formed a vigilance committee to insure that abolitionist literature did not enter their community through the mail. At least fourteen of the fifty-four men on the committee had been active reformers. Institutional divisions along sectional lines in the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominations accelerated the growing alienation between northern and southern reformers. In 1851, Alabama reformers formally broke their long-standing association with the American Colonization Society. The new Alabama State Colonization Society made its proslavery goal explicit. It would "promote the emigration of free colored persons from the State of Alabama to Africa" (p. 334).

In Washtenaw County, and across the North, conservative reformers criticized abolitionists because they divided reformers and disrupted reform organizations. But conservative reformers in the North agreed with the abolitionists on one fundamental point: moral and material progress eventually required emancipation. As Quist demonstrates, the social roots of antebellum reform were similar in Tuscaloosa and Washtenaw Counties, but the outcomes were vastly different. Tuscaloosa's reformers embraced the market revolution in pursuit of a slaveholder's millennium.

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THOMAS BROWN. *Dorothea Dix: New England Reformer*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 127.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 422. \$35.00.

Thomas J. Brown's biography of Dorothea Dix is a revealing portrait of the iconoclastic reformer who in promoting herself and her program to transform the care of the mentally ill became one of the best-known women in nineteenth-century America. Brown has produced a readable, well-researched biography that follows Dix's life in a straightforward manner, offering valuable insights into a person who by her early twenties was bent on carving out a public career and leading life as a woman alone.

The product of a middle-class Boston upbringing but alienated from her own family, Dix charted a pattern—repeated throughout her life—of finding surrogate families to fulfill her needs for nurturance and guidance. She made mentors of some of Boston's leading Unitarian intellectuals including William Ellery Channing, Horace Mann, and Samuel Gridley Howe. Although torn between a desire for a home life and an evident discomfort with familial duties, Dix allowed her personal bonds to languish as she sought work in boarding schools and almshouses and, at the age of forty, began a remarkable career campaigning throughout the country and the world on behalf of the "incurably insane."

Brown argues that, as the most powerful woman in mid-nineteenth-century America, Dix personified the tensions generated by a gender ideology that separated male and female spheres of influence. While aware that the ideology did not reflect the lives of real women, Brown's assertion that Dix's life was a struggle to "reconcile femininity and power" is somewhat unconvincing. Although Dix defended her activities by employing gendered rhetoric about female moral superiority, her tactics of insinuating herself into the highest echelons of Washington political circles and befriending sitting presidents set her apart from most female activists, including those who lobbied legislators. Further, as Brown makes clear, Dix delighted in her freedom from domestic concerns and in her ability to negotiate the world as an independent woman.

Sticking close to his sources and intentionally adopting Dix's own language about the parameters of mental illness, Brown understandably finds it difficult to position her in the context of antebellum reform. Dix's program of "moral education" for the insane was premised on a rigid notion of class-appropriate behavior with incentives based on gaining access to bourgeois amenities. Not only did Dix seek institutional changes on her own terms, she consistently personalized her triumphs, never acknowledging the extent to which her work formed part of a broader movement. In fact, as Brown informs us, campaigns for insane asylums proceeded in many states without her influence. Among the strengths of Brown's biography is his willingness to cast a cold eye on his subject. As a reformer, Dix held consistently conservative political beliefs. She expressed contempt for the poor, a strong nativism, and an overwhelming pessimism about human nature. She also condemned feminist demands for suffrage. Her single-minded focus on asylums distinguished her from antebellum radicals who embraced a plethora of causes and who charted the connections between religiously inspired social changes and the moral transformation of politics.

Brown devotes considerable space detailing the repeated—but ultimately failed—efforts by Dix and her supporters to gain passage of a land grant bill that would set aside territorial land for insane asylums. Brown does a good job of narrating how, as her legislative efforts became dwarfed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the escalating conflict over slavery, Dix remained politically naïve, unable to understand why congressmen insisted on assessing her demands in terms of the larger consequences of federal intervention in the territories. Remarkably, Dix refused to accept that Congress would not privilege her cause over that of slavery.

Indeed, it is Dix's pro-southern stance on slavery that makes her the most anomalous of northern reformers. Readers might be shocked to learn that Dix agreed with Justice Roger Taney's Supreme Court decision on *Dred Scott*, a fact that put her out of step not only with most reformers but with the majority of northerners by the late 1850s. Arguably, her failure to

appreciate the moral issues raised by slavery throws into question her professed humanitarianism.

The denouement of Brown's biography occurs during Dix's stint as the Superintendent of Women Nurses for the Union during the Civil War. Asserting that this was the "grandest public role for a woman" (p. 280), Brown goes on to describe the unraveling of Dix's carefully crafted position as a public icon. As result of her "iron will" and her inability to work with bureaucracies such as the Sanitary Commission, Dix lost credibility and became the target of extensive public criticism. The war devastated Dix both personally and professionally.

Although strong on narrative, Brown's biography would have benefited from a more rigorous analysis of the consequences of Dix's political views for her reform goals. Just as her dismissal of the conflict over slavery undermined her prewar legislative agenda, so Dix's opposition to feminism became her undoing in the changing political climate of postwar female activism.

JEANIE ATTIE  
Long Island University

BRET E. CARROLL. *Spiritualism in Antebellum America*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 227. \$35.00.

Spiritualism conjures up images of fake spirit-rapping, gloomy seances, and dramatic mediums. Bret E. Carroll does not deny that these may be a part of the story, but Carroll asks his readers to look more deeply into Spiritualism as a genuine religious ideology. The religion of Spiritualism, Carroll argues, emerged in the context of a "spiritual crisis" (p. 2) faced by people in the United States by the late 1840s. Spiritualists drew on the Swedenborgian legacy of contact with spirits but developed that legacy in ways that suited the culture of the antebellum United States. The result was the "Spiritualist Republicanism" of the title of the third chapter. Spiritualists shared the "come-outer" spirit of many of their contemporaries, rejecting existing churches as well as traditional clergy. They sought democratized access to the sacred. At the same time, however, they lived in what they understood to be a highly structured universe. Concentric spheres radiating outward from God through levels of spirits to the humans on the margins traced both boundaries and opportunities for Spiritualist seekers. They sought ways to order their religious rituals and their everyday experience so that they would be in concert with cosmic circles. Opportunities for contact with the spirit world were ordered within the structures of churches, the Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge, and the communitarian experiment at Mountain Cove, Virginia.

Carroll does not break out of the historiography of the last two or three decades in this book but rather gives his readers a new perspective on Spiritualism by working within existing historiographical frameworks.

His understanding of Spiritualist Republicanism owes a great deal to Nathan O. Hatch's *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989) as well as to historians who have concerned themselves with republicanism more broadly. He finds within Spiritualism the same fascination with Baconian science that George M. Marsden and Theodore Dwight Bozeman, among others, have located in a variety of religious movements of the nineteenth century. He seeks to take the religiousness of Spiritualism seriously in part by drawing from such scholars as Mary Farrell Bednarowski. He sees Spiritualists engaged in a "search for order" (p. 3) and caught in the shift "from boundlessness to consolidation" (p. 5).

To say that Carroll works within existing historiographical frameworks is not to denigrate his contribution, however. The freshness of his approach to Spiritualism becomes particularly apparent in contrast to the standard work on Spiritualism, R. Laurence Moore's *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture* (1977). Moore—Carroll's mentor at Cornell—emphasized experiences of spirit communication and the seance and deemphasized organizing impulses within the Spiritualist tradition. Carroll seeks to understand the larger ideology within which spirit communication became a meaningful religious experience and to recover efforts of Spiritualists to build institutions through which they could give form to their ideology and order to the potential chaos of spirit contact. Ann Braude (*Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* [1989]) shared Moore's emphasis on the individualistic, antistructural components of Spiritualism.

Nonetheless, for all of the Spiritualists who constructed a full religious ideology of Spiritualism, and for all of those who sought order and institutional expression of their religious understanding in Spiritualism, there were plenty of others who did not follow the path so nicely delineated by Carroll. As Carroll himself admits, a number of people really did just want to try out a seance or get in touch with a loved one. Although actress-become-medium Emma Hardinge contrasted the authentic Spiritualism of "steady faith and devoted adherence" to "mere Spiritists" (p. 126), historians need to see the two as part of a larger whole. In addition, Carroll's section on the Mountain Cove community is not entirely persuasive. If willingness to engage in a communitarian experiment is evidence of an impulse toward organization in a religious ideology, then even Transcendentalists were organizers. Perhaps the two Spiritualist communities should still be viewed as evidence, instead, of the strange propensity of people to be self-contradictory.

Carroll returns to the stories of Andrew Jackson Davis, Thomas Lake Harris, and John Murray Spear, of Millerites who became Spiritualists and Spiritualists who became Catholics, of the patriarchy of John Shoebridge Williams and the mediumship of Samantha Mettler, of those who contacted the spirits of Emanuel

Swedenborg, Benjamin Franklin, and Francis Bacon. Out of this mix he weaves a story that allows us to take Spiritualists seriously and to fill out our understanding of antebellum religious culture.

RUTH ALDEN DOAN  
Hollins University

MICHAEL F. HOLT. *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 1248. \$55.00.

Michael F. Holt's history of the Whig Party is the "Dixon H. Lewis" of history books. Like the 430-pound, antebellum Alabama senator, it can rarely be mentioned without first making reference to its size. Although it was finally published in 1250 densely packed pages, Holt reveals in his preface that skillful editors helped him pare 750 pages from the manuscript before going to press. In Holt's defense (and a book that imposes so heavily on a reader's short life needs defending), his fundamental view of how American politics works may have required the extended text and massive notes that made this book so long. First, Holt believes that the Whigs cannot be understood fully apart from their Democratic opponents, so he had to spend much of his time describing Jacksonian actions and beliefs. Second, he maintains that the parties must be understood as part of a federal system, so he had to treat state as well as national politics. Third, he argues that one cannot understand American politics simply as a history of presidential elections, so he also analyzed both legislative activity and electoral behavior at the congressional and state levels. Fourth, Holt thinks change over time is critical to historical understanding, so a full narrative of the second party system had to be written. And finally, Holt believes that we must understand the actors from their own perspective, so he was required to get inside the minds of his subjects. Many have called the result "magisterial." It is certainly that, but its length and detail also make it mind-numbingly tedious to all but the most dedicated scholar or fanatical political junkie.

It is impossible to summarize so massive and deeply researched a work in a short review, but a few generalizations will mark the outlines of Holt's complex argument. His Whigs were a party constantly in tension; the party always threatened to disintegrate because of centripetal forces that were present from its earliest days, though countervailing centrifugal forces allowed the party to cohere for more than two decades. Centripetal forces included factional strife within the party over leadership and patronage, nativism, temperance, and slavery. Whigs cohered, on the other hand, because they shared an ideological core built around beliefs in social order, Unionism, activist domestic governance, a non-aggressive foreign policy, and opposition to executive tyranny. Although executive tyranny brought them together in opposition to Jackson in 1834, they took on their definitive characteristics in

the years after the Panic of 1837 when economic issues came to the fore. They reached their apogee as a party in 1844, then went into a long decline that resulted in their death by 1856. During these latter years Whigs failed to emphasize the core issues that differentiated them from their Democratic opposition, at least partly because some of these issues had lost their salience due to changes wrought by time, their opponents, the Mexican War, and the discovery of gold in California. Whig failure to emphasize the issues that united the party allowed the party's internal divisions gradually to destroy its ability to compete for electoral majorities. Because Holt is less interested in the rise of the Whig Party than he is in the reasons for its demise, he devotes more than three quarters of his book to the years after 1844.

Holt's work is studded throughout with important arguments and insights. He demonstrates that the 1840 election was about real issues and was not the meaningless, hoopla-filled celebration that many historians still maintain it was. He shows that the 1844 election turned on the influx of new voters into the Democratic Party. He maintains that 1848 was not just about nominating a military hero to avoid the issues. In particular, Holt has many new things to say about the Compromise of 1850: he demonstrates that President Zachary Taylor's patronage decisions had much to do with dividing the party; he argues that Henry Clay's original plan for the compromise differed in essentials from the one that was eventually adopted; and he claims that William Seward's decision to oppose the compromise stemmed not from conscience but from considerations about New York state politics. Readers will probably find his reading of slavery and the Civil War the most controversial part of the book. Holt adopts a position closely akin to the "Blundering Generation" thesis, blaming the Whigs for allowing Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans to bring on a needless war.

Although it may seem strange to assert that so massive a book is incomplete, Holt leaves a great deal out of his account. This is not so much a book about politics as it is a book about politicians. Holt looked at a prodigious number of primary sources, but the real foundation of his work is the correspondence of politicians and party activists with each other. Holt spends remarkably little time describing voters or trying to explain their actions. Nor is he much interested in how politicians communicate with voters. There is precious little in his book about the political oratory of the second party system. Holt admits that voters do count, and he makes a remarkable effort to count them. He admits that their desires set boundaries within which the politicians work. But why do voters adopt their political identities? Why do they respond to some issues and leaders and not to others? Why do their beliefs cluster into coherent systems as they do? These are not interesting questions to Holt, and he gives them little attention. To Holt, the history of parties and politics is the story of how politicians work within



the "givens" of voter attitudes and beliefs to fashion political machines capable of winning elections and legislating policies. These are certainly important matters, matters that have often been overlooked or ignored by recent trends in historiography, but they do not constitute the whole of American political history. The farther one reads in Holt's work, the more America and the American people seem to recede from view.

Holt's history of the Whigs, the fruit of many long hard years of research and writing, is an important work. But it is also self-indulgent. It raises real questions for historians, editors, and publishers about how history should be communicated to the profession and the public. The form of this work will limit its impact. Some of us may wish that a more comprehensive history of the Whig party will one day be written, but no one should ever wish for a longer one.

LAWRENCE FREDERICK KOHL  
*University of Alabama*

PAUL GOODMAN. *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 303. \$35.00.

In an article she wrote for the *Journal of Negro History* (1964), historian Betty Fladeland posed the question: "Who were the Abolitionists?" Nearly thirty years later, historians still strive to understand this fascinating and diverse group of women and men who committed themselves to the movement for racial equality and the end of slavery. In this book, Paul Goodman explores the factors that motivated some white abolitionists to reject the colonization movement during the early nineteenth-century in favor of the more radical and explicitly antiracist immediatist abolition movement.

Grounded in his expertise in nineteenth-century U.S. religious history, Goodman links the evangelical dimension of the development of the immediatist antislavery agenda and the changing economic face of the United States. The basic problem the author addresses is the emphasis historians have placed on the evangelical Christian roots of abolitionism. Although evangelicals promoted the immediate eradication of sin, Goodman finds that not all evangelical Christians supported the antiracist agenda of these abolitionists or their critique of market capitalism. In fact, the mainstream Protestant denominations clung to colonization as the safest, least controversial way to end slavery in the United States. The colonization movement had advocated the gradual deportation of free blacks to Africa and was founded on the idea that blacks and whites could never live harmoniously in the United States. Abolitionism, by contrast, pushed for both ending the slave institution and race prejudice, which immediatists insisted lay at the root of slavery.

The greatest strength of this study is that the author provides a wider theoretical and methodological

framework with which to understand the moral foundations of abolitionist sentiment. Social and economic circumstances facilitated the transformation of former supporters of colonization, like William Lloyd Garrison, to immediate abolitionism. Goodman underscores the influence of black abolitionists on conversion of their white colleagues. Interracial cooperation convinced many white antislavery proponents of the racist underpinnings of the colonization movement and of U.S. society at large.

The emerging market revolution was an important force that provided the context for the creation of a broad-based movement that included a larger proportion of men from the "laboring classes" than previously thought as well as more prosperous northern free blacks and whites. Wealthy men from the north, Goodman contends, tended to identify with southern white slaveholders in their opposition to the radical abolitionist agenda. According to immediatists, slavery served as the ultimate symbol of a system of oppression by an aristocratic class that promoted white indolence and self-indulgence in material luxuries that market capitalism had produced.

The weakest part of the book is the section on women abolitionists. Although the author devotes a chapter of the book to women abolitionists as a necessary part of the story of the abolitionist movement, there is little that is new here. The author relies primarily on the classic texts on women abolitionists that were published in the late 1970s and 1980s. As a result, the participation of women in the abolitionist rank and file is not as fully developed as the analysis of white abolitionist men.

Published five years after his death in October 1995, Goodman's book is a valuable study that helps explain how the concept of racial equality became an integral part of radical abolitionism and the consequent divisions that took place among white evangelicals. By laying out a broader socioeconomic and religious context for understanding the abolitionist movement and the abolitionists themselves, Goodman illuminates the fact that this "radical" movement was intimately connected to larger religious and economic forces occurring in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century.

SHIRLEY J. YEE  
*University of Washington*

CHARLES C. BOLTON and SCOTT P. CULCLASURE, editors. *The Confessions of Edward Isham: A Poor White Life of the Old South*. Foreword by J. WILLIAM HARRIS. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1998. Pp. xxii, 192. \$18.00.

In this collection, editors Charles C. Bolton and Scott P. Culclasure have provided students of nineteenth-century America with a provocative if admittedly atypical glimpse into the often obscure world of the very poorest whites of the Old South. Centered around a rare first-person account of the life of a common



laborer in the antebellum South (in the form of the brief autobiography that Edward Isham dictated to his attorney as he awaited trial for murder in 1860), this book also contains a valuable introduction and six thoughtful essays written by scholars specializing in the study of the Old South's plain folk.

Isham, the subject of the autobiography and the central figure in the accompanying essays, was a transient white laborer who spent most of his thirty-two years drinking, gambling, womanizing, and fighting. Born in Georgia's upper Piedmont, Isham roamed about the antebellum South, and especially its hill-country region, working as a ditch and well digger, a gold miner, a farm laborer, and a rail splitter. Isham claimed three wives (but no formal divorces), as well as *countless mistresses and other temporary sexual partners*, and he left behind a string of "fatherless" children for whom he apparently felt neither emotional attachment nor financial responsibility. Isham's disdain for steady work and his fondness for drinking, gambling, and womanizing provided him ample opportunity to engage in his favorite pastime: fighting. Isham's involvement in over sixty fights, and his general, but hardly unblemished, record of success therein, affirmed his self-conception of "manliness" but left the communities he passed through convinced Isham was at best a troublesome rogue and at worst a dangerous thug. In fact, Isham lived a good portion of his adulthood on the lam from criminal charges growing out of his penchant for assault. Isham's life of senseless violence came to an end only when he was executed by the state of North Carolina for the murder of James Cornelius, a prosperous yeoman farmer in Catawba County, where Isham worked as a "ditcher" for several months before stabbing Cornelius in a dispute over wages.

Identifying the reality of Isham's life as the material from which legends of "poor white trash" are made, J. William Harris's thoughtful introduction cautions readers not to view Isham as typical of the antebellum South's poor whites. Authors of the volume's other essays (Bolton, Culclasure, David Kleit, Victoria E. Bynum, and Joseph P. Reidy) generally portray Isham as the product of a society that demeaned all dependent labor and perhaps cared even less about the well being of poor white laborers than it did about slaves. Arguably the most probing of the essays is Bynum's examination of the place of women in Isham's rugged world. Possessing blond hair, blue eyes, a fair complexion, and a muscular body, Isham had little trouble attracting women, most of whom he treated poorly. Recognizing a disregard for women as a persistent theme of Isham's autobiography, Bynum reasons that it is difficult to imagine a life as senselessly violent as Isham's that did not also involve the physical abuse of women (a subject on which Isham's autobiography is silent) as well the repetitive pattern of adultery, neglect, and abandonment (which Isham's own account readily admits). Bynum concludes that Isham's life

reveals much about female vulnerability and male abuse of power in the patriarchal Old South.

As a common laborer, Isham exhibited as much "independence" in his own way as any yeoman freeholder, but Isham's sense of independence manifested itself as a negative freedom, a freedom from work, a freedom from moral sanction, a freedom from responsibility, rather than a guarantee of virtuous citizenship. Moreover, contrary to the prevailing antebellum southern (and American) pattern, Isham's self-definition of manhood and freedom had little to do with race or "whiteness." He regularly drank and gambled with both slaves and free blacks, he enjoyed sexual involvement with a young free black woman, he triggered public disorder when he escorted his free black consort to a local "grocery," and he once worked as a day laborer for a free black landowner in Tennessee.

In sum, Isham's autobiography and the essays that place it in context provide a window into the world of antebellum poor whites, laborers who lived lives of transiency and economic insecurity and sometimes fraternized across racial lines. The vision is one of free laborers marginalized economically by slavery and ideologically by a proslavery argument that maintained that slavery prevented the emergence of a dependent white working class in slaveholding areas. Isham's life, and the lives of his associates, belied the claim.

LACY K. FORD, JR.

*University of South Carolina*

HOWARD JONES. *Abraham Lincoln and a New Birth of Freedom: The Union and Slavery in the Diplomacy of the Civil War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 236. \$29.95.

No matter what position Abraham Lincoln took on the slavery issue prior to January 1863, it failed to dissuade the European powers from considering mediation between the North and South and/or recognition of the Confederacy. In the early months when Lincoln declared that saving the Union and not interfering with slavery was the primary objective of the war, the powers regarded the struggle as a fight for southern self-determination. They seemed unaware of Lincoln's need to tread carefully on the slavery issue in order to retain support in the border states and in the North. While England and France had both championed antislavery causes in the past, their fear of a cotton famine and its effect on their economies caused them to overlook the fact that support of the South might lead to the perpetuation of human bondage there. When Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862, the powers did not regard his action as a genuine abolition effort. Rather, it seemed an attempt to incite servile insurrection in the South and bring about the collapse of the Confederacy from within. English and French officials both charged Lincoln with resorting to racial warfare because Union armies were incapable of achieving victory on the battlefield. Only in the months following

the issuance of the final proclamation, when racial violence failed to break out, did England begin to regard the war's objective as emancipation. The country's long-standing efforts against slavery, plus Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, caused British officials to drop any consideration of mediation. The same was not true of France, however. While Napoleon III had concerns about the lack of cotton, his long-range objective was a permanent division of the United States in order to realize his plans for the Americas: a series of strong Latin American monarchies under French sponsorship to stand as a bulwark against Anglo expansion into the Caribbean, and the possibility of enlarging Mexico by regaining control of Texas and California.

Readers who know Howard Jones's previous work, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* (1992), will find much in this book that is familiar. However, Jones does expand this study in several ways. Whereas his earlier monograph focused on British attitudes toward the American crisis, this one gives more detail about Napoleon III's diplomatic intrigues. Although his foreign office did not always agree with him, the emperor continued to discuss mediation or intervention with John Slidell, Confederate emissary to France, and pro-Confederate sympathizers in Britain well into 1863. And whereas Jones's previous book concluded in 1862, with the British rejection of a joint French/British mediation offer, this one continues the story until November 1863, when Napoleon III finally conceded that any unfriendly act toward the Union could lead to a war that "would spell disaster to the interests of France and would have no possible object" (p. 183).

Jones's assessments of British diplomatic personnel are more critical than in his earlier study. He finds little to praise in the position of the British Foreign Office or in the diplomatic mission in Washington. The one exception is Lord Lyons, British minister to the United States. Although Jones does not discuss Lyons's attitude fully, he notes Lyons's unique stand in 1862 when he alone among high-ranking British diplomatic personnel in Washington argued against accepting a joint mediation offer with France. But Jones criticizes William Stuart, British chargé in Washington, for his lack of perception about the war and his support for mediation and even recognition of the Confederacy. Indeed, Stuart appears unable to dissociate himself from the schemes of Henri Mercier, French minister to the United States, whose pro-Confederate sympathies were pronounced.

Although this book is not as detailed as other past studies of British and French diplomacy regarding the American Civil War, it will be welcomed as a concise and readable treatment of the subject.

EUGENE H. BERWANGER  
Fort Collins, Colorado

DANIEL E. SUTHERLAND, editor. *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence on the Confederate Home Front*. Fayette-

ville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999. Pp. viii, 250. \$32.00.

It has been decades since anyone has published a comprehensive study of dissent in the South during the Civil War. Many good works have been produced on different aspects of disaffection within the Confederate States of America, but a thorough modern study of the phenomenon in all its many aspects is desperately needed. Collections of essays such as this volume provide good material for any scholar bold enough to attempt such a task, but the shortcomings evident in this publication also indicate how challenging an exhaustive undertaking would truly be.

As the editor of this work, Daniel E. Sutherland offers a diverse group of community and regional studies that address some nagging questions concerning Unionism. A troublesome strain of dissent that plagued the Confederacy in almost every one of its states, Unionism remains difficult to define and even harder to explain in any terms that can be applied universally throughout the embattled South. Sutherland freely admits in his substantial introduction that his authors "offer no definitive answers . . . but they do nudge us closer to some reasonable conclusions." At the same time, "they sometimes raise new questions" (p. 15), many of which unfortunately still remain unanswered.

The community studies included in this volume contain perhaps the most intriguing information on Unionism within the Confederacy. Victoria E. Bynum provides convincing evidence that those who lived in Jones County, Mississippi, were actually pro-Union, not just anti-Confederacy. Their resistance led to a substantial diversion of Confederate military resources in an effort to quash them. Jonathan D. Sarris discusses how reactions to disaffection became more severe in Dahlonega, Georgia, as the Confederacy's fortunes waned. This he attributes to a concern for "law, order and stability" (p. 32) that ironically prompted a shift in focus away from legal propriety to extralegal efficacy. The strength of Lesley J. Gordon's contribution on the hanging of Unionist deserters in Kinston, North Carolina, lies in her use of pension files to assess the impact of that event on families and other associates. Sutherland contributes his own interesting analysis of Unionists in Culpepper County, Virginia, arguing that economic status alone cannot be reliably used as a predictor of Unionism in the borderland South.

The regional studies found in this collection vary greatly in their utility and scope. Jon L. Wakelyn concludes from his survey of pamphlets in wartime Virginia that Unionist leaders employed violent imagery to muster popular support for their cause. Noel C. Fisher more effectively details the historical roots of unionism in East Tennessee, analyzes the persistence of Unionists during the Civil War, and explains their failure to become a more significant political force during Reconstruction. A different perspective on the

same region comes from B. Franklin Cooling. He widens his focus to include Kentucky as well as all of Tennessee and concludes that the use of partisan warfare by both sides led directly to violent repression and even total war by the Federals. David P. Smith provides a good survey of the efforts by the Confederacy to suppress dissent of all varieties in central and northern Texas. Louisiana, according to Donald S. Frazier, "proved to be a near perfect incubator for guerrilla warfare" (p. 170). Ethnic and economic balkanization, tangled geography, and a "casual attitude toward the law" (p. 151) laid a solid foundation for bloody partisan warfare. Robert R. Mackey sadly notes that when Confederate efforts at partisan warfare led to scorched-earth tactics by the Federals, the primary victims in Arkansas were civilians, both Unionist and Confederate.

Fisher is to be commended for submitting the best analysis of the development of Unionism and its metamorphosis during wartime. At the same time, the best study of guerrilla warfare comes in the colorful essay provided by Frazier, while Mackey provides solid research on the chaos in wartime Arkansas. The most thought-provoking contribution to the volume, however, is Michael Fellman's consideration of the cultural shift endured by residents of Missouri, "the most inglorious and brutal arena of guerrilla conflict" (p. 187). After dismissing "military historians" as "conventional" and "elitist" scholars who "have remained indifferent to war as a cultural event" (p. 188), he seeks to redress that balance by discussing how war in Missouri prompted ordinarily law-abiding people to commit acts considered heinous by any standard. Aside from Fellman's ill-informed jibe at the field of military history, and his joyful embrace of the old pop psychology line that we are all capable of doing horrible things, he fails to consider fully that most never committed an atrocity. In fact, those guilty of such may have been members of the small minority ordinarily held in check by the legal system. The war simply let down the barriers, allowing this element free rein for a time.

Fellman is only one of the contributors guilty of providing partial answers to the questions they raise. The errors are by omission. Bynum puzzlingly asserts that the residents of Jones County chose to live there to avoid direct competition with the plantation system. This assertion is based upon an analysis that ends in 1815, before most came there, and is not bolstered with any primary material. Too, we have the names of ten deserters who were executed, but the compiled service records apparently were not consulted. Future researchers might also press harder to explore family relationships among the Unionists who rebelled. Sarris considers how the course of the war shaped reactions to dissent in Dahlonge, but there was also a clear difference in the severity of the crime. A shift in legal systems made simple dissent into overt treason. Gordon does well in discussing the hangings at Kinston, but many other significant acts of dissent in North

Carolina, "perhaps the most ornery population of any Confederate state" (p. 12), are omitted. This is true as well for several other Confederate states and for Smith, who fails to discuss the disaffection in east Texas or along the Rio Grande. Finally, Sutherland himself does not appear to consider fully that the small sample of Unionists he used in Culpepper County may represent the remnants of the pro-Union Whig Party in that area, which did vote for John Bell over John C. Breckinridge.

Sutherland is absolutely correct when he asserts that any significant study of dissent in the Confederacy will have to rely heavily upon community-level analysis. The authors he presents here have provided some solid material on which to build such an academic edifice. Again, that which they have not accomplished may well lie beyond the scope of a brief essay in a volume such as this. Perhaps one of these authors, or their editor, may be the one that produces a much-needed survey of Unionism in the embattled Confederacy. If so, they will find much here that is of use, and a few warning signs to guide them along their long journey.

RICHARD B. MCCASLIN  
High Point University

SERGEI KAN. *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1999. Pp. xxxi, 665. \$60.00.

This extraordinary book, the fruit of two decades of research, is a model of historical anthropology. Its focus is the Tlingit, Native Americans in Alaska, who ultimately embraced Russian Orthodoxy and, until very recent times, clung tenaciously to this faith. The book self-consciously combines the fields of history and anthropology; it draws on systematic research in printed sources (including archival collections in the United States) and anthropological field research. On the basis of these dual sources, Sergei Kan examines traditional (pre-Christian) Tlingit culture and society, the first encounters with Russians (and Orthodoxy) in the late eighteenth century, the large-scale conversions to Orthodoxy after the United States acquired Alaska in 1867, and the persistence of Orthodoxy even after 1917, when the Bolshevik revolution terminated exogenous support and resources. This study integrates a multifaceted approach; it attends to the symbolic dynamics as well as social and political factors, communal as well as individual dimensions. Its principal task is to explain this time-delayed conversion (that is, after Russian secular authority disappeared) and the perseverance of Orthodoxy in the twentieth century.

The central argument is that, although Russian Orthodoxy prevailed for a multiplicity of reasons (such as the oft-cited aesthetic appeal of its ritualism), this triumph resulted primarily because of a particular susceptibility to indigenization. Thus, in contrast to the competing missions (which sought to transform Native Alaskans into Victorians), the Russian Orthodox

Church—especially after 1867, when it lost secular support—sought to preserve and to accommodate traditional ways of life. Moreover, Kan emphasizes that the triumph of Russian Orthodoxy was not due solely to angelic missionaries but owed much to the active role of the Tlingit, who emerge not as passive recipients but as mediators and translators of Orthodoxy, in effect “indigenizing” a religious culture quite alien to their own traditions. To elicit their support, however, it was particularly important that the Orthodox missions—in contrast to the more supercilious, assimilationist Presbyterians—demonstrated “respect” toward the Tlingit, thereby connecting effectively with a vital value in their pre-Christian culture.

Kan’s analysis seeks to transcend the conventional disregard for the converted themselves and to emphasize their role in shaping what ultimately became an indigenous Tlingit Orthodoxy. That very indigenization, he argues, explains why Orthodoxy was so appealing in the post-1867 period (as an alternative Presbyterian missions) and why this fusion of tradition and Orthodoxy enabled the new “Tlingit Orthodoxy” to persevere even amid the severe challenges of the twentieth century. Although free from a thick veneer of “theory,” this study emphasizes the need to study post-conversion (not merely pre-Christian) Native American cultures, to examine not merely the missions but how their subjects actively negotiated the new faith, and to attend both to the religious dimension and also to the social and political contexts that had a profound impact on alternatives, choices, and compromises.

Even so brilliant a work as this has its shortfalls. Empirically, one wishes that Kan had drawn on two additional categories of Russian sources: the immense complex of ecclesiastical journals and the invaluable archival sources (above all, those preserved in the Russian State Historical Archive). Although these were nominally used in a recent dissertation (Andrei Znamenski, “Strategies of Survival: Native Encounters with Russian Missionaries in Alaska and Siberia, 1820s-1917” [Ph.D. diss., University of Toledo, 1997]), they could have greatly complemented the other Russian materials used here (chiefly the Russian Church Archives in America). Apart from providing additional information on key figures like Aleksandr Baranov and Ioann Veniaminov, these vast materials (especially the archival) would have allowed the author to treat more perceptively the Russian side of this interactive process. The author might also have drawn more extensively on the recent scholarship on “popular Orthodoxy” in Russia itself. Indeed, in so many respects, the graphic picture presented here differs surprisingly little from what transpired in the Russian Empire itself, where Orthodoxy remained profoundly particularistic—“parochial” in the most literal sense—and resistant to institutional control. That localized (“indigenized”) Orthodoxy at once testified to the weakness of institutional control (a norm in Russia no less than its foreign mission in Alaska) and enabled Russians

Orthodoxy—among Russians and non-Russians—to adapt so easily to local cultures and needs.

This book is a major contribution to ethnohistory, anthropology, and religious studies; it is a model of engaged, and engaging, interdisciplinary historical scholarship.

GREGORY L. FREEZE  
Brandeis University

ROBERT W. LARSON. *Red Cloud: Warrior-Statesman of the Lakota Sioux*. (The Oklahoma Western Biographies series, number 13.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. Pp. xvi, 336. \$24.95.

This book by Robert W. Larson presents a biography of Red Cloud, a leader of the Oglala Lakotas who rose to national prominence during the 1860s when the Lakota, or Western Sioux, fought against the United States army to preserve their homeland. Centering around the Black Hills, Lakota territory stretched from northern Nebraska to southern North Dakota, and from the Missouri River westward to the mountains of Wyoming and the Yellowstone country of southeastern Montana. In this vast area, the Lakota followed a nomadic life way based on the hunting of buffalo.

Born into the warrior culture of his people, Red Cloud achieved fame in battles with enemy tribes and a reputation for force when, as a young man, he killed Bull Bear, a chief a generation older than he, in what was essentially a political squabble between Oglala factions. The exact motivations for this killing are uncertain, but in any case the act did not prevent Red Cloud from being recognized as a leading chief of the Oglalas. To the American government he became more, however; U.S. officials treated him as the supreme leader of the Oglalas, attributing to him a degree of power and authority unknown in Lakota politics.

Larson relates the well-known story of Red Cloud’s life against the backdrop of the historical events that brought the Lakotas from being masters of the Plains to reservation residents, dependent on rations and annuities from the government. It is a painful tale. After relating the major events of “Red Cloud’s war,” the author devotes a chapter to the pivotal treaty of 1868, by which the government agreed to close the Bozeman Trail through the buffalo hunting grounds of Wyoming to the gold fields of Montana and to abandon the military posts built to protect it. But what looked like a victory for the Lakotas, however, was only the first step in limiting their territory and confining them to reservations.

Red Cloud’s role in these crucial events is not clear. No documents exist to establish with certainty his place among the Oglala people. Unquestionably, he had great influence. After moving in 1871 to the agency named in his honor (which subsequently relocated multiple times and was later renamed Pine Ridge), Red Cloud sought to protect remaining tribal lands



and to get the most for his people. The odds were against the Sioux, however, and the discovery of gold in the Black Hills led to their forceful and unlawful seizure by the government in 1876.

Red Cloud made several trips to Washington, D.C., to meet with the president and other officials in attempts to get compensation for the lands lost and other benefits for his people. On the reservation, he invited Jesuit missionaries to establish a mission and he himself joined their church. Still, he never achieved—perhaps never attempted—political consensus, and the Oglalas remained a deeply factionalized people whose lack of unity made them especially vulnerable to manipulation by government officials and other outsiders.

Most of the interesting questions about Red Cloud as a man and as a political leader must remain unanswered. In truth, the depth of documentation does not exist to permit the writing of a real biography. Larson has drawn on a wide array of sources, including previous detailed histories by George E. Hyde and James C. Olson, as well as a recently published “autobiography” of Red Cloud that apparently originated in reminiscences dictated in old age, but that were committed to paper only secondhand, making them a less than definitive source.

As a part of the Oklahoma Western Biographies series, aimed a general audience, citations are not given in the text, although the author includes a lengthy essay on sources. The map is well designed and the illustrations are thoughtfully selected. Specialists will note a plague of minor inaccuracies. As an example, the author confuses the Algonquian-speaking Gros Ventres of Montana with the Siouan-speaking “Gros Ventres” or Hidatsas of North Dakota (p. 47), a misidentification compounded by labeling them “the treacherous Gros Ventres,” a characterization perhaps intended to suggest a Lakota perspective.

Nonetheless, this is a serviceable introduction to the life of Red Cloud. While it does not break new ground, the book may interest a new generation of readers in Lakota history.

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DAVID O. STOWELL. *Streets, Railroads, and the Great Strike of 1877*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 181. Cloth \$31.00, paper \$15.00.

The national railroad strike of 1877, the “Great Strike,” has often been viewed, similarly to other labor upheavals, as a struggle between employees and employers in a time of industrial depression, an example of class conflict between workers and a capitalistic oligarchy. Robert V. Bruce in his seminal 1959 work on the Great Strike suggested that the event was more complicated, that railroads in the period were creating

a new urban age, and in their relationships with cities lay some of the key factors underlying the strike.

Despite occasional recognition of this urban dimension by later scholars, David O. Stowell argues that the urban and community aspects of the strike, the relationships between urban space and the railroads, have been generally neglected. Through meticulously crafted case studies of the years before and during the Great Strike in Buffalo, Syracuse, and Albany, the author advances the thesis that the strike had urban roots, that in substantial part it represented a community uprising by people in these cities who were being “subjected daily to the noise, disorder, and dangers consequent upon the railroads’ intersection with streets and neighborhoods” (p. 10). A particular strength of the book is Stowell’s description of the horrendous accidents, the toll in human life, and the continual disruption of craft, business, and ordinary movement engendered by building railroads into the heart of cities. Excellent maps and illustrations and close chronicling of everyday events help evoke the feel of nineteenth-century urban life. The reader is moved by the horrors of accident and death in encounters with trains in cities, still incidentally a part of urban life in many American manufacturing cities, but he can also sympathize, for example, with the ice wagon draymen whose cargoes melted as trains often brought traffic to a long halt.

Stowell’s account of the strike in the three cities, where conflict never became as serious as in Baltimore, Chicago, or Pittsburgh but was still violent and prolonged, demonstrates that much of the action against railroads was conducted not by railroad workers themselves, who in many cases opposed disruptive actions, but by people who in general represented diverse segments of the community. His examination primarily of newspaper sources, but also of city directories and governmental proceedings, demonstrates that white-collar employees, business owners, skilled craftsmen, women, and perhaps children all participated in actions against the railroads. Stowell’s detailed reflections on the ambiguity of the term “boy” demonstrates the difficulty in using newspapers for the creation of these kinds of profiles. But his use of this type of evidence is consistently thorough and always careful.

Stowell’s book is a splendid example of excellent monographic scholarship. An earlier version of his work was altogether deserving of the Urban History Association’s 1993 best dissertation award. Not only does the author utilize all the primary documentation available, but he also relates his material to a vast array of secondary writing, and not just to fashionably up to date current works. His superb background material ranges from the cultural history of Leo Marx and Alan Trachtenberg through the vast body of writing stemming from the David Montgomery school of labor history and the Sam Bass Warner school of urban history. The work is written with verve; it is completely



free of the jargon associated with the new versions of old fields of history.

Stowell demonstrates conclusively that residents of his three cities had ample reasons not related to economic conditions to take actions against the railroads' incursions into urban space. He also makes his case that many of the participants in strike actions were not part of a downtrodden lower working class. But as with so much of the new social-urban history, his statistical evidence can only support limited conclusions. As he straightforwardly points out, the historian can only infer the motives involved in these actions. One looks in vain for a diary entry, a letter, a piece of testimony from a participant saying we did that for this reason. As are so many of the historical studies of the actions of "the crowd," Stowell's work is informed by the rationalistic assumption that mass action represents specific effort directed at specific grievance. Although this assumption is questionable, Stowell's study is nonetheless highly worthwhile and enlightening.

CHARLES N. GLAAB  
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ANDREW GYORY. *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 354. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This volume seeks to absolve organized labor of shared responsibility for enactment of exclusion in 1882 and to place primary blame for this legislation on the leadership of national political parties: "The motive forces behind the Chinese Exclusion Act were national politicians who seized and manipulated the issue in an effort to gain votes, while arguing that workers had long demanded exclusion and would benefit from it" (p. 1). According to Andrew Gyory, Chinese immigration attracted little attention east of the Pacific Coast until 1870, when a Massachusetts shoe manufacturer decided to contract for Chinese strikebreakers. His action prompted what Gyory regards as a critical albeit generally ignored statement clarifying eastern labor's position on the Chinese issue: labor would embrace anyone from China who came as a "free" immigrant but vehemently opposed the importation of Chinese workers.

The book then presents a chronology of the movement toward exclusion, from the 1876 visit between California's Philip Roach and Democratic presidential candidate Samuel J. Tilden, to the nationwide railway strike of 1877, to Denis Kearney's "The Chinese Must Go" tour of the Midwest and East in 1878, to the vetoed Fifteen-Passenger Bill of 1879. Throughout, Gyory decries a pattern in which, despite labor's well-established record of opposing only importation, party leaders deliberately miscast exclusion as a "pro-labor" campaign to win western electoral votes.

In joining Democrats and Greenbackers on the side of exclusion, the Republican Party followed the lead of

powerbroker and presidential hopeful, James G. Blaine. Choosing to abandon his party's legacy of championing racial equality, President Rutherford B. Hayes secured a revised treaty that would legitimize exclusion, while the 1880 campaign promised its swift passage regardless of the winner. Thus, Chester A. Arthur's signing of the 1882 law proved an anticlimactic milestone in the establishment of a racist precedent of far-reaching importance.

Through his study of exclusion's political dynamics, Gyory helps to explain how western representatives finally won national support for their cause. Unfortunately, the book suffers from at least three critical flaws. First, the author appears to know little of Chinese-American historiography beyond his primary targets in exposing a purported disservice to organized labor: Elmer Sandmeyer and Alexander Saxton. While both are rightfully identified as seminal scholars, Sandmeyer published *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* in 1939 and Saxton *The Indispensable Enemy* in 1971. That the author of this volume appears scarcely aware of nearly thirty years of study in the history of Chinese Americans will offend many in the field.

In addition to its historiographical inadequacies, the case for eastern labor's innocence hinges on the same exercise in semantics utilized by Horace Page in 1875. The Page Act ostensibly welcomed Chinese immigration, while excluding two "imported" groups: coolies and prostitutes. Yet, except for the merchant elite, stereotypical judgments prevalent throughout the United States branded all Chinese males as the former and all Chinese females as the latter. Enforcers successfully applied these stereotypes to exclude women, but sheer volume fatally impaired the task of separating the "imported" from the "free" among male immigrants, a point that Gyory belatedly recognizes: "The regulation of imported contract labor . . . would require massive bureaucratic machinery to oversee. Mere investigation of charges . . . would be a logistical nightmare" (p. 247). Thus, those who unsuccessfully lobbied for an 1882 law aimed only at stopping importation, whether representing labor or "uncorrupted" Republicans, were in fact arguing for a strengthened revision of the Page Act rather than the fair treatment of fellow laborers.

Finally, the author seems to equate "national" with east of the Rocky Mountains. This narrowed vision enables him to absolve workers of responsibility for exclusion, despite the reality that organized labor on the West Coast had supported this cause since the 1850s. Whereas he is right to note that Sandmeyer and Saxton overstate California's importance, at least this myopia is acknowledged on the front covers of their work. Perhaps Gyory should revise his subtitle to read "Race, Politics, and Eastern Contributions to the Chinese Exclusion Act." Absent such clarification, students of Chinese-American history will likely find the contents disappointing and, even with it, of limited significance. Still, there is much here of value in filling out the national picture of complex labor interests and

political machinations relevant to the exclusion movement.

GEORGE ANTHONY PEPPER  
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GENE CLANTON. *Congressional Populism and the Crisis of the 1890s*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xii, 228. \$35.00.

Gene Clanton has devoted his long and productive career as a scholar to understanding Populism and its context. We are in his debt for that and for this rich study of a neglected subject: what the Populists said and how they voted in Congress during the crisis of the 1890s.

Clanton is a significant figure in the proud tradition of progressive historians sympathetic to Populism that leads from Vernon Louis Parrington and John D. Hicks through C. Vann Woodward to Lawrence Goodwyn. His thesis here is that the diverse members of the leadership of the Populist Party can best be understood as united in a common commitment to "human rights," as contrasted to the devotion of their enemies to property rights and the special interests of large corporations, trusts, and monopolies. These sound very much like the terms that the Populists would use to describe themselves, because the reader is the "virtual" occupant of a seat in the House or the Senate gallery listening to the Populists debate the members of the major parties.

Throughout his energetic analysis of Populist rhetoric recorded in the *Congressional Record* for the six Congresses following the election of 1890 (fifty individual Populists), Clanton is intent on demonstrating that, although the Populists in Congress may have been dissidents and from relatively humble origins, they were not the ignorant bumpkins caricatured by their major party opponents and mainstream newspapers, nor were they Richard Hofstadter's nostalgic hayseeds employing a paranoid style of politics, and they were certainly not the antecedents of those McCarthy-Goldwater-Reagan right-wing reactionaries who are frequently misidentified as populists. In all of this, the author is absolutely correct.

Nevertheless, there are limitations and there are opportunities unexploited. Because the rhetoric employed by their opponents is not presented or analyzed, we do not have a reliable comparison of Populist and anti-Populist ideologies. Because this is an analysis of rhetoric, and the rhetoric sounds so good, we are left to wonder why most American farmers and workers did not vote Populist.

For Clanton, the crisis of the 1890s was not just the depression and the Spanish-American War but the conflict between the democratic, egalitarian, and universalistic ideals of the American Revolution and "national realities" (presumably the concentration of wealth and power resulting from industrialization, urbanization, and immigration). Clanton correctly makes clear that Populism was dissolved as much by

the nationalistic fervor of the Spanish-American War as by the organizational blunder of "fusion" with the silver Democrats in 1896. Although the Populists in Congress were split on the war, they were solidly anti-imperialist, albeit with an assortment of motives, some of which were not admirable.

As judged by their rhetoric, the Populists were radical democrats trying to reassert the old (individualistic?) values against the momentum of an "illiberal transformation." Nevertheless, Clanton is eager to absolve the Populists of the charge that they were under the spell of some mythical golden age. This may not be a real contradiction, but exploring the simultaneous backward-looking and forward-looking aspects of Populism might help us understand it better, and understand it in terms other than its own. Besides, the natural rights tradition, of which Clanton's Populists were the champions, was not without its imperfections. Its professed adherents practiced slavery, the subordination of women, the exclusion of Asians, the ethnic cleansing of Indians, and the exploitation of workers, and in other ways diverged from the path of the ideal.

In addition, how can the Populists be presented as harbingers of the Progressive project of the twentieth century (the use of government on behalf of the less powerful members of society) and at the same time be fitted into Christopher Lasch's interpretive scheme as totems of a heroic humanism that was destined to be snuffed out in the twentieth century by the rise of global materialism and a belief in racial hierarchies? In fact, most Americans now would prefer post-1960s social values to pre-1900 social values; they are more humane, democratic, egalitarian, and universalistic. Perhaps the transformation of the 1890s was not so simple nor so unidirectional.

SHELDON HACKNEY

*National Endowment for the Humanities*

P. C. KEMENY. *Princeton in the Nation's Service: Religious Ideals and Educational Practice, 1868-1928*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 353. \$45.00.

Scholars are accustomed to summarizing changes in late nineteenth-century higher education with the phrase "the rise of the university." It implies the demise of a religiously based required curriculum, and the rise of a secular research-oriented university dedicated to production of scholars and professionals. Over the past fifteen years, careful studies of individual institutions and key players in this transition have aggregated to produce a more exact picture of this process. P. C. Kemeny's book now joins the ranks of the best of these studies. This book will be required reading for the rising generation of scholars seeking to understand the secularizing process in American higher education.

Kemeny looks at Princeton from the post-Civil War period to the Great Depression. These years include the administration of well-known Princeton presidents

James McCosh, the last notable American philosopher of the Scottish philosophy, and Woodrow Wilson, the Progressive-era president. The transition from McCosh to Wilson encapsulates the central issue of Kemeny's study: how did the evangelical mission of McCosh's Princeton become the liberal Protestant vision of Wilson's? Kemeny shows how each president engaged the challenge of combining religion and educational mission in curriculum, campus organizations, and staff, while negotiating the interests of alumni, trustees, faculty, and students.

The work of George M. Marsden, especially his essay and those of others in *The Secularization of the Academy* (1992), makes familiar the direction of Kemeny's story: "The expansion of the university's civic mission did not lead to the abandonment of the institution's religious heritage" (p. 218). Instead of the required chapel and theistically explicit courses of the nineteenth-century college, the new university offered no course that explained or defended Christianity and a campus on which religious worship and education increasingly were voluntary. As Kemeny demonstrates, explicit expression of religious belief and faith moved from the academic center of the college to college religious services and to student religious groups, which in the 1920s embraced all Christians. At Princeton, as at other universities, the building of a magnificent chapel in the 1920s symbolized this change. The new structure housed spaces for worship, all student-campus religious institutions, and the office of the chaplain. The holder of this newly established position officiated at religious services and supervised student religious organizations for the administration.

Institutional history contains almost inevitable pitfalls. On the one hand, non-Princetonians will find Kemeny's thorough retelling of educational and extra-curricular change tedious. Educated general readers also may feel excluded by undefined academic jargon such as "a sacred canopy" or "second disestablishment of Protestantism." On the other hand, Princetonians may want to know more about famous chapters in their alma mater's history, such as Wilson's conflict with the eating clubs. Although Kemeny does recognize the boozy Princeton made famous by F. Scott Fitzgerald's fiction as coexisting with his religious Princeton, the book might do more to describe this coexistence. It might investigate whether members of the eating clubs and sports team leaders also belonged to organizations headquartered in the new chapel.

Kemeny's work would gain from increased depth and breadth. While he shows that professors, such as paleontologist William Berryman Scott, excluded religious apologetics from their teaching, deeper analysis might reveal whether non-doxological science depends on an epistemology that Scott's grandfather, Charles Hodge, would have embraced. Second, Kemeny's tight focus on religion and its relationship to education leads to underinterpretation of the words "nation" and "service" in his title. Wilson's election to the Princeton presidency is significant, not only because he was a

Presbyterian layman but also because he was a southerner. Possibly Wilson's appointment marks a final end to the great church and theological schisms that had divided northern and southern Presbyterians during the antebellum period?

Given the Progressive reformers' efforts to reform public life and political practice, Kemeny's neglect of political context is notable. McCosh's evangelical politics were tied up with liberal Republicanism of the 1870s and Wilson's liberal Protestantism with the Progressive ethic of service, namely the rise of government commissions and their staffing with experts. Both college presidents saw themselves as educating students to serve the nation. Both eras relied upon the service of the few—white, educated, Protestant men—to work for the nation. Though Kemeny does deal with the exclusion of Jews, African Americans, and women from Princeton, he treats their exclusion almost as institutional problems resulting from personal whims of administrators. Future scholars should analyze the intellectual content of collegiate education to discover how it taught ideas and opinions that exclusively empowered college-educated white Christian men for national service. While Kemeny conceived his project with significance for only the history of higher education and religious history, its significance is truly national.

LOUISE L. STEVENSON

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JON THARES DAVIDANN. *A World of Crisis and Progress: The American YMCA in Japan, 1890–1930*. Cranbury, N.J.: Lehigh University Press, in association with University Presses, London. 1998. Pp. 207. \$38.50.

This well-written, tightly argued work makes a significant contribution to several distinct fields including comparative missionary studies, imperialism, U.S.-East Asian relations, Japanese history, and American foreign relations. Drawing inspiration from the innovative work of Akira Iriye and Emily Rosenberg, Jon Thares Davidann aims for an international, intercultural account of an important chapter in trans-Pacific history. Toward this end, he makes excellent use of Japanese-language sources, the archives of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and a full range of secondary and theoretical works.

Between 1890 and 1920, the American Protestant missionary movement was at its zenith, with up to ninety missionary societies and ten thousand student volunteers. YMCA missionaries saw in Japan a fertile area for the spread of "progress" from West to East and a prime battlefield in their worldwide defense of conservative evangelical Calvinism against the liberalizing currents of the Social Gospel movement. This sense of urgency and crisis shaped YMCA officials' handling of the complex issue of indigenous control: cost-management and overall philosophy urged reliance on native converts to staff local YMCAs; however, the push toward conformity to American stan-

dards generated conflict with Japanese, who sought a "Japanized" Christianity and a more liberal, secular, and public-spirited approach. The missions' sense of urgency and crisis around the "threat of secularization in Japanese Christianity" led them to enforce most rigorously evangelical standards of membership, further complicating their relations with would-be native converts (p. 43). Their dilemma was this: "If they asserted their own prerogatives too strongly, they risked stifling Japanese interest in the YMCA and in Christianity. If they allowed Japanese Christians control over the decisions, they risked condoning liberal Christianity, and alienating other missionary organizations and their home base" (p. 88). Ultimately, by the 1920s and 1930s, they came out on the losing side of the bargain, notwithstanding a creative "repackaging . . . [of] cultural intrusion in the form of an allegedly universalist concept of modernity" and a grudging shift toward secular social work (p. 14).

Christian conversion in the Meiji era was largely an elite phenomenon dominated by recently disenfranchised Samurai, who initially organized themselves into traditional regional bands. On the much-debated question of the relationship between social status and conversion in Meiji Japan, Davidann argues that "these young men, unaware of the totality of the consequences this decision would have upon them, converted to strengthen their status and role in society, to fill a moral void, with a vision of national salvation, and with the example of Western progress and enlightenment before them" (p. 60). Embracing the religion and world view of Western imperialists brought "divided loyalties and self-abasement," and converts were forced "to choose loyalty to Jesus over Japan" (pp. 78, 62). However, "moral innovators," such as Uemura Masahisa, effectively linked Christianity to *bushido*, the "warrior code of ethics in premodern Japan," apparently reconciling the tension between a universal, Western-dominated religion and a national sense of mission (p. 71). "With the introduction of *bushido* into their discourse on Christianity and the Japanese nation, Japanese Christians now could balance their choice of a foreign faith with the inclusion in this faith of the values of ancient Japan, of values rooted in the very depths of Japanese national myths" (p. 78).

This case study thus demonstrates quite compellingly that "cultural imperialism" is most accurately "conceived of as a process of interaction, where hegemony is tentative and more easily overcome, where mutual change takes place, and where outcomes are far from certain" (p. 12). The argument is greatly strengthened by Davidann's treatment of the campaign by Japanese YMCA missionaries to transform colonial Korea and Manchuria. Invoking a kinder, gentler "Christian imperialism," Japanese converts succeeded only in making the YMCA a forum for anti-Japanese indigenous nationalism (p. 131). The author briefly treats the post-World War I Japanese YMCA move-

ment, noting its general shift toward Wilsonian internationalism.

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EVELYNN MAXINE HAMMONDS. *Childhood's Deadly Scourge: The Campaign to Control Diphtheria in New York City, 1880-1930*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 299. \$39.95.

One of success stories of early twentieth-century medicine is the conquest of diphtheria in New York City, where in the 1880s it was endemic and the sixth leading cause of death. Diphtheria affected both rich and poor, striking hardest at young children. By 1930, its virulence was gone, and the mortality rate had dropped from 184 per 100,000 people to fewer than three. The battle began in the laboratory, but it would demonstrate eventually both the power and the limitations of science in disease control.

Evelynn Maxine Hammonds tells the story in this book. Its heroes are two men in public health who worked tirelessly to use the new bacteriological science coming out of Europe to improve the health of their city. Doctors Hermann Biggs and William H. Park enthusiastically embraced the new science, but they had to overcome the resistance of practicing physicians and educate the public before they could be successful.

The work began in the 1880s just after the bacillus *corynebacterium diphtheriae* was identified. Biggs and Park believed that the demonstrated presence of this bacillus would greatly simplify the then difficult diagnosis of diphtheria. To illustrate what science could do in its control, they decided to take the laboratory to diphtheria. Parks made a "culture kit" that could determine the presence of the bacillus, and Biggs built a program of bacteriological diagnosis around it. A few years later, when antitoxin was used successfully in Europe to treat diphtheria, Biggs and Park enthusiastically embraced the remedy and persuaded New York officials to appropriate money to buy horses and begin production of serum. New York newspapers heavily publicized the program, and the *Herald-Tribune* even raised money for the project. Although the antitoxin treatment was generally successful, it was not problem-free. Several people died after receiving the serum, one of them within minutes, and there were sometimes serious side effects. Physicians were at first reluctant to use it, especially in the early stages of the disease when it was most effective. By far the largest problem that surfaced, however, was the existence of carriers. Unlike "Typhoid Marys," they were numerous, composing as much as two percent of the population. So many people could hardly be quarantined.

The third stage in the battle against diphtheria came with two more breakthroughs in Europe: the discovery that small amounts of antitoxin and, later, toxin-antitoxin would produce immunity, and the development of the Schick test which could determine the presence of diphtheria antibodies. The Schick test



resolved the carrier problem and greatly simplified the program of immunization. It also showed that some seventy percent of the population were already immune.

By 1921, Park and his colleagues in the city health department had used the Schick test on more than 52,000 schoolchildren and immunized those who tested positive. Still, physicians were skeptical because, as Hammonds contends, they thought that the department's cooperation with the social welfare agencies might undercut their client base. Mothers, fearful of the new science, had to be won over, too. More important, an immunization program centered in the schools missed those under five years of age, the most vulnerable group. Progress was unacceptably slow until 1928 when the health department switched its goal from control to prevention. The next year, prominent businessmen and civic leaders established the Diphtheria Prevention Commission, and a massive publicity campaign followed. Six renovated snow-removal trucks were converted into health mobiles and sent into the poorer neighborhoods, and immunization centers were set up throughout the city, even in public parks. Although modern science was hailed as a savior, public health officials knew it could work only when a majority of the public accepted it and when the government supported it.

Hammonds writes that the commission succeeded in its goal to make the public "diphtheria conscious" but failed to convince private physicians to provide immunization at low cost on a regular basis. She concludes that urban physicians in the 1930s, worried over their deteriorating economic position, were bitter over the number of free medical services provided to low-income groups. "[P]hysicians did not interpret a commitment to 'science' in the same terms" as public health officials who wanted its benefits distributed to the widest possible public (p. 220).

This book is a lucid account of the first successful battle of the laboratory versus disease. Thoroughly researched, logically organized, and well written, it is a good story well told.

ELIZABETH W. ETHERIDGE  
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JUDITH SEALANDER, *Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. Pp. xii, 349. \$39.95.

At the turn of the twentieth century, new technology and new business techniques led to the creation of wealth and power that challenged traditional assumptions not only about opportunity but also about the social responsibility of the wealthy. Historically, most rich people gave little to those not related to them; individuals who did engage in philanthropy personally distributed funds to causes they deemed worthy, such

as schools, symphony orchestras, and museums. A few creators of vast new fortunes, however, began to rethink the institutional structure of charity. Rather than administering charitable giving themselves, they established philanthropic foundations based on a corporate model. A very small minority of these foundations began to reconsider the fundamental purpose of charity itself; instead of making grants to individuals or providing funds for emergency relief, they distributed money in a way calculated to influence public policy. Judith Sealander's book focuses its attention on that handful of foundations and on their efforts to shape policy from the Progressive era to the New Deal.

Sealander maintains that previous scholarship has exaggerated the power of foundations and overstated their impact, both for good and evil. According to Sealander, both critics and defenders of foundations have paid "too much attention to stated goals" and "too little to results" (p. 31). "Private wealth did create significant changes in public life," she maintains, "but public life . . . proved difficult to control" (p. 31).

In addition, Sealander rejects the idea that Andrew Carnegie's essay, "Wealth" (often mistakenly called "The Gospel of Wealth") marked the beginning of scientific giving and that the Carnegie Foundation provided the model for a new kind of charity. Indeed, the Carnegie fund in its early years more closely resembled traditional forms of philanthropy, if on a much greater scale. Instead, Sealander asserts that John D. Rockefeller, Sr., aided by his chief adviser for charity, Frederick Gates, pioneered the idea of scientific giving and that his foundations played a greater role in developing the new paradigm.

In an attempt to understand the intent of the foundations and the outcomes of their activities, Sealander places the development of foundations and the policies they advocated in the context of Progressive-era reform. Imbued with Progressive faith in the possibility of improving society and in experts to show the way, leaders of those few foundations interested in the formation of public policy attempted to aid government as it struggled with the vexing problems associated with profound social and economic change. Such an approach reflected the Progressive idea that social ills could be eliminated, not just ameliorated.

Sealander takes a fairly sanguine view of Progressivism as a whole and of the Progressive leaders who led and staffed the foundations in particular. She is unimpressed with the idea that the policy-making foundations created a "secret empire" and did so to maintain the status quo. Historians who have reached such a conclusion, she argues, have overstated Progressivism's search for order and "neglect[ed] its fervor for fairness" (p. 68). Rather than defending the existing system, early twentieth-century philanthropists sought to create a new system. In fact, many had a religiously inspired or quasi-religious commitment to engineer the "revival" of their society. Sealander further argues that the kind of control imagined by critics of the foundations fails to take into account both the com-



plicated process involved in making policy and the unanticipated consequences that almost always accompany the institution of new policies. Finally, while foundations did have enormous financial resources, and at a time when public agencies did not, most scientific philanthropists proved to be poor politicians, in large part because they insisted on a largely artificial distinction between "politics" and "government." Sealander offers a series of case studies to illustrate both the influence foundations had on social policy and the limitations a pluralist political system imposed on that influence.

For all her generally favorable assessment, Sealander remains aware of the limitations and the undemocratic tendencies of the reformers. Professional philanthropists preached far more frequently than they listened to those they were trying to help. They disdained the democratic political process. As members of America's elite, their prejudices included "everyone but fellow representatives from their own well-educated and well-heeled urban circles" (p. 67).

In addition to placing both the creation of the foundations and their work in the context of Progressive political thought, Sealander relates her story to the emergence of modern professions and to the development of academic disciplines such as psychology. In doing so, she not only adds considerably to the history of philanthropy but enriches the historical understanding of the Progressive era.

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University of Montana

BROOKS BLEVINS. *Cattle in the Cotton Fields: A History of Cattle Raising in Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 219. \$34.95.

Histories of the cattle industry have typically focused on the vast operations found in the Southwest and Great Plains where the terrain virtually dictated that those regions host large numbers of cattle. Few historians have attempted to document the ongoing development of stock raising in the rest of the country, particularly in the southern states, where cotton reigned. Although cattle raising was always a part of the southern American agrarian experience, it has not attracted much attention because it has lacked the size, romance, and setting enjoyed by the big ranches of the West.

Brooks Blevins has made a heroic attempt to begin to fill the gap in this, the first history of cattle raising in a southern state. Alabama has hosted wandering cattle since the Spanish first made forays through the region; its native tribes soon accumulated cattle, and settlers subsequently developed a fledgling industry, especially after the French settlements were established along the coast.

Blevins sees the development of the early cattle industry as following the lines of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. The expansion of cotton farming pushed cattlemen into the woods and west. The

Civil War also exacted a heavy toll on cattlemen, perhaps reducing the cattle population in half. After the war, the frontier stock raisers continued to produce cattle, although some were supplanted by planters who turned to a larger-scale stock farming. Open range gave way to stock laws designed to protect planters, although the practice remained in less-cultivated areas into the twentieth century.

In the early 1900s, cattle raising increased in Alabama in the wake of damage by the boll weevil, which decimated the state's cotton plantations. Planters became stock raisers but gradually adopted the model of the Midwest, utilizing pure-bred English breeds, controlled pastures, and supplemental feeding. Growth of the industry reflected that of the state's human population, slow but steady. As a result, cattle became Alabama's primary cash crop by the early 1950s.

Well researched, this book offers a model for study of the southern cattle business; moreover, it reinforces a traditional interpretation of southern agricultural history, which is refreshing. But without the elements of size and space that give color to western cattle studies, it is, alas, somewhat tedious to read.

DAVID J. MURRAH  
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MARY S. HOFFSCHWELLE. *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee, 1900-1930*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 233. \$32.00.

Even as they attacked the evils produced by industrialization and urbanization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, reformers in the United States collectively known as Progressives recognized that life in rural America—which they believed to be the source of beneficial American values—was deteriorating. Rural-to-urban migration threatened to denude the countryside and make urban reform efforts all that much harder. In the American South, shrinking farm size, an increase in tenancy, the collapse of the farmers' political revolt, and even bleaker prospects for African-American farmers prompted Progressives to attempt to improve rural life and to keep farmers from abandoning the countryside for the city.

In her well-researched and perceptive book on rural reformers in Tennessee from 1900 to 1930, Mary S. Hoffschwelle examines how Progressives, aided by northern philanthropists, attempted to institute top-down reforms, first in a movement for improved schools and then in efforts to use home demonstration agents as bridges between schools (especially home economics classes) and rural homes. Possessing a "nebulous vision for rejuvenating country life" (p. 145), reformers were successful in increasing state appropriations for new school buildings and better teacher training. But doing away with Tennessee's numerous one-room schoolhouses in favor of larger, consolidated schools (that boasted running water,

modern toilet facilities, improved classroom lighting, and other features) often was opposed by the rural residents themselves, who took pride in school buildings that they had built and maintained. Many resented the implications of the reformers that these traditional schools were inferior. Consolidated schools often meant the loss of community control over their children's educations, something rural farm parents apparently deemed more important than new buildings and better trained teachers.

Similarly, home demonstrations and home improvement efforts were not universally embraced by rural men and women. By no means "passive beneficiaries of Progressive reform or stubborn opponents of change" (p. 2), rural folk picked and chose from reformers' initiatives, selectively adopting ideas from outside. In part this was due to the lack of disposable income available to rural families to improve their kitchens, paint and decorate their homes, or purchase new furnishings. Reformers tended to concentrate their energies on more prosperous rural women, people more able to afford and thus more accepting of reformers' ideas. In the end, Progressive reformers misjudged both the durability and selectivity of the rural Tennessee communities, while for their own part reformers themselves become more bureaucratized, defending their means instead of looking toward their ends.

Hoffschwelle's book is carefully researched and artfully written. It has an extremely helpful bibliography for anyone interested in reading more widely on the increasingly important topics of rural education, farm women, and Progressive reform in the countryside. Since reformers did not challenge either the established political order or the region's social mores, they did not place much emphasis on working with African Americans. Thus African-American Tennesseans occupy at best the background of Hoffschwelle's analysis. Similarly, the lack of primary source material from the farm families themselves limits Hoffschwelle's ability to tell the full story of rural responses to reform initiatives in Tennessee.

In sum, Progressive efforts to convince rural men and women to stay on the farms were at best quixotic. Seeking to stem what was a massive worldwide demographic tidal wave of rural-to-urban migration, these reformers may have succeeded in getting new schools constructed and some aspects of home life improved. Yet their efforts proved anemic when dealing with a population that continued to resist manipulation and to think for itself.

WILLIAM BRUCE WHEELER  
*University of Tennessee*

CRAIG MINER. *Harvesting the High Plains: John Kriss and the Business of Wheat Farming, 1920–1950*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. Pp. xi, 225. \$29.95.

John Kriss was a quintessential Horatio Alger figure who, armed with only an eighth-grade education, rose from very humble circumstances to become one of the largest and most prosperous wheat farmers in western Kansas and eastern Colorado. According to various newspaper articles about him, including one excerpted in the *Reader's Digest* (1947), Kriss harvested more than one million bushels of wheat on nearly 50,000 acres. Yet, during the agricultural depression of the 1920s, his family was in such dire straits that his grandparents went to the county poor farm. Craig Miner was originally commissioned to write a biography of John Kriss by the Kriss family; he was able to interview his subject at length before he died and was given access to his extensive personal papers and business records. This new book combines elements of Miner's earlier biography with more general agricultural and rural history to provide a rich and detailed portrait of large-scale farming and agribusiness during its formative years.

Miner follows Kriss's career from his modest beginnings through the Depression and Dust Bowl years when he served as farm manager for a large absentee landowner, Wichita businessman and millionaire Ray Garvey. By the 1940s, Kriss had outgrown this subservient role and became Garvey's equal partner. Since both men were sticklers for detail and discussed almost every aspect of their farming operations, their voluminous correspondence yields important insights into a range of topics. Power machinery was a defining and enabling feature of "industrial" agriculture, and Kriss constantly evaluated the relative merits of different makes of tractors and combines as well as the best ways to utilize them in the fields. The increased role of the federal government also distinguished mid-twentieth-century farming from earlier agriculture. Kriss's negotiations with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to ensure a beneficial acreage allotment and his dealings with the Soil Conservation Service illustrate and underscore the importance of this new political economy on the Great Plains. Kriss and his partners regularly lobbied local congressmen and even got a law passed that allowed absentee landowners to vote by proxy on conservation issues, which cleared the way for them to plow up vast tracts of eastern Colorado.

Indeed, Kriss's story often reads more like the life of a modern business tycoon than a farmer, and that is one of the author's main points. Miner intends his book to serve as a corrective to overly romanticized views of the virtues of small-scale, horse-powered, family farming, on the one hand, and the supposed social and environmental evils of corporate, mechanized agribusiness on the other. In contrast to other historians who blame the Dust Bowl on the reckless extension of dry-land farming into areas where it did not belong, Miner portrays Kriss as mindful of his role as a steward of nature. Far from being a greedy absentee corporate agribusinessman, Kriss lived modestly in the region and brought his sons into the family enterprise. In Miner's estimation, Kriss embodied the

seemingly contradictory aspects of large-scale agriculture as a business and farming as a way of life, and he succeeded at both.

Although the larger contours of this argument contain much merit, Miner could be more critical in his own assessment of Kriss's life and career. He uses Kriss as an example to argue with present-day scholars, but he pays less attention to what Kriss's own contemporaries thought of him and his ilk. Kansas, in the throes of the Depression, passed a law outlawing corporate farming during the 1930s, which Miner mentions but dismisses as a misguided neopopulist effort. Similarly, the campaign to gain local approval for plowing the land in Colorado was also a contested issue that required the special inclusion of absentee landowners in order to pass. In both cases, what were the bases of the opposition, and what do they imply for Miner's portrayal of the easy coexistence of large-scale agriculture, family farming, and a sustainable environment?

Still, this book remains an important examination of the dynamics of agribusiness, which greatly enhances our understanding of rural life during the twentieth century.

HAL S. BARRON

*Harvey Mudd College and The Claremont Graduate University*

MARK I. GELFAND. *Trustee for a City: Ralph Lowell of Boston*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 322. \$35.00.

Few names, if any, better summon up the image of the Boston Brahmin or "Proper Bostonian" than that of Lowell. Ralph Lowell (1890–1978) added relatively little to his family's achievements, but Mark I. Gelfand offers an engaging account of the life of the man who came to be known as "Mr. Boston." Lowell's business accomplishments would never merit a biography, nor would his leadership qualities, but Gelfand successfully uses "biography to examine change and continuity in one of the nation's most fascinating cities" (p. xi).

The book is divided into two parts: a chronological account and a thematic section. The shorter first portion portrays Lowell's family and life up to 1940 and is an interesting account of his experiences at Harvard, in the service 1917–1918, and in the Boston financial world of the 1920s and 1930s. Lowell approached his fiftieth birthday with neither great wealth nor personal accomplishment. It was only upon inheriting the position of sole trustee of the Lowell Institute and assuming the top post at the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company that Lowell came to know local fame and a measure of personal financial achievement. At this point, Gelfand organizes his account around the development of the various educational and cultural institutions that Lowell served, the focus being the period from World War II to 1970.

During this era, Lowell belonged to an extraordinary

number of boards and organizations and became widely known for his sense of civic responsibility. As trustee of the philanthropic Lowell Institute, he was well positioned to dispense money and support that could influence other organizations. Most notably, Lowell worked with local universities to lay the foundations for educational, and subsequently public, broadcasting in Boston. This was Lowell's most public role: he became a familiar sight on WGBH-TV. In addition, Lowell served Boston Brahmin-founded institutions such as his much-beloved Harvard University, the Massachusetts General Hospital, and the Museum of Fine Arts. Gelfand exposes the inner workings of their boards and details how interlocking directorates led to success for favored projects (such as educational radio and television) that required a coalition of local support.

While social and economic forces required that the old Brahmin institutions change, Lowell's enduring presence fostered a comforting sense of continuity and connection with the past. He performed "a delicate balancing act between paying deference to the past, adjusting to the present, and anticipating the future" (p. 122). Most important, he offered "the historical legitimacy that Bostonians craved" (p. 271). Lowell's impact on these institutions was generally not of great significance. His role "was often more symbolic than substantive" (p. 96), but Gelfand argues that Lowell served Boston well by establishing connections with ethnic and racial groups other than his own.

The record here on religious, ethnic, and racial tolerance may seem meager, but Gelfand asserts that within the context of the time Lowell may be considered a leading light. Unlike others of his background, Lowell could at least mingle with the leadership of Boston's Irish community. He was less quick to abandon old Brahmin prejudices against Jews but undoubtedly moved far from the anti-Semitism of the society into which he was born. Furthermore, presiding over Boston's Harvard Club during World War II, Lowell went so far as to permit (or at least not obstruct) the admission of a prominent and athletic black Harvard graduate. This, Gelfand believes, establishes Lowell "as someone with advanced views on racial issues" (p. 252). Lowell never became close to or socialized with members of non-Brahmin groups in Boston but saw himself as "building bridges by his very presence" in various philanthropic and civic activities. (p. 237). In this Lowell was considered a success as no other Brahmin was. Some readers may want to consult John T. Galvin's *The Gentleman Mr. Shattuck: A Biography of Henry Lee Shattuck* (1996), which treats one who, unlike Lowell, actively engaged in elective politics in the twentieth century.

Gelfand successfully portrays a city in change, and we are richer for his scholarship. Those interested in the city's cultural history will find much of value here because Gelfand's chapters on selected institutions

both inform and point out directions for future scholarship.

LAWRENCE W. KENNEDY  
University of Scranton

ZANE L. MILLER and BRUCE TUCKER. *Changing Plans for America's Inner Cities: Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine and Twentieth-Century Urbanism*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 227. Cloth \$32.00, paper \$15.95.

Zane L. Miller and Bruce Tucker have gone after big game. What began as a modest effort to explain the success of an anti-preservation movement in controlling the future of one inner city neighborhood became—once the authors placed that struggle in the context of a “long string of cultural transformation programs” (p. xv)—a detailed chronicle of an intellectual odyssey that reflected a mid-century shift in perceptions and visions of the city. Between 1920 and 1950, planners, politicians, civic leaders, and interests concerned with urban revitalization spoke of “slum clearance,” according to the authors; focused on the welfare of the city as a whole, they pursued a social mission that fostered “cosmopolitanism” (defined, in part, as a stable, peaceful pluralism sustained in a city segregated by class and race). After 1950, Miller and Tucker contend that an articulated concern for conserving the “inner city” replaced the earlier goal of demolishing “slums” and was characterized by a brand of “cultural individualism” that had lost sight of a broadly defined public interest. The new mode of thinking championed individual and neighborhood autonomy while furnishing continued intellectual cover and comfort to a racially segmented city. Cincinnati’s Over-the-Rhine district, an older, centrally located, declining area of mixed uses and peoples is the venue for the narrative.

The desire to revitalize Over-the-Rhine while addressing the city’s more general needs led to the adoption of a comprehensive zoning program in 1924 that called for a transition to commercial and industrial uses in the district, as well as master plans in 1925 and 1948 that emphasized slum clearance and public housing. The failure of such approaches by mid-century led, according to Miller and Tucker, to the development of new strategies. A 1956 plan sponsored by downtown real estate interests and subsequent designs displayed a new-found passion for preservation that advocated a “promiscuous mixing of land uses” (p. 55) and the creation of a chic, diverse, inner-city residential community. That such plans advanced without explicit consideration of or by the largely poor, minority residents simply set the stage for a long political struggle.

The initial clash involved the attempt to create an “ethnic” enclave of Appalachian whites in Over-the-Rhine in defiance of the city’s wish to diversify and upgrade the area. Emulating black nationalists in

mobilizing around calls for ethnic pride and solidarity, the “Appalachian option” was foreclosed by the continued in-migration of African Americans. Passage of the Historic Preservation Act of 1966 presaged the main battle between those who would use its subsidies and tools to produce an economically and racially integrated community and Over-the-Rhine’s black population (and, especially, their middle-class white advocates). Fearing gentrification (the forced displacement of the poor and non-white through the reintroduction of the prosperous and the pale), the latter pursued guarantees of low-cost housing and racial separatism; staking out Over-the-Rhine as their turf, they emerged victorious in the 1980s. By the 1990s, the predominately black bastion sank deeper into poverty and failed to curtail its endemic violence.

The real strength of the book may be found in a series of detailed, chronologically presented chapters that provide a blow-by-blow account of the myriad political confrontations generated by this controversy. The authors’ contextualization of this case study and the attempt to discern its larger significance are also to be admired, as is their conclusion that the problems of inner-city neighborhoods must be redefined as “multi-dimensional issue[s] with ramifications for every neighborhood in the city.” The key, Miller and Tucker write in a none-too-subtle swipe at the racial separatists, is to “exercise our capacity for self-transcendence” and to “accommodate cultural individualism while also taking into account the public interest” (p. 168).

Although certainly reflective of changing values, the differing paths to neighborhood salvation sketched here may leave skeptical readers looking for causal links between the various modes of thought and the urban policies associated with them. The claim that the post-1950 urban vision owed its existence to the abhorrence of foreign totalitarianism and a sterile, domestic conformity is more effectively asserted than demonstrated. Whether zoning ordinances, master plans, slum clearance, and urban renewal are most fruitfully viewed as “cultural transformation programs” is, in the end, certainly arguable, but that is simply testimony to the provocative nature of this well-researched account.

ARNOLD R. HIRSCH  
University of New Orleans

ROBERT BUSSEL. *From Harvard to the Ranks of Labor: Powers Hapgood and the American Working Class*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 257. Cloth \$57.50, paper \$19.95.

These are halcyon days for biography. As popular literature in this postmodern world, biography satisfies our apparently irrepressible urge for coherent narrative, and as history, biography has become increasingly valued for its explanatory power. Ever since the publication of Melvin Dubofsky and Warren Van Tine’s magisterial study of John L. Lewis (1977) and Nick Salvatore’s razor-sharp analysis of Eugene V. Debs,



(1982), labor historians in particular have been enamored by biography as a prism through which to assess broad questions. Far more modest than these two volumes in its scope, Robert Bussel's book is nevertheless a well-researched, elegantly written, and erudite addition to the growing list of American labor biographies, one that will please specialists and general readers alike.

Born in 1899, Powers Hapgood was an only child, the son of Progressive, upper-class parents in Indianapolis. With a maid to prepare his meals and a private tutor to help him with his studies, Hapgood was far removed from working-class reality. Yet, like many of his contemporaries, Hapgood was also an idealist. He pondered the plight of working people while at Harvard University, and upon his graduation he took to the road in pursuit of a more strenuous life and firsthand knowledge of how the "other half" lived. He worked in coal mines, became a union organizer, played a key role in both the Socialist Party and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and until his death in 1949, he devoted his energies to proletarian advancement. Undoubtedly more committed than most, Hapgood was nonetheless representative of many articulate reformers in the first half of the century who immersed themselves in labor's cause, and Bussel deftly uses his subject to investigate the complex and ever-changing relationship between middle-class reformers and the labor movement.

Bussel studiously avoids the biographer's tendency to exaggerate the significance of his subject, acknowledging that Hapgood has been a historical footnote because he was neither a union president nor a profound theoretician. Yet Bussel rightly stresses his subject's importance as a chronicler of the working class. As coworker and union organizer, Hapgood interacted with diverse groups of workers in the factories and mines, in their homes, in their communities, and his richly detailed descriptions of these interactions provide ample evidence of the often contradictory attitudes of working people toward "fraternity and individualism, loyalty to the working class and the desire to escape it, transcendent visions of worker solidarity and parochial attachments to ethnicity, community, and faith" (p. xix). Hapgood is also noteworthy because his continuous search for an effective language and imagery that could inspire workers to unite and challenge the status quo, and his frustration when faced by worker passivity or employer intransigence, shed light on issues of current concern to labor historians.

From his leading role in the 1922 mineworkers' strike, to his participation in the pivotal sit down strikes in Akron, Ohio, and Flint, Michigan, to his strident defense of Communists in the CIO after World War II, Hapgood was always in the thick of many of labor's biggest battles. With a thorough knowledge of the scholarly literature on these and other topics, Bussel skillfully uses Hapgood to offer fresh perspectives on the New Deal, industrial union-

ism, and the fate of American liberalism. When Hapgood died in 1949, Rose Pesotta, a labor leader with whom he had enjoyed an intensely close relationship, mourned that her friend had "died as he lived—at the wheel—driving, driving into the dark unknown, alone and unafraid" (p. 198). A former union organizer himself, Bussel lauds the renewed possibilities of a closer alliance between middle-class reformers, intellectuals, and the labor movement since the 1995 election of John Sweeney as AFL-CIO president. Hapgood's successes and failures as an articulate and committed champion of the working class are therefore more timely than ever, and above all Bussel would have us remember that Hapgood's greatest legacy was that of a "passionate searcher, unwilling to . . . surrender his visionary dreams" (p. 202).

Bussel might well have devoted a larger portion of his book to developments after 1935, when the CIO was created, and his epilogue is too short to allow for anything other than a brief overview of Hapgood's legacy, but these are minor criticisms. Steeped in primary research, informed by an intimate awareness of historiographical trends, and lucidly written, this book is an impressive example of labor biography. Bussel is to be applauded for his valuable contribution to the literature on the labor movement in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

CRAIG PHELAN  
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DAVID PALMER, *Organizing the Shipyards: Union Strategy in Three Northeast Ports, 1933–1945*. Ithaca, N.Y.: IRL Press of Cornell University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 264. \$39.95.

How do you organize a union? Judging from the experiences of the International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America (IUMSWA), the answer depends mostly on the setting. Leadership, a shared sense of grievance, rank-and-file esprit de corps—the internal dynamics that define labor organizations—were important but rarely decisive. David Palmer's detailed case studies of unionization in three major shipyards during the 1930s and 1940s emphasizes the influence of local, external factors in the emergence of a union presence. An additional external factor that Palmer considers only in passing, the World War II-inspired growth of the shipbuilding industry, had an even greater impact on the health of the IUMSWA.

Like many industrial unions of the 1930s, the IUMSWA grew out of a rank-and-file uprising. This upheaval at New York Shipbuilding in Camden, New Jersey, and the rise of a powerful local union at the plant, was a classic story of Depression-era activism. After years of declining wages and opportunities, workers were frustrated and angry; the employer was ill-prepared for a militant labor organization; and government officials, operating through the National



Recovery Administration, were ineffectual. Strikes created leaders, solidified the organization, and inspired a history of struggle and triumph. Local I henceforth played a dominating role in the IUMSWA, not least because its leaders became the leaders of the international union.

The other two unions, at Federal Shipbuilding in Kearny, New Jersey, and Fore River Shipbuilding, in Quincy, Massachusetts, had very different histories. For one thing, they had to deal with more formidable corporate entities. While New York Ship was independent, Federal was a U.S. Steel subsidiary and Fore River was a Bethlehem Steel unit. Palmer's research suggests, however, that community influences were decisive even in these settings. Federal's shipyard was part of the New York harbor complex and strongly affected by harbor-wide trends. As organization spread among various transport-related industries in 1936–1937, Federal employees were caught up in the move to organize. Fore River employees were resistant for exactly the same reasons. Quincy was an isolated, conservative community, slow to organize. In this context, Bethlehem Steel's company union (and its successors) provided a less controversial outlet for worker energies until the end of World War II.

Union officers were acutely aware of these distinctions, of course, and struggled to overcome the many obstacles they faced. Palmer ably portrays the tensions between local militants and international officers, who sought to centralize decision making and impose bureaucratic controls. He implies that these efforts deterred organization but examines the issue only from the militants' perspective. Although most individuals in both camps had leftist political ties, ideology had little effect on behavior. Pragmatism, in the form of a continuous struggle for immediate, tangible economic and organizational gains, ruled the day. One of the most telling complaints of IUMSWA critics was that union leaders became more and more like their corporate adversaries.

In the end, war mobilization overshadowed everything else. The IUMSWA was a feisty but relatively insignificant union in 1939. Five years later, it was one of the largest Congress of Industrial Organizations members, thanks to employment growth in plants that had collective bargaining agreements. Five years after that, it had lost most of its wartime members, and by the 1960s the union was virtually moribund. Government policies that had nothing to do with the factors that Palmer examines accounted for most of this remarkable cycle of growth and decline. This may well be the most important and sobering lesson of the IUMSWA experience.

DANIEL NELSON  
*University of Akron*

ALBERT S. BROUSSARD, *African-American Odyssey: The Stewarts, 1853–1963*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. Pp. x, 244. \$29.95.

Albert S. Broussard's multi-generational study of the T. McCants Stewart family contributes to the long-neglected but currently budding field of African-American family history. This clearly written and engaging volume illustrates both the strengths and weaknesses of family history. As Broussard demonstrates, the Stewart family saga illuminates the larger story of black history and race relations, as well as the black elite's leadership in the struggle for equality through several generations. But their tale also reveals difficulties inherent in interpreting family history. Not only is it tough to penetrate the inner sanctum of family life and its often complex dynamic, it is also tricky to untangle personal shortcomings from societal failings.

While exploring this elite family across three generations, well over half of Broussard's book focuses on T. McCants Stewart, the family patriarch. Born free in Charleston before the Civil War, Stewart came of age just as educational opportunities proliferated for African Americans in the South. Like many educated young black men of his generation, he saw his role as providing leadership and "uplift" for less fortunate members of the community. But the peripatetic Stewart, after teaching and briefly practicing law, permanently left the South in 1878, first to attend seminary and then to pastor a church in New York City. Stewart's migration north was the first in a series of moves and career changes that marked his life. Always seeking career advancement as well as a more tolerant racial climate, Stewart made two disastrous forays to Liberia and an economically ruinous move to Hawaii, lived several years in London, and spent his final years in St. Thomas, where he died in 1923.

Broussard characterizes T. McCants Stewart as a dedicated race leader, a "man of ideas" that allowed him "to wear many hats during his long public career" and "to become an important African-American intellectual" (p. 64). Stewart was "a consistent champion of equal rights for African Americans, and worked 'to secure broader freedoms for Africans, Hawaiians, and Virgin Islanders'" (p. 100). According to Broussard, Stewart "never compromised his ideas" in the struggle for racial equality (p. 100). Yet Stewart's story seems more complex and contradictory. For much of his career, the pursuit of personal gain drove him more than his role as a race leader. Stewart chose to leave the South at a crucial moment, in the wake of Redemption. He also became a Democrat between 1887 and 1895, just as southern race relations worsened under the Redeemers. While Broussard acknowledges Stewart's "political posturing" (p. 59) in hopes of receiving a political appointment, he generally depicts Stewart's break with the Republicans in a more positive light, as part of a larger disillusionment felt by many black leaders. Yet few ever left the party of Lincoln, especially when the consequences of Democratic control seemed obvious. While Stewart eventually denounced the Democrats, his role as a race leader

seems to have diminished significantly over the last twenty-five years of his life.

Broussard is far more convincing and makes an important contribution by exploring how Stewart and his sons represented the frustrations of black professionals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. McCants and Gilchrist, lawyers like their father, struggled to establish practices that would allow them a modicum of economic security. But black lawyers had few prospects. Like his father, McCants desperately searched for opportunity, moving from Minneapolis to Portland, and finally to San Francisco, only to succumb to severe depression that led to his suicide in 1919. Not until the third generation, represented by Katherine Stewart Flippin (McCants's daughter) and her husband, Robert Browning Flippin, do we see a world in which racial barriers begin to crumble.

But again the Stewart story seems more complicated than Broussard posits. Personal traits and thorny family relationships affected the family's trajectory as well, which the author alludes to but hesitates to connect to the larger narrative. T. McCants Stewart "had a tendency to be pompous and arrogant" (p. 100), which likely accounts for at least some of his life-long struggles. To his three children he was a distant yet intimidating figure, who abandoned them, with their mother, to struggle in near poverty as he pursued a career in Liberia. Divorcing his wife upon his return, he provided little parenting but ruled with an iron fist when he chose to intervene in his children's lives. Only his daughter Carlotta seemed to fulfill her potential, distancing herself from her family on the mainland and forging a successful career as a teacher in Hawaii.

The intricate personal dynamics of the Stewart family, while often hidden from view, warrant further examination. While the author mercifully refrains from pop psychology in his analysis, the family's domestic sphere nonetheless provides many tantalizing clues to the Stewart family saga.

JANETTE THOMAS GREENWOOD  
Clark University

MARK SOLOMON. *The Cry was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917-1936*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1998. Pp. xxviii, 403. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

This book is an expansion and updating of Mark Solomon's 1972 dissertation. In addition to extending the time frame, in the present study he makes extensive use of recent works by other scholars and exploits the unprecedented access to Russian archives that has come about in the past decade. Solomon's ultimate objective is to displace the still prevalent view, established largely by Theodore Draper's *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (1960), which depicts the American movement as totally controlled from Moscow and doomed by its efforts to adjust to the erratic Soviet shifts in global policy. Regarding the several

studies since the 1970s that challenge that view, Solomon asserts that they exaggerate the degree of autonomy of the American Communist Party (CPUSA) and unfairly disparage the value of communist theory. The central thrust of his argument is that, although flawed, Marxist concepts of economic determinism and class consciousness were basically sound and were the driving forces motivating the Communists and black activists whose struggles his book chronicles. His main criticisms of the Communists are that they applied their theories poorly and that their adoption of V. I. Lenin's "democratic centralism" doctrine in the 1920s sapped the CPUSA of energy, insight, and diversity, rendering it politically narrow and internally conflicted, as were the Communist International and the Soviet leadership in general.

In fifteen thematic chapters, Solomon traces the party's thinking as it formulated a succession of initiatives for uniting the black and white working classes and garnering their support, such as the American Negro Labor Congress, the Trade Union Unity League, the Share Croppers' Union, and the National Negro Congress. The book also gives an account of the party's links to both radical and reformist organizations within the black community, such as the African Blood Brotherhood, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League. Solomon's most significant contributions in this book are his presentation of broader profiles than are elsewhere available of a number of significant black leaders who are now relatively unknown, such as the pioneer black Communists Otto Huiswood, Cyril Briggs, Richard B. Moore, and James Ford, and his richly informative notes. He also takes special pains to highlight contributions by black women in the party, including Louise Thompson, Maude White, and Wiliana Burroughs. Solomon's study shows the seemingly insoluble dilemma the Marxist revolutionaries faced in attempting to recruit support from among non-believers who would be the ones to bear the brunt of the suffering envisioned on the road to revolution. A disturbing reminder for the Communists of the depth of their quandary in the quest for revolution was that their most spectacular successes, in which their International Legal Defense was able partially to rectify the notorious miscarriages of justice in the Scottsboro and Angelo Herndon cases, suggested that the established order was capable of justice.

This book will be more readable for the specialist than for a general audience. The table of contents presages a lack of clarity in use of terminology that runs throughout the book. The author in some cases employs language from Communist polemics and theoretical slogans of the period (such as "Wipe the Stench of the Slave Market" and "The Third Period") without clarifying their meaning for the uninitiated. Solomon offers his own interpretation of a number of the Communist doctrinal debates of the period, but often with insufficient information to render the issues clear. For example, in the chapter on "Nationalists and

Reformists," a subsection on "Reformism, Nationalism, and the Inner Life of Black Communists" is only two pages long. One surprising omission from Solomon's discussion of important Soviet theorists in relation to his interpretations is Leon Trotsky, who in addition to being one of the most pivotal leaders of the Russian Revolution had direct contact with some of the black intellectuals Solomon treats. Trotsky's absence is also striking because Solomon cites Joseph Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism* (1939) for his assertion that Lenin and the Bolsheviks recognized as early as 1905 the need to unite the workers and peasants. This is somewhat misleading, since among the Russian Marxists it was in fact the Mensheviks, and especially Trotsky, who took the lead in acknowledging the revolutionary potential of the peasantry that the Russian populists had been touting for decades. Such points, however, are peripheral to Solomon's main concerns. His book is in large part a passionate tribute to the heroes and martyrs of the American Communist movement and the African Americans who joined them in the struggle for justice and equality during the years he outlines, a plea to remember their efforts and the fact that what they struggled for still has not been attained.

ALLISON BLAKELY  
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WILLIAM J. MAXWELL. *New Negro, Old Left: African-American Writing and Communism Between the Wars*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. Pp. xi, 254. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.50.

Take a firm resolution to highlight black agency where even scholars of like disposition do not often look for it, stir in equal measures of anti-anticommunism and out-of-season internationalism, add a dash of Pierre Bourdieu and Louis Althusser, Werner Sollors and Hazel Carby, then apply to a select group of texts authored by African Americans during the 1920s and 1930s, and you get a zesty, potent reworking of the relationship between African American culture and Third International Marxism.

Black bolshevism, William J. Maxwell argues, was a powerful generative force in the United States and Moscow. Writers and poets who published in Cyril Briggs's *The Crusader* and Max Eastman's *The Liberator*—from rarely studied characters like Andy Razaf to prominent Lenin enthusiasts like Claude McKay—were present at the birth of the Harlem Renaissance and of the "Black Belt" thesis passed at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. In the first case, the interracial, working-class sensibility promoted by Harlem radicals gave renaissance culture a sharp, anticapitalist edge. This sensibility persisted well into the Depression, where it helped stimulate the campaign conducted under Communist Party (CP) auspices to engender a distinctively proletarian literature. In the second, the insistence by Harlem anticapitalists that, in the United States, the dynamics of class obeyed the

logic of race was readily accepted by a Comintern already attuned to the revolutionary possibilities of anticolonialism. The "nation within a nation" thesis adopted in 1928 may have been a Soviet directive, but it was written under the theoretical tutelage of American radicals: McKay and his comrades in the African Blood Brotherhood, who were treated like dignitaries in Moscow and saw their arguments incorporated wholesale into Comintern manifestoes.

Historians of the American left could learn a great deal from Maxwell, not least about how much time they have wasted arguing whether a given political initiative was bred in the twisted minds of Soviet bureaucrats or in the hallowed womb of American experience. Maxwell's indifference to this argument frees him to explore the ideological preconditions for the very fruitful collaboration that in fact transpired between African-American intellectuals and Western Leninists. This search leads him to the same black anti-imperialism and class-conscious internationalism that one finds in the work of those—Paul Gilroy, for one—who have been headlining the existence of a "Black Atlantic" anticapitalist tradition. By moving these commitments to the center of American radical history, Maxwell builds a tenable outpost in a field currently crawling with labor republicans and working-class Americans, most of whom fought for their civic virtue and inalienable rights with one fist in the air and the other planted squarely in some dark-skinned face.

This book throws down a cognate challenge to literary scholars. Maxwell works hardest to "unsettle" what he calls the "cautionary history" (p. 11) of the relationship between African-American writing and Communism, one that sees black authors forever being used by white Communists and nationalist self-expression eternally subordinated to Soviet scheming or Marxist universalizing. Developed by McKay, Richard Wright, and, later, Harold Cruse as they parted company with the CP, and formalized by scholars who trust no text so much as an ex-Communist confessional, this account overlooks the most arresting features of interwar writing. By way of perceptive readings of Wright's early stories, Mike Gold's *Hoboken Blues* (1927), and Nelson Algren's *Somebody in Boots* (1935), Maxwell reveals as fluid and fecund an intermingling of black and white influence as Ann Douglas uncovered in *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (1995). To be sure, McKay and Wright came to regret their partnership with Communists, and Gold could be patronizing in his efforts to advise black writers, but to read into these events sad, deep truths about racial collaboration is to miss the common ideological and aesthetic values that made cooperation possible and, during these years, gratifying for both parties. Maxwell is particularly adept at outmaneuvering those who market such truths under the sign of folk authenticity. In the best chapter of a very good book, he illuminates clear "points of contact" (p. 157) between a Marxist Wright and the Boasian Zora Neale Hurston, both of whom appreciated rural black culture from a "Western

intellectual" (p. 165) standpoint. His tight documentation of a "covert entente" (p. 176) between writers typically made to represent a great divide in African-American letters showcases the analytic power of an ideology-sensitive criticism and should win for Maxwell a place in future discussions of modern literature and radical politics.

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ROBERT DAVID JOHNSON, *Ernest Gruening and the American Dissenting Tradition*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 132.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. vi, 375. \$45.00.

Nobody reading this book will doubt that Ernest Gruening deserves to be remembered for much more than his spirited stand against the war in Vietnam. Robert David Johnson has written a full biography of a quite extraordinary figure in twentieth-century American history. "Where Ernest Gruening is, there is controversy," said the *New York Times* in 1958. "He has thrived on it most of his seventy-one years" (p. 195). The general observation would have been just as accurate fifteen years later.

Born in 1887 into a prosperous immigrant family, Gruening attended prestigious private schools, turned in a mediocre record at Harvard, and defied his father by rejecting a medical career for journalism. He worked on Boston and New York newspapers and became general manager of the *Nation* in the early 1920s. Constantly at odds with employers, Gruening's financial security enabled him to stand on principle, quit his job, and retain the ideological purity of his opinions. By the time he reached thirty, moreover, he had very strong opinions on both domestic and international matters.

His domestic politics were formed in the Progressive era. They were, in general, an unexceptional mixture of antimonopoly sentiment and an emphasis on individual liberties. The former position Gruening maintained long after other liberals had abandoned it in favor of full production and government regulation. Gruening was also a strong advocate of civil rights (in the mid-1910s, he instructed reporters working under him not to mention the race of their subjects without compelling reason) and, throughout his life, a staunch proponent of birth control measures. His domestic opinions were influenced by two of his (many) heroes, Louis D. Brandeis and Robert La Follette; in 1924, he was the national director of publicity for La Follette's presidential campaign. It was in the field of international relations, however, that Gruening was most notably involved, best informed, and most widely respected by contemporaries. He became one of the nation's leading experts on Latin America and a genuine authority on Mexico and the Caribbean, especially on Haiti and Puerto Rico. In the 1930s, Franklin D. Roosevelt named him to federal positions

dealing with Latin America, including the directorship of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration. A foe of imperialism, Gruening advocated the cause of Latin American reformers and was a vehement critic of armed intervention.

Before long, the outspoken bureaucrat earned the enmity of his boss, Harold L. Ickes, and wore out his welcome at the White House. In 1939, largely to get rid of him, Roosevelt appointed Gruening—over the appointee's objection—territorial governor of Alaska, and for the rest of his life, this maverick's career was tied to that place. He was instrumental in the economic development of the territory and an advocate of statehood. For his efforts, Alaskans gratified a lifelong ambition and sent him to the Senate in 1958. Largely because of his extreme and uncompromising position on Vietnam (in a state where eighty-three percent of the population favored escalating the war), Gruening went down to a bitter defeat in 1968.

The figure that emerges from this study is exceedingly complex, and the most admirable aspect of the book is that Johnson does not minimize the complexity. No one will accuse the author of being blind to his subject's weaknesses. He shows that Gruening could be terribly petty, vengeful, and sharp-tongued. He could also be inconsistent (as when he became a Cold Warrior to get military spending for Alaska or approved armed intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965). He praised the wisdom of an informed populace, but only until the populace came to a different conclusion than his own. But Johnson also shows that Gruening was capable of constructive thought and high, lonely courage in the defense of principle. He was phenomenally energetic, a brilliant and persuasive debater, profoundly admired by many thoughtful men and women of his time.

Johnson has mastered the innumerable details of this remarkable career—not a small feat considering the wide variety of matters in which his subject was immersed, everything from utility battles in Maine to factionalism in the Puerto Rican legislature. The scholarship in both manuscript and published sources (including thousands of Gruening's editorials) is exhaustive and impressive. The writing is clear but occasionally plodding. Johnson does not always distinguish appropriately between the crucial and the trivial battles of Gruening's career. He also has the annoying habit of unnecessarily intruding quotations of one or two or three words in hundreds of his sentences. Nevertheless, this is a fine bit of scholarship. Prediction is always a risk, but it seems likely that no one will need to revisit this topic for many years to come.

DAVID W. LEVY  
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ALLISON B. GILMORE, *You Can't Fight Tanks With Bayonets: Psychological Warfare against the Japanese Army in the Southwest Pacific*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 226. \$45.00.



Allison B. Gilmore has produced a well-written, clearly argued narrative of the Allied psychological warfare efforts against the Japanese forces fighting in the Southwest Pacific during World War II. The book is attractively laid out and illustrated by interesting photographs of Allied propaganda materials and psychological warfare specialists. Using primary sources from the military history collections at the National Archives as well as documents from the Douglas MacArthur Memorial Library, Gilmore does a heroic job of explaining the labyrinthine bureaucracy governing Allied propaganda activities. Her work should interest scholars of military history, Asian studies, and World War II.

Conceding the reluctance of most Japanese soldiers to surrender, Gilmore attempts to assess whether nearly 400,000 million Allied propaganda leaflets demoralized those defending Japan. Without denying the role of racial hatred in the fierce combat in the Pacific, Gilmore provides a nuanced discussion of how Allied propagandists "strove to go beyond the prevailing racial stereotypes and arrive at a more sophisticated understanding of the enemy as individual beings with discernible strengths and weaknesses" (pp. 3-4). Allied psychological warfare specialists concluded that using racial caricatures such as those explored in John Dower's *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (1986) would only intensify Japanese soldiers' resistance. Instead, Allied propagandists embraced a "strategy of truth" and refused to criticize Emperor Hirohito. They also emphasized the material superiority of the Allied powers, the compassionate treatment that Japanese POWs received, and the futility of continued Japanese resistance. As the war progressed, Gilmore claims, the "propaganda of despair" persuaded hundreds of Japanese soldiers to surrender without fearing that they would be murdered for doing so.

Eager to understand the enemy, Allied psywar officials carefully studied the culture and history of Japan. They examined the "death before dishonor" credo of the Japanese military and the profound nationalism shared by the Japanese. They crafted precise rules and themes governing their propaganda campaigns in the Southwest Pacific Area (SWPA). Nonetheless, early Allied propaganda materials were marred by language errors and poor phrasing. Allied officers struggled to produce propaganda that was neither too simplistic nor too sophisticated for the average Japanese soldier. With valuable input from Japanese POWs, Nisei linguists, and propagandists in other theaters, SWPA propagandists improved their materials over the course of the war. They accentuated Japanese and German military defeats, exposed the weaknesses in Japanese military leadership and equipment, and publicized the provisions of the Geneva Convention. In deference to Japanese warrior culture, Allied psywar specialists replaced the phrase "I surrender" with the more honorable statement "I cease resistance." They stressed that the Allied policy of "unconditional sur-

render" did not signify "extermination of the Japanese population or destruction of the home islands as purported by Japanese leaders" (p. 103). Such tactics, Gilmore contends, resulted in more effective propaganda. In the final stages of the war, Allied soldiers were confronted by Japanese troops waving Allied surrender leaflets and following the precise instructions such pamphlets contained.

But effective psychological warfare activities had to be linked to combat operations. While Gilmore does not claim propaganda caused the Japanese to submit, she is less successful in explaining why the vast majority of Japanese soldiers fought until the imperial surrender issued on August 15, 1945. Although she argues that the propaganda campaigns improved over time, she does not explain why some of the war's most ferocious battles occurred in 1945. She further weakens her case by admitting that "in almost all cases propaganda failed unless the target population had been softened up by physical hardships" (pp. 148-49). Given that the Japanese endured mass starvation, horrific conventional bombing raids, and two atomic bombs before surrendering, one concludes that Allied psychological warfare efforts had a negligible effect. Her descriptions of the role of Japanese POWs and Nisei in Allied propaganda efforts are more successful. Yet Gilmore does not explain how the Allies' "strategy of truth" presented the realities of the Japanese-American internment camps. One wonders whether the Japanese military leadership used the camps as a way to debunk Allied promises that Japanese POWs would be treated decently. In the end, Gilmore's failure to situate the propaganda campaigns within the larger context of military strategy leaves one convinced that the sword is mightier than the pen.

LAURA A. BELMONTE

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JOHN A. MILLS. *Control: A History of Behavioral Psychology*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 246. \$37.50.

Psychologists have long sensed, even if only subliminally, that their laboratory notions of experimental control bear some relationship to larger notions of social control. Any such relationship would of course carry both promise and peril, a fact that has entered public consciousness through the literature of psychological utopias and dystopias (one need only think of B. F. Skinner's widely read *Walden Two* [1948] and Anthony Burgess's *Clockwork Orange* [1962]). As indicated by its title, John A. Mills's history of behavioral psychology centers on the theme of control. Although a problematic work in many respects, it leaves little doubt that the connection between experimental and social control is no mere pun.

Mills pursues his task through a series of linked theses: that American psychology embraced behaviorism as a way to gain scientific credibility while simultaneously appealing to a popular audience that sought



application; that behaviorists' instrumentalist theory of value meshed with Progressivist views of social order; that behavioral laboratories became training grounds for social technocrats holding simplistic beliefs about the transfer of laboratory findings to natural settings; that behaviorism was driven by ideological concerns, not science; and that, in the final analysis, American psychology's "fundamental failure" lay in its attempt to replace theoretical sophistication with "a contentless technological sophistication" (p. 75). Mills's coverage spans turn-of-the-century sociology, where he finds significant anticipations of behaviorism, through the 1960s, when a resurgent cognitive psychology began to displace the neobehaviorism of Kenneth Spence and his students. Included are solid accounts of behaviorism's lesser lights (A. P. Weiss, J. R. Kantor, Walter Hunter) along with fuller treatments of its leading figures (John B. Watson, Clark L. Hull, B. F. Skinner). Along the way, Mills provides much telling history, profitably integrating the existing literature on behaviorism with his own research. A strong chapter on Watson, behaviorism's putative founder, details his skilled juggling of two audiences (laboratory scientists and the public), elucidates his peculiar sympathy with Freudian theory, and traces the rise and fall of classical behaviorism up to the emergence of the neobehaviorisms of the 1930s. A penultimate chapter, by far the book's most telling and pertinent, treats behaviorists' incursions into the realm of therapy, showing how the behavior modification movement eventually foundered on both epistemological and ethical-legal grounds.

Other chapters are less successful, being uneven in both quality and historiographical style. The chapter on Hull fails to make convincing contact with the theme of control—perhaps not surprisingly since Hull's efforts were directed at abstract theory. We are given only an undocumented claim (p. 120) that Hull endorsed the Watsonian aim of "prediction and control" and a feeble effort to link the theme of control with his managerial style at Yale's Institute of Human Relations. Except for fragments of biographical material, the chapter on Skinner abandons history altogether for a rambling philosophical analysis of his views on behavior, values, causality, and utopian society. Similar excursions into philosophical analysis occur in other chapters as well, often appearing out of nowhere as distracting and disconnected soliloquies.

More substantively, the author's eagerness to finger behaviorism as the culprit in American psychology's obsession with control leads him to overlook some evidence to the contrary. For example, nowhere does Mills mention that Watson's famous phrase about "prediction and control" was drawn from William James's 1892 essay "A Plea for Psychology as a 'Natural Science'." That James was no behaviorist of course suggests that a scientific concern for control among American psychologists was never the sole province of behaviorists. Also neglected are Jill G. Morawski's work on psychologists' utopian proposals, showing that themes of social control ran through the

writings of behaviorist and nonbehaviorist psychologists alike ("Assessing Psychology's Moral Heritage through Our Neglected Utopias," *American Psychologist* 37 [1982]), and Philip J. Pauly's account of how the behaviorisms of Watson and Skinner were shaped by the efforts of the German biologist Jacques Loeb and his disciples (*Controlling Life: Jacques Loeb and the Engineering Ideal in Biology* [1987]). Clearly, issues of control were not unique to behaviorism, or even to American psychology, or even to American science. Failure to appreciate this larger perspective leads Mills at times to overstatement and lack of nuance.

In the end, however, Mills's book survives its flaws by virtue of the robustness of its thesis: behaviorism was a deeply ideological movement and whatever claims it made to the status of value-free science were indeed groundless. All told, Mills's work stands as a useful and enlightening exposé of behaviorism's monumental pretense to ideological neutrality. The fact that similar stories could be told about other theoretical traditions in psychology—or, for that matter, about those in other sciences—need not undermine Mills's message, but it should serve to temper any conclusion that behaviorism is somehow special in that regard.

LAURENCE D. SMITH  
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ERIC PAUL ROORDA. *The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Trujillo Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930–1945*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 337. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$17.95.

In a process that Mary Shelley, author of *Frankenstein* (1818), might have appreciated, the United States inadvertently created monsters in the Caribbean basin during the 1920s and early 1930s. Weary of increasingly costly and counterproductive interventionism in the region, U.S. officials worked energetically to organize new national security forces that would provide internal stability and allow the United States to terminate its military interventions and occupations. The ostensibly professionalized, apolitical armies, national guards, constabularies, and gendarmes that U.S. advisers trained and equipped were, in turn, quickly transformed into personal political power bases by some of the most repressive, corrupt, obsequiously pro-U.S. authoritarian dictators that twentieth-century Latin American politics produced: Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, and Fulgencio Batista in Cuba, to name only the most notorious.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt administration found these Caribbean tyrants repugnant but useful. During the late 1930s, a security-driven need for "hemispheric solidarity" in the face of the Axis threat led Roosevelt to form close political-military alliances with the region's dictatorships despite the unsavory nature of their domestic political records. They may have been

"SOBs," Roosevelt apparently concluded, but at least they would be "our SOBs."

The historiography of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy has generally portrayed Washington's authoritarian allies in the Caribbean as servile and dependent puppets of U.S. foreign policy who unhesitatingly did their hegemon's bidding. Recently, however, a few scholars have begun to probe more deeply into the dynamics of U.S. relations with these dictatorships, and what they are finding is that the dictators had considerably more power and leverage in their bilateral relationships with the United States than had previously been realized. Paul Coe Clark's *The United States and Somoza, 1933-1956: A Revisionist Look* (1992) documented the ways in which Somoza manipulated the Good Neighbor policy to serve his domestic political interests. Eric Paul Roorda's new study of U.S. relations with the Dominican Republic from 1930 to 1945 similarly finds that Trujillo skillfully manipulated U.S. foreign policy to advance his authoritarian-nationalist agenda.

According to Roorda, Trujillo circumvented early State Department hostility to his regime by cultivating supporters elsewhere in the U.S. policy making machinery. Trujillo's well-connected lobbyist in Washington, former U.S. federal trade commissioner Joseph E. Davies, courted high-level Roosevelt administration officials, including the president, on the dictator's behalf. A stable of U.S. military officers, many of them friends of Trujillo from the 1916-1924 U.S. military occupation of the Dominican Republic, also worked to promote U.S. cooperation with his government. In addition, Trujillo's extravagant hospitality and occasional use of bribery secured the participation of several U.S. congressmen (including Rep. Hamilton Fish, the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee) and journalists in an influential "Dominican lobby" in the United States.

Backed by his assemblage of U.S. supporters, Trujillo shrewdly exploited U.S. hemispheric defense concerns in the late 1930s to advance his interests and those of his nation. In return for open-ended military cooperation with the United States, he secured the key items on his foreign policy agenda: removal of the U.S. customs receivership that had controlled Dominican finances for decades, six million dollars in Export-Import Bank loans and credits, and generous supplies of weaponry—including aircraft and ships—that enabled him, in Roorda's words, "to menace his neighbors (especially Haiti) and his own citizens for three decades" (p. 243). In the end, Roorda writes, Trujillo "seized and held the initiative in the bilateral relationship with the United States" (p. 90).

Contrary to "the prevailing notion that he was a pliable client of the United States" (p. 3), Trujillo made life difficult for U.S. businessmen in the Dominican Republic, stirred up international tensions with his Caribbean neighbors, and even flirted on occasion with the Third Reich. Nevertheless, the urgent need for hemispheric allies against European and Asian

fascism led Roosevelt to embrace neighboring dictators such as Trujillo, even though, in Roorda's view, those authoritarian neighbors displayed "fascist proclivities" of their own (pp. 154, 193). Such realpolitik occasionally painted the Good Neighbor policy into embarrassing corners—as when FDR, for the sake of inter-American harmony, refrained from publicly condemning Trujillo for the 1937 killing of 12,000 resident Haitians and instead praised the Dominican dictator's offer of a \$750,000 cash indemnity to Haiti as a commendable example of Pan-American cooperation at work.

Some readers of this book may wish that its author had delved more deeply into Trujillo's personal views on domestic and international politics. Others will be left unpersuaded by Roorda's attempt to equate Trujillo's brand of traditional Latin American authoritarianism with the totalitarianism of European fascism. Many perhaps will find it unremarkable that the architects of the Good Neighbor policy chose to "hold hands with the devil" (p. 182) in their relations with Caribbean dictators in order to defeat what they regarded as more dangerous devils elsewhere. Nonetheless, Roorda's book is a substantial contribution not only to our understanding of the dynamics of U.S.-Latin American relations during the Good Neighbor era but to an emerging international history that documents the capacity of small states on the peripheries of world power to influence the policies of superpowers at the center of the international system.

MICHAEL GROW  
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SHLOMO SLONIM, *Jerusalem in America's Foreign Policy, 1947-1997*. Boston: Kluwer Law International. 1998. Pp. xiv, 421. \$25.00.

KENNETH W. STEIN, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. xix, 324. \$24.99.

U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict remains one of the most complex and perplexing issues in the field of diplomatic history. In well-written and engaging volumes, Kenneth W. Stein and Shlomo Slonim contribute to our general understanding of the issue through two distinct approaches. While Stein intensively examines U.S. policy making on several dimensions of the Arab-Israeli dispute over a short time period, Slonim examines the diplomacy on one particular conflict—the status of Jerusalem—over a fifty-year period.

Stein examines in exhaustive detail the twists and turns in international diplomacy involving the Arab-Israeli conflict in the middle 1970s, specifically the crucial phase of peacemaking between the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 and the Camp David Accords of 1978. Stein bases his assessment mainly on interviews with more than eighty U.S., Arab, and Israeli diplomats, supplemented by a smattering of documents and mem-

oirs. Such an approach at once forms the book's greatest weakness and strength. While many consider oral history unreliable, Stein's access to the memories of key participants enables him to explain and analyze the diplomacy of peacemaking years before historians will gain access to the pertinent official records in state archives.

Through judicious use of his interviews, Stein proposes several compelling themes. He observes that U.S., Egyptian, and Israeli officials conducted themselves responsibly, creatively, and sacrificially to achieve an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty despite the instability and tension caused by the 1973 war. Officials such as Anwar Sadat, Menachem Begin, Henry Kissinger, and Jimmy Carter, in Stein's judgment, acted like "heroic players in this diplomacy" (p. xv). To his credit, Stein sensibly suggests that these heroes of peacemaking were not devoid of faults. Reflecting the traditional portrait of Kissinger as master strategist and controller, for example, Stein notes that Kissinger actually stymied productive talks between Israeli and Egyptian military officers in late 1973 in order to preserve U.S. influence over the peace process.

Stein excels at establishing the international context of peacemaking by examining diplomacy from the perspectives of the United States, Israel, Egypt, and, where appropriate, other Arab states and the Soviet Union. He offers convincing explanations to such diplomatic puzzles as the Syrian boycott of the 1973 Geneva conference and the importance of the shuttle diplomacy that led to the Syrian-Israeli and Egyptian-Israeli disengagement accords. He thoroughly describes Sadat's dramatic visit to Jerusalem in 1977 and examines how the visit revolutionized the Arab-Israeli conflict by altering the perceptions, agendas, and goals of all involved powers. Stein might have improved his book modestly by stepping back from the minute details to accentuate his analysis and interpretation. On balance, however, his book provides an expert assessment that will serve as a benchmark for future, archival based studies of the peacemaking of the 1970s.

Slonim defines four phases in U.S. policy toward Jerusalem from the 1940s to the 1990s. In 1947–1950, he explains, President Harry S. Truman abandoned the concept of a *corpus separatum* as provided by the United Nations partition resolution of 1947 and pursued "functional" internationalization (p. 171), meaning conditional tolerance of Israel's and Jordan's civil administration of West and East Jerusalem, respectively. After a second phase of U.S. passivity on the issue from 1950 to 1967, Slonim finds that U.S. policy toward Jerusalem widely fluctuated after Israel occupied East Jerusalem in 1967, as each administration from Lyndon B. Johnson's to Bill Clinton's declared policy at variance with its predecessors'. In phase four, Slonim explains, Jerusalem emerged as a major issue in the peace process of the 1990s. With more precision than any other scholar, Slonim expertly traces the ebb

and flow of U.S. policy toward Jerusalem over a half century.

Slonim's presentation, however, falls short of its full potential on several counts. First, the author describes policy as it was announced publicly in U.N. debates, presidential pronouncements, and State Department declarations rather than probing behind the official statements to determine the secret principles, deliberations, and objectives of U.S. officials. Slonim leaves virtually untouched the vast, available archival materials of the 1940s–1960s, and, unlike Stein, he refrains from gathering such information of later decades. Such research might have enabled Slonim to illuminate the complex motivations and intentions of U.S. officials and to identify the political, security, cultural, economic, and other factors that shaped U.S. policies.

Second, Slonim's book displays a pervasive, if not excessive, legalism. The author critiques U.S. policy over several decades for inconsistency between administrations and for incongruity with somewhat arcane legal codes. Instead of exploring the basis of Richard M. Nixon's policy, for example, Slonim contests it on the basis of arguments by "many noted legal scholars" (p. 205). He constructs a major observation about U.S. policy in 1971 by extensively parsing a few words of a statement by U.N. ambassador George Bush about Israeli construction in East Jerusalem. Such intensive hair-splitting gives unwarranted attention to a single diplomatic pronouncement, denies ambiguities in the source text, and fails to corroborate the author's point with evidence from primary sources. Slonim engages in such legalistic discourse throughout his manuscript, only to note in the conclusion that U.S. officials never made "any attempt at seriously weighing the legal issues and having them weighed-in appropriately into the calculus" (p. 372).

In its latter chapters, Slonim's book resembles less a thorough study of U.S. diplomacy and more a legal brief arguing a case for a particular U.S. policy toward Jerusalem in the modern day. The endorsed policy closely resembles the view of Israeli conservatives that the United States should recognize the full sovereignty of Israel over all of Jerusalem.

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KAREN S. MILLER. *The Voice of Business: Hill & Knowlton and Postwar Public Relations*. (The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 261. \$39.95.

Karen S. Miller concludes that the world's most important public relations firm had little impact on either public opinion or political action in the 1940s and 1950s. Instead, she argues, the agency's primary effect was on its own clients. More than anything else, Hill & Knowlton (H&K) reinforced the beliefs and opinions of business leaders, providing them with a rationale for

their behavior and, not coincidentally, convincing them that the agency's services were worth paying for.

By 1959, H&K had a payroll of 250, annual billings of more than \$3 million plus expenses, and a client list that included some of the biggest corporations and trade organizations in the world. Agency executives boasted that the combined sales of their clients comprised ten percent of the gross national product. Under the guidance of founder John W. Hill, the agency had become the acknowledged international leader in the field of public relations.

Hill's objective was straightforward: to persuade the public that business leaders were best equipped to govern economic policy, thus fending off government regulation of the economy. Miller uses some of the tools of sociology to measure his effectiveness. Through a series of case studies, she demonstrates that H&K was often successful in defining the "frames" (or points of discussion) used in public discourse on issues affecting its clients. However, this ability to influence debate rarely translated to a meaningful impact on public policy, and Hill himself came to wonder about how much he had accomplished.

At times, the agency's influence was undercut by external events. For example, its efforts on behalf of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association to curb regulation of the drug industry were capsize by the thalidomide scandal of 1959. More commonly, the agency refocused public debate on an issue without significantly altering public opinion, as shown in the butter-versus-margarine controversy of 1948 to 1950. In a departure from its usual antiregulation stance, H&K—representing butter manufacturers—campaign against deregulation of oleomargarine. Although the agency clearly influenced the discussion, it did not save the day for butter. Most people did not want continued tax and color restrictions on margarine, and Congress acted accordingly.

Miller's analysis of the role of H&K in the steel strike of 1952 is fluent and persuasive. The agency rallied elite opinion leaders and managed to generate a flood of favorable mail and news coverage for its client, the American Iron and Steel Institute. This created the appearance of public support for the industry, bolstering the spirits of industry executives and fortifying their determination to hold out against the unions. It also enhanced the agency's reputation, providing a selling point to get more business. In the end, Miller concludes, the greatest beneficiary of the steel campaign was not the industry but H&K.

In general, Miller provides an important corrective to those writers who overestimate the power of public relations. However, she does not seem to trust either her instincts or her evidence in assessing H&K's work for cigarette manufacturers in the mid-1950s. After briefly noting that industry propaganda was just one of many factors affecting beliefs and behavior concerning smoking, she suggests that the modern antismoking movement would have gained momentum faster if H&K had been working for public health groups

instead of for the tobacco industry. The healthy skepticism that characterizes much of her book is overcome here by a willingness to accept the conventional wisdom. If H&K had only limited success in promoting the tobacco industry, there is little reason to assume it would have been more successful in trying to discourage smoking.

Miller concludes that H&K's minimal impact on the social and political realm is less important than "the unintended and indirect effects its campaigns had on its clients and on the American people" (p. 192). Among these, she cites the climate of intolerance in the postwar era. She implies that the agency's incessant warnings about creeping socialism and the threat of communism may have laid the groundwork for McCarthyism. This seems a bit of a stretch. Surely H&K-generated press releases for the Aircraft Industries Association or the Iron and Steel Institute were insignificant compared to external events, such as the Communist victory in China and the Soviet nuclear and space programs. More plausibly, Miller points out that the agency consistently demonstrated the advantages of unifying an industry and its supporters into one coherent, and thereby amplified, voice. But the agency's greatest contribution may have been to convince business leaders that public relations worked, at least to the point that they committed ever-increasing amounts of money to it.

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DAVID L. SNEAD. *The Gaither Committee, Eisenhower, and the Cold War*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999. Pp. x, 286. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

David L. Snead examines the background, deliberations, and impact of the 1957 Gaither Committee and uses this as a case study to assess President Dwight D. Eisenhower's national security decision-making process. As Snead notes, the Gaither Committee experience was not a unique phenomenon. Upon taking office, Eisenhower reorganized the National Security Council and made that body responsible for evaluating security issues. Furthermore, he regularly called on outside scientific, military, and economic consultants to get the broadest possible perspective on critical issues. Prior to 1957, he employed consultative bodies similar to the Gaither Committee on two occasions. In 1953, Project Solarium led to the New Look policy; and in 1954, the Killian Committee contributed to an acceleration of America's missile program and the U-2 program.

The Gaither Committee was inaugurated to assess the need for expanded expenditures on continental and civil defense. After nearly a year of deliberations, it submitted a report that went far beyond this mandate and addressed a broad range of national security issues. The make-up of the committee, Snead asserts, in many ways predetermined the tenor of its report. He devotes a chapter to biographical sketches of the



committee members. Eisenhower was soliciting the opinions of people who had already developed strong beliefs about Soviet intentions and military capabilities. They perceived a greater Soviet threat than Eisenhower himself did. Furthermore, if these individuals were apprehensive about the Soviet Union from the start, the information they received from the Central Intelligence Agency and other sources confirmed their apprehensions. Snead notes how this material was skewed by inadequate analysis of Soviet intentions as opposed to capabilities.

Eisenhower was surprised by the committee's recommendations, but the author maintains that he should not have been. The report made proposals in five areas: increasing the U.S. missile arsenal, reducing the Strategic Air Command's vulnerability to attack, enhancing America's ability to fight limited wars, implementing a fallout shelter program, and reorganizing the defense establishment. The committee's own calculations estimated that accomplishing these goals would entail a 44.2 billion dollar increase in defense spending over the next four years. In recommending such a major budgetary expansion, the report threatened Eisenhower's objective, embodied in his New Look policy, of ensuring national security while maintaining low inflation and a fiscally responsible balanced budget.

Despite the fact that the report challenged established policy, Snead takes issue with historians such as Stephen E. Ambrose, who in *Eisenhower: The President* (1984) argues that Eisenhower rejected the report. Snead claims that Eisenhower's response was cautious, but that he did order further studies by different executive departments and in some cases modified programs. With the exception of fallout shelters and increases in conventional forces, the report had an influence.

Beyond the report's impact on Eisenhower's policy, Snead considers its long-range implications. It emerged during a volatile period when the Soviet Union had launched Sputniks I and II, raising concerns about Soviet nuclear superiority and American vulnerability. When word of its recommendations leaked, it contributed to the concern about a possible missile gap that would become one of the cornerstones of John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign in 1960. While Snead is careful not to argue that the report specifically influenced Kennedy's policies, he suggests that its ideas were important in the development of his administration's flexible response strategy.

Snead clearly admires Eisenhower as a president. Still, he is critical of how the president handled this committee. He suggests that Eisenhower's own more cautious outlook was more appropriate than the report's alarmist perspective. Snead's description of Eisenhower's hands-off leadership reinforces the portrayal of his presidential style contained in Fred I. Greenstein's *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader* (1982). But in this instance, Eisenhower's methods failed him. He allowed the committee too

much autonomy, thus permitting it to interpret its mandate broadly. As a consequence, the final report challenged some of the fundamental principles of Eisenhower's presidency, particularly the effectiveness of the New Look, the centerpiece of U.S. strategy. In addition, Eisenhower never clearly conveyed his own views to the committee or to the American public as a whole. This led to the broad scope of the report and in the end raised grave doubts about his policies during his second administration.

Utilizing a wealth of new archival material not available to scholars in the past, Snead has added to the historical understanding of the second Eisenhower administration's defense policies. His work is a valuable addition to the ongoing assessment of the Eisenhower presidency.

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ARTHUR J. SABIN. *In Calmer Times: The Supreme Court and Red Monday*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 262. \$35.00.

In the 1950s, Americans were going to prison for being members of the Communist Party. Spurred on by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director J. Edgar Hoover, in 1948 the Justice Department initiated prosecutions under the Smith Act against the Communist Party's top leaders, who were convicted in October 1949. The Supreme Court upheld the *Dennis v. U.S.* verdicts in June 1951, and two weeks later, the FBI, eager for a large-scale round up, swooped on more party members. Altogether another 126 were indicted. In 1956–1957, however, the willingness of the Court to sanction anticommunist prosecutions weakened, and on Red Monday, June 17, 1957, it issued four decisions that effectively crippled the Smith Act. The Justice Department never again initiated a prosecution using it.

The framers of the American Constitution had intended that the system of divided government should function to preserve liberty, but the checks and balances failed in the McCarthy era. The role of the courts, especially the Supreme Court, in legitimizing and intensifying McCarthyism was immense, as it was critical, too, in later dismantling the apparatus of repression. The part played by the Supreme Court in the dynamics of McCarthyism has never been fully explored, although Arthur J. Sabin here analyzes a phase of the story: that is, the process through which the Supreme Court came to its celebrated decisions on Red Monday. The background of political repression—beginning with the Alien and Sedition Laws (1798)—is sketched but the book begins in earnest with the *Dennis* case, after which it carefully traces the Court's steps in red scare cases until the reversals of the *Yates v. U.S.* and other decisions of 1957. The study draws primarily on the printed court records and on the extensive secondary literature, although it also makes use of newspapers and some manuscript



sources. The author points out the relevance of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954) in preparing the way for the national security cases, offers intriguing glimpses of J. Edgar Hoover's attempts to influence the Court, and explicates the differing stances of the various Supreme Court justices. Nonetheless, Sabin's examination of the legal considerations governing the justices and of the restraints they inserted into anticommunist prosecutions is likely to be of more interest to other legal scholars than to historians.

In explaining the Court's move from repression in 1951 to a more liberal position in 1956–1957, Sabin draws attention to the changes in the Court's personnel and to Earl Warren's desire for "fair" outcomes. But Sabin's principal explanation is that the Supreme Court followed changes in public opinion. This interpretation is eminently plausible, but it is arrived at rather circumstantially, by placing the Supreme Court's decisions against the background of changing events. Giving depth to a familiar argument of this kind really requires a much more detailed examination of the interaction of the justices with contemporary matters. We need to know more about their private views and the influences brought to bear on them. Occasionally, Sabin does produce a piece of such evidence from the justices' files, and perhaps he has unearthed all there is, but not enough to provide a richly textured discussion.

Sabin takes scholarly impartiality to almost self-defeating lengths. He tends to explain the differing views of other scholars on an issue without taking sides himself. He raises the question of whether the *Yates* decision was a product of "record worship," that is whether the Court seized on a minor technical error in the original prosecution as an excuse for overturning a verdict. But having raised the question, he does not answer it. Similarly frustrating is the book's treatment of the press reaction to the Red Monday decisions, when examples of both favorable and unfavorable press comment are offered without any attempt to measure the general response. Sabin is limited, too, by earlier studies occupying some of his territory. In particular, he draws on studies by Michal R. Belknap and Walter F. Murphy (both of whom are handsomely credited), although C. Herman Pritchett's book, *Congress Versus the Supreme Court, 1957–1960* (1961), is curiously overlooked. Specialists will appreciate the clear account of the legal cases provided by this study, as will those coming to the topic for the first time, but the book as a whole does not greatly enhance understanding of the larger subject of McCarthyism.

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GLENN T. ESKEW, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Pp. xv, 434. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

No city better symbolizes the brutality of racial repression in the American South and the courageous spirit of the black freedom struggle of the late 1950s and early 1960s than does Birmingham, Alabama. From the late 1940s through the mid-1960s, dozens of bombings destroyed black homes, earning one black neighborhood the nickname "Dynamite Hill." During the spring of 1961, the brutal violence toward the Freedom Riders in Birmingham riveted the nation's attention. Two years later, in May 1963, the image of fire hoses pummeling black school children triggered a moral revulsion that directly contributed to the eventual enactment of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Glenn T. Eskew has written an excellent (and prize-winning) book analyzing the civil rights struggle in Birmingham during the 1950s and 1960s. The struggle in Birmingham was important to the overall success of the civil rights movement. Indeed, "but for Birmingham," the pace and perhaps extent of racial reform in the 1960s would have been different. But Eskew's primary focus is not the broader political ramifications of the Birmingham struggle. Rather, Eskew's concern is the interplay between national civil rights organizations, such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and local organizations, such as Birmingham's Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR). "To understand the civil rights struggle," Eskew writes, "one must understand the intersection of the local and national movements" (p. 14).

To Eskew, this intersection of the national and local movements was not a happy convergence of like-minded forces seeking a common goal through agreed-upon methods. In Eskew's narrative, the SCLC and the ACMHR had different goals and these differences produced conflict. In particular, Eskew is sharply critical of the SCLC and its president, Martin Luther King, Jr., for what Eskew describes as their accommodationist attitudes and desire to protect their own institutional interests, even at the expense of certain movement goals. Eskew contrasts King's actions in the Birmingham struggle with those of Fred Shuttlesworth, president of the ACMHR, whom he describes as an embattled, principled leader who refused to accommodate. To Eskew, "Shuttlesworth unflinchingly faced the establishment and demanded Negro civil rights," (p. 288), while King "accommodated the desires of the establishment while compromising the demands of the movement" (p. 296). In this clash of national and local movements, it was, in Eskew's view, the indigenous movement—"the stalwart ACMHR members and black college students"—that "embodied the civil rights struggle in its purest form" (p. 296).

Eskew's narrative of Birmingham directly engages the existing scholarly literature on the black freedom struggle. On many occasions, Eskew sharply contrasts his narrative and interpretations with those of earlier scholars. To offer one example, Eskew opens his book with a critique of Vincent Harding's *Hope and History: Why We Must Share the Story of the Movement* (1991),

in which, according to Eskew, Harding describes a "continuous struggle that glosses over discontinuities, levels differences, and reduces abstractions to generalities" (p. xi), while, according to Eskew, his book "strips away the romanticism surrounding the movement to tell the story of actual events as they happened" (p. xi). Eskew goes on to argue that most recent civil rights studies "have obscured the origins of the movement within a cloud of relativism that borders on ahistoricism" (p. 14). Eskew may go a bit far with some of these critiques. For example, he writes that "many scholars continue to posit the arcane notion that the black community was united in its outlook and belief" (p. 17), although all of his cited offenders wrote before 1964.

Eskew focuses his narrative primarily on the struggle in Birmingham, but he concludes his book with some provocative thoughts about the long-term legacy of the civil rights movement. Eskew blames the current persistence of a black underclass on the narrowness of the movement's goals: "Thirty years after the movement . . . [m]any black people had no hope for the future, a legacy of the narrow focus of civil rights reform" (p. 334). Eskew blames, in part, the movement's inherent conservatism: "The movement had gained access for a few while never challenging the structure of the system. The limited success of the struggle resulted from its conservative goals and the persistent white resistance that had helped narrow these objectives" (p. 331). Eskew's critique of the civil rights movement's primary emphasis on desegregation and nondiscrimination in public accommodations and employment while leaving larger economic structural issues untouched is legitimate, but it is difficult to fathom the movement gaining political and cultural support for the type of ambitious economic reform that Eskew apparently believes should have been undertaken.

Eskew's book will invite critiques, but future analyses of the civil rights struggle in Birmingham will begin with his detailed and insightful study of this pivotal city.

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JOHN HELLMANN. *The Kennedy Obsession: The American Myth of JFK*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 206. \$29.50.

The essence of what John Hellmann has to tell us may be gleaned from his conclusion that we "can only stop obsessing over the Kennedy assassination . . . when we recognize that what we are really mourning is our own illusions." This analysis of the imagery behind John F. Kennedy's rhetoric confronts what Hellmann believes has been "an unwillingness to examine Kennedy's presidency in other than the conventional terms of policy formulation and decision-making," which neatly disposes of what a small army of researchers and journalists has been doing for the last three decades. If Hellmann has anything new to say, and that is argu-

able, it is that Kennedy was the grand impresario of the "great hero of our national mythology" that became a "protagonist of a central American myth" (p. xiii).

He opens with a long reexamination of the writing of *Profiles in Courage* (1956), concluding that no matter how much assistance Kennedy had, "the book is in the end Kennedy's calculated self-representation," which is fair enough. Having seen the *Profiles* papers at the Kennedy Library, Hellmann writes that the book "is a striking example of how Kennedy and his collaborators were intent on making Kennedy the man over into a universal image, the transcultural figure of the young hero" (p. 6). Mostly, his inspiration was Ernest Hemingway, that model for American masculinity: "Both Hemingway and Kennedy felt at one time rejected or neglected by their mothers, and both had experienced a tense competition with an elder sibling (in Hemingway's case, a sister)" (p. 70).

At heart, the book devotes itself to the Kennedy image and American culture. Much of this is familiar to specialists as well as to the general public. Joseph P. Kennedy's "demand for masculine power, his mother's religious idealism, and his own skeptical rebelliousness were resolved through the images of lonely heroes, powerful doomed individuals who sacrificed the immediate approval of friends and family to answer a higher call" (p. 13). Kennedy had to prove his manhood. He had "received strongly contradictory signals on sexuality from his family," and his skirt chasing was "a futile attempt to prove the manhood that his body failed to realize on the athletic field" (pp. 34-35).

For one so involved with telling us how Kennedy labored to respond to psychological images, Hellmann tells us astonishingly little about how the public reacted to contemporary issues and the Kennedy appeal. It is almost as though he has sunk political considerations under a plethora of "must have beens." How does the question of leadership, however that may be defined, fit into all this?

Psychological analyses can easily ignore more mundane realities. Hellmann, for example, attributes Kennedy's early drive for success to a romantic loss in competition with John R. Hersey. He offers not a word in recognition that the relationship was doomed by the mutual opposition from both the Catholic Kennedys and the woman's Protestant parents, who sent their daughter on one of those strategic around the world cruises. Similarly, in trying to characterize Kennedy's prenomination response to Harry S. Truman's charge that he was too young for the presidency, Hellmann attributes the performance to the conditioning by Hollywood and American culture. Not a word here about the rivalry with Lyndon Baines Johnson, who was a decade older and the recent victim of a heart attack. Finally, in depicting the Kennedy obsession, Hellmann is overconfident about the long-term efficacy of Kennedy's theatrical skills. Without really discussing the ingredients of leadership, he believes that imagery alone would have sufficed to enable him

to withdraw from Vietnam. One is left wondering what retreat from Southeast Asia in the mid-1960s would have done to a popular standing already paying the price for support of racial desegregation. Somewhere in all this there is a metamorphosis from Kennedy the master manipulator to Kennedy the psychological product of confused gender and spiritual demands coming from his family, but it is never made clear.

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ELIZABETH SIEGEL WATKINS. *On the Pill: A Social History of Oral Contraceptives, 1950-1970*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 183. \$25.95.

In 1965, five years after the birth control pill became available in the United States, four million girls and women were users. Four years later, 8.5 million were taking the pill. The strength of Elizabeth Siegel Watkins's study, is that it effectively presents a group of vignettes that suggest how scientists, marketers, physicians, and consumers interacted to produce those numbers.

Watkins shows how, in a postwar culture enrapt with scientific solutions to social problems and with "wonder drugs" in particular, Americans were poised to accept a hormonal contraceptive. Scientists rushed to fill the need and, in the process, were willing to employ some pretty crude tactics, testing the product, for example, on twenty-three female medical students at the University of Puerto Rico School of Medicine and then on a group of psychotic inmates at the Worcester State Hospital. In the case of the medical students, the project coordinator wrote privately that if any of the women balked, he "would hold it against her when considering grades" (p. 30).

For many doctors, it was not a simple matter to take up "family planning" with their patients in the 1960s. Watkins uses fascinating material from G. D. Searle and Company, the manufacturer of Enovid, the first pill, and other sources to show how "detailmen" (sales representatives) worked on physicians "to inspire [them] to write more and more Enovid prescriptions" (p. 36), in part by avoiding discussions of possible physical problems associated with the pill. She also shows how important financial incentives were for many physicians as they lumbered toward incorporating the pill into medical practice. For one thing, the pill brought legions of new patients looking for birth control prescriptions into the offices of prescription-writing physicians.

As physicians became accustomed to dispensing birth control "therapy" to a healthy population, women became accustomed to representing their own interests, directly requesting contraception from practitioners used to calling the shots. Watkins explores how this aspect of the advent of the pill stimulated a reshaping of physician/patient relations. This becomes

a particularly fascinating issue when, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, public discussion of the health impacts of the pill began to eclipse an earlier media obsession with its moral impacts. Hard data about which health problems the pill caused, if any, was hard to come by. As the media turned skeptical about the pill, however, focusing regularly on possible dangers, Congressional hearings, which mostly barred the testimony of the "virago element," explored the contraceptive's safety record (p. 112).

In 1970, the Food and Drug Administration required that birth control packages include an information insert for users and set off a war among physicians jealous of their information-dispensing prerogatives, women eager for solid information upon which to base their own contraceptive decisions, a pharmaceutical industry interested in protecting its profits, and a federal government testing its regulatory reach. Watkins concludes that the outcomes of the war were complex. On the one hand, the struggle revealed the intact and formidable power of both the medical profession and the pharmaceutical industry. On the other hand, the controversies over the package insert spurred women into an activist stance, stimulated the formation of a feminist-led women's health movement, and generally added to the strength of the burgeoning consumer rights movement.

Watkins's volume is trim and focused, and the author has a more sophisticated and helpful conversance with science than most historians of related subjects. The sections of the book that deal directly with science, the marketing of scientific breakthroughs, the commercialization of medicine, and the struggle over regulating science-based information are fresh and very interesting. They make this book a good addition to the literature on mid-century reproductive politics.

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WILLIAM M. HAMMOND. *Reporting Vietnam: Media and Military at War*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xi, 362. \$34.95.

Because his authoritative two-volume study, *Public Affairs: The Military and the Media* (1989, 1996) in the "United States Army in Vietnam" series is relatively inaccessible and over 1,000 pages in length, William M. Hammond has prepared "a synthesis and refinement" (p. ix) of the original work. He and the University Press of Kansas are to be commended for their unusual project, which makes available to many more readers this essential analysis of the troubled relationship between journalists and the government during the Vietnam War. Hammond has not merely cut and pasted. While following the outlines of the original work, he has written a new book that hangs together quite well.

As a historian with the United States Army Center of Military History, the author had access to classified

materials that shed light not only on his central issue but also on decision making in the Johnson and Nixon White Houses. Using those materials as well as declassified archival documents and valuable interviews with journalists and officials, he describes the intricate relationships between and among newspeople and their editors and publishers and Washington and Saigon spin doctors. Their relationships were complicated by the often independent press policies adopted by the Saigon government and its representatives in Washington. Scrupulously fair, Hammond shows how and why the U.S. government dissembled on many occasions and how and why journalists got their stories wrong or behaved unprofessionally on considerably fewer occasions. Hammond's book, even more than Daniel C. Hallin's splendid *The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam* (1986), lays to rest once and for all the idea that the American press lost the war in Vietnam. Richard M. Nixon's contention that "our worst enemy [in Vietnam] seems to be the press" (p. 249) was simply wrong.

From the Kennedy administration through the Nixon administration, all the presidents, secretaries of defense, and commanders in Vietnam attempted to control the reports emanating from the fighting in the jungle to the streets of Saigon. Finding it politically impossible to institute formal censorship, they searched for techniques—voluntary censorship, rigid guidelines, news embargoes, punishing critical newspeople by freezing them out of press pools or expelling them from the country, and even candor—to reduce the extent of reports embarrassing to the war effort. Hammond sympathizes with the military spokespeople who were forced, often against their better judgment, to withhold unclassified information or lie for political reasons. Moreover, many of them, as well as their bosses in Military Assistance Command-Vietnam and in Washington, were as critical of the Vietnam endeavor as observers in the media. For example, after publicly lambasting journalists for not describing fairly the allegedly successful South Vietnamese invasion of Laos in 1971, Nixon and Henry Kissinger privately conceded it was "basically a disaster" (p. 257).

From 1962 through 1968, the author demonstrates that much of the time journalists wrote accounts favorable to administration policies. The year 1963 was an exception when the Saigon press corps briefly played a major role in influencing stateside opinion and thus policy. Things changed rather abruptly in 1969, but not because the media were out to get Nixon. By that time, a majority of Americans had turned against the war, morale was beginning to decline among the grunts, Vietnamization was not working, and the president's covert escalations were difficult to conceal indefinitely. Incidentally, here Hammond offers an important reinterpretation, claiming that Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird was an effective advocate for a speedy U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

In all three administrations, what the prestige press said mattered very much to Washington officials, de-

spite the brave fronts they maintained. Time and again, Hammond is able to trace how reports in the press and related polling results not only "agitated" and "wounded" (pp. 27, 97) presidents and their advisors but had a significant impact on how they explained or concealed the military and political policies they subsequently selected. It was a hell of a way to run a war.

Hammond does not spend much time on media theory as he concentrates on who said what to whom with what effect as he moves chronologically from John F. Kennedy through Nixon. On occasion, during the detailed discussion of particular cases, the reader may lose sight of the forest for the trees. Nonetheless, this synthesis, like the two volumes from which it originated, is one of the most important books not just about the media and the Vietnam War but about the war in general.

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JOAN LISA BROMBERG. *NASA and the Space Industry*. (New Series in NASA History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 247. \$38.50.

In a January 1999 review essay for *Technology and Culture* titled "NASA and Space History," W. D. Kay criticizes the writing of the history of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) for failure to deal with the role played by contractors in forming the U.S. space program. "Even the most detailed accounts of projects and programs," Kay says, "wind up saying very little about the behavior of the private contractors who actually build the rockets, probes and satellites . . . most of the space triumphs (as well as failures) appear to be exclusively NASA's, and the degree of credit (or blame) due the private sector is never fully revealed" (p. 127).

Joan Lisa Bromberg attempts to rectify this deficiency with a monographic treatment of NASA's changing relationship with its contractors. Despite its brevity on a subject of such magnitude, the book provides an adept overview of a critically important relationship that Bromberg herself says has been ignored historiographically. In the introduction, Bromberg suggests that in the case of NASA, a public-sector relationship with industry led to technological innovation and the creation of new industry. The problem is that these phenomena have been the province of two separate literatures. Historians of technology and of business traditionally have dealt with innovation, while economists and political scientists have been concerned with the government's role in creating new industrial sectors. NASA, Bromberg maintains, bridges the gap between both literatures and provides "a case study of the means by which a public agency has influenced the formation and sustenance of new industry" (p. 4). NASA also connects the two literatures by demonstrating that a federal agency can go



beyond the traditional roles of regulation, procurement, and research and development funding by influencing innovation.

The book, excluding chapter one, which serves as an introduction, is divided into six periods. Chapter two deals with the period from 1940 to 1960, the time in which NASA was born and the aviation industry made the transformation to aerospace. Chapter three (roughly 1961–1968) analyzes President John F. Kennedy's decision to go to the moon and the birth of the Apollo program, as well as providing a case study of two pivotal companies in the space industry: Hughes Aircraft Company (satellite development) and North American Aviation, later North American Rockwell (spacecraft design and construction). Chapter four (1969–1980) looks at the complicated web of NASA-industry-Office of Management and Budget relations and the development of the Space Shuttle. Chapter five (1981–1986) examines the attempt to privatize the space industry during the Reagan administration. Chapter six (1986–1990) explores NASA's relationship with the industry in the aftermath of the Challenger accident. Chapter seven summarizes NASA-industry trends during the 1990s (esp. 1992–1996) in light of the end of the Cold War, shrinking federal budgets, the restructuring of the aerospace industry, and new commercial space applications.

While it is a step in the right direction, this book is hardly comprehensive. It would have been interesting had Bromberg also analyzed NASA-industry relations in regard to its less highly publicized space science program or attempted to come to grips with NASA and the birth of the computer industry. (The Hubble Space Telescope provides an ideal case study in NASA's relationship with industry, and one could argue that in recent years it has been space science that has driven innovation rather than the manned program.) Instead, Bromberg chose to focus on the well-publicized major manned programs of the last four decades, although curiously, there is only a passing reference to the Gemini program, an important link between Mercury and Apollo.

Nevertheless, Bromberg's study is significant in that it lays the groundwork for the more contextualized history of the space program that Kay and others have called for. This noteworthy goal of a broader approach has been somewhat unattainable because scholars have often found it difficult to get primary source material. In this regard, it is encouraging that NASA and the Space Business Archives recently signed a memorandum of understanding to collaborate in collecting, preserving, and disseminating archival material related to the development of the space industry. With this partnership in place, researchers may find it easier to carry on the work that Bromberg has capably begun.

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JANET ABBATE. *Inventing the Internet*. (Inside Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 264. \$27.50.

With the publication of Janet Abbate's book, we now have two excellent histories about the origins of the Internet. Arthur L. Norberg and Judy E. O'Neill's *Transforming Computer Technology: Information Processing for the Pentagon, 1962–1986* (1996), like Abbate's study, is grounded in solid historical research, including work in archives and oral history. Both books point out that the Internet began as a U.S. military telecommunications project, dating back to the 1960s, and emerged in response to the military and political realities of the Cold War.

Abbate has written more than a technical history of the Internet and about its underlying telecommunications. She traces the history of the evolution of this network from a military telecommunications infrastructure through its conversion into an American civilian network and finally into its global form. She demonstrates that the characteristics of the network, and the technical decisions made through its thirty years of evolution, were conditioned by political, economic, and social realities, not simply by the rules of physics and electronics. In so doing, she places the evolution of the Internet in the mainstream of contemporary historical thinking that major technologies are at least as influenced by non-technical considerations as they are by scientific realities.

Abbate argues that, to a large extent, the expansion of the Internet over so many years could be attributed to the "informal, decentralized, end-user driven development that characterized the Internet's earlier history" (p. 4) and made it possible to meet the needs of many users. These included the ability to connect many types of computers into the network. With this line of discussion, she is able to call attention to the fact that the history of the Internet can be grounded in cultural history, not limiting it to the purview of historians of technology. One clear demonstration of Abbate's approach is her argument that because the military funded and managed the Internet in its early stages (1960s–1970s), military values were reflected in the technical features of the network (e.g. survivability and high performance) at the expense of civilian requirements. When the system increasingly moved into civilian hands during the 1980s and 1990s, values changed as ease of use, for example, became more important. The major breakthrough in ease of use, brought about by the introduction of the World Wide Web in the mid-1990s, demonstrated these changing priorities.

How is it that the Internet became so successful? Abbate demonstrates that, to a large extent, the ability of users to influence the design of the Internet is the answer. The ability of end users to exchange e-mail, which became the "killer app" that for so many justified the network, is presented as evidence of the impact of various constituencies. Abbate describes in



considerable detail their role as advisors, technical architects, and users.

Abbate's book sits squarely in the center of a recent trend evident in histories of technology of setting technological developments into broader social and economic contexts. Like many such histories, it focuses on the supply side of the equation—the inventors and their institutions—leaving aside the full story of how the Internet affected users. That is appropriate, because it is far too early to tell the users' side of the story. This book fits nicely within the context of what others have written about the development of steam ships, railroads, telegraph, telephones, and computers. In the process, Abbate identifies key historical facts, such as when certain technical decisions were made and why, shows who did what, and ultimately provides us with a clear overview of the major events in the Internet's evolution.

Like Norberg and O'Neill, Abbate attempted a very complicated project in that the technology is difficult to describe, has its own vocabulary, and runs the risk of being boring to talk about. However, she clearly understands the technology and explains it very well in lay terms. Because of her emphasis on cultural factors, the role of humans and their issues overcome the potential dullness that could have dominated her discussion of the Internet. Particularly useful is the fact that she explains the technical and social significance of specific actions, their consequences for subsequent developments, and the implications for end users.

Abbate's book will become a classic on the history of the Internet. Short, to the point, and clearly written, it should be read both by historians of modern technology and also by those interested in contemporary economic and public-sector history. It will also be useful to those interested in Western European technical history. Abbate is to be congratulated on a well-prepared monograph.

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LAWRENCE J. FRIEDMAN. *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson*. Foreword by ROBERT COLES. New York: Scribner. 1999. Pp. 592. \$35.00.

Erik H. Erikson was a devotee of psychoanalysis even as he challenged Freudian orthodoxies at every turn; he was an immigrant to the United States, yet he easily captured in his work both the optimistic and protean qualities of his adopted country; and he was an accomplished academician who often suffered because he lacked academic credentials. Erikson was the inventor of the "identity crisis" and an eight-stage model of human development from infancy to old age. He was an originator of psychohistory, an incipient postmodernist, and a child psychoanalyst extraordinaire. And he was a man whose personal life—his search for the identity of his father, and his virtual abandonment of a son born with Downs Syndrome—molded his studies

of the human psyche. Lawrence J. Friedman has written an exhaustively researched and richly detailed biography that captures with great sensitivity the many sides of one of the most important figures in twentieth-century American psychoanalysis. Biographers tend to lean in one of two directions as they tell a life story: either they concentrate on the subject, or they use a subject to illuminate the social milieu. Friedman undertakes the first task and does so masterfully. As a biographer, he offers a view of Erikson's life and work that is not afraid to expose a great man's flaws (his failure to acknowledge the work of other scholars, his dependency on his wife and disregard of his family) even as he convinces us that Erikson deserves a prominent place in the psychoanalytic pantheon. Readers will come away with a largely sympathetic, though highly nuanced, portrait of the psychoanalyst, although they will find less attention paid to situating Erikson in his time.

Although Friedman's study does not ignore Erikson's contributions to psychohistory—the influential studies of Martin Luther and Mohandas K. Gandhi—and works of social commentary, *Childhood and Society* (1950) (C&S), Erikson's most widely read book, is the centerpiece of this biography. The chapters about Erikson's life before C&S anticipate its themes; chapters after C&S describe the book's role in establishing Erikson as a mid-century "public intellectual." Friedman shows how C&S brought together the four ideas that form the essential Erikson: his concepts of identity and identity crisis; his eight-stage model of the life cycle; his belief that a child's play provided insight into the psyche, much as adult dreams were used by Freudians; and his studies of national character that linked the inner self to the outer society. Initial sales of C&S were slow, Friedman reports; Erikson did not become a "public intellectual" until his ideas resonated with the youth culture of the 1960s. Then, for a while, he was a cultural hero, and the identity crisis helped a confused and conflicted nation explain the antics of the nation's young. His later writing never seemed to measure up to the success of C&S.

For Friedman, telling this story is also an occasion for demonstrating how family and work, public and private were interwoven in Erikson's life. The study of identity is related to Erikson's inability to come to terms with his mother's refusal to reveal the name of his father. The tragedy of the son with Downs Syndrome provoked Erikson, with his wife's collaboration, to turn his attention to creating a model of the life cycle (of normal individuals, as Friedman points out). This project provided each with a "path" away from the "crisis of family dysfunction rooted in Neil's birth" (p. 218). In this and other incidents, Friedman makes evident how much of Erikson's work is rooted in autobiography.

By giving such attention to the interplay of private and public, Friedman often makes his story into the biography of a partnership. He brings to light the important contributions of Joan Erikson as wife,

mother, and family stabilizer; as activities therapist and artist; as Erik's editor; and as co-creator of the life-cycle model (a contribution only acknowledged late in Erikson's life, when his books seemed no longer to garner much public attention). Many of the book's insights are drawn from Friedman's interviews with Joan, meetings that, in the text, describe Friedman as merely a "guest" in the Erikson household, with whom Joan shared family secrets.

This is a big book, and Friedman follows many roads as he traces Erikson's personal life cycle. But it is not a book for the general audience. A novice in the intricacies of psychoanalytic theory will find it a difficult read. Moreover, the extensive detail of the narrative is, in places, simply overwhelming. Despite these minor quibbles, it is a biography to be reckoned with. By using some of his subject's thoughts on human development as a frame for this life's course, Friedman clearly establishes Erikson's place in the lexicon of American psychoanalytic thinkers. And he gives us a compelling picture of a relationship between Erikson's private struggles and the public persona of his clinical and theoretical work.

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OLIVIER ZUNZ. *Why the American Century?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 254. \$24.00.

In his title and throughout his book, Olivier Zunz invokes the triumphant confidence of Henry Luce's famous 1941 essay calling the American people to export American-styled capitalism and democratic institutions as part of their global mission. Zunz does not necessarily repudiate Luce's vision or confidence. Indeed, he explains that Luce drew upon a widely shared set of beliefs and expressly states this is a study of the hegemony of *The American Century* as the twentieth-century national faith. But Zunz also employs the title in question form, to ask in what ways Luce and others were right and to ruminate on the nationalistic hubris symbolized by the phrase. He shows the limits of the conceit that the growth of a massive, enormously productive industrial capacity would ensure the expansion and exportability of American democratic institutions, suggesting instead that the disjuncture between economic growth and middle-class affluence, on the one hand, and the limited growth of democratic institutions here and elsewhere, on the other, produced a central tension in mid-twentieth-century U.S. political and intellectual culture. The idea of pluralism emerged as the intellectual and managerial response to this disjuncture, Zunz argues. But the racial and ethnocentric blind spots in the mid-century pluralist ideology created the conditions for a variety of domestic and foreign policy failures by the 1960s, bringing an end to the hegemony of liberal pluralism.

However, the real strength (and intellectual energy) of this book—a collection of nine essays, many of which have been published previously—is not about

the failure of pluralism as a consensus ideology among American elites. Rather it is about the mobilization of intellect and the creation of shared and fluid bodies of knowledge that made possible the triumph of the American century as an economic model and system. Why the American century? Because American capitalism was distinctive, and by the late nineteenth century a system was in place for its development through extensive collaborations among businessmen, scientists, engineers, professors, and government officials, creating what Zunz calls a "vast institutional matrix." The result was a shared mission among institutions and their managers aimed at creating and promoting the world's greatest mass consumption-based economy: a collaboration that produced immense prosperity, opportunity for meritocratic elites, an ever-expanding middle class, and a shared understanding that mass consumption was a stabilizing, anti-radicalizing force. As a study of ideological hegemony, it is an intellectual history of scientists, engineers, social scientists, foundation executives, advertisers, policy makers, public intellectuals, and government officials and their successes (generally) in promoting a vision of American progress based on technical and managerial expertise and the idea of the United States as a distinctive, mission-oriented national community. Zunz's key actors were not expressly ideological, however, nor were they rhetorical architects like Luce; rather they were the engineers of abundance and compliance who worked within the "institutional matrix" that Zunz describes with great clarity in the book's first half.

Zunz's book is learned, clear, and provocatively challenging to three decades of historical argument that there was no consensus ideology at the center of American society. It is very persuasive about the importance of the "institutional matrix" of corporations, research universities, government agencies, foundations, and later the military in creating that consensus among a fluid, elite class of intellectuals and managers. He shows how their practical successes naturalized an economic and social system as both highly desirable and inevitable. In fact, the book's conceptual and chronological structure may well reflect its overall argument: that the sheer power of U.S.-styled industrial and consumer capitalism was so very powerful that the very real limits of American democratic practices and the failures of pluralism were ignored by elites until the racial and gender and foreign policy contradictions became too glaring by the 1960s, at which point the liberal consensus around pluralism fell apart, never to be rebuilt. Because many of the essays have been published elsewhere, however, there is some straining to pull them all together under the same thematic framework. And because his first five chapters on the construction of the institutional collaborations are so compelling as a piece, and are so seamless in their avoidance of virtually any discussion of deep conflict within American society or intellectual challenges to the American century ideology, the

arrival of conflict as the focus of his attention in the last four chapters seems very late in coming, conceptually and chronologically. We know too much about the divisions, conflicts, fissures, and discontent in the last century to make the dominant vision as unchallenged and the dissenters as silent as Zunz does through the first half of this fine, smart, and important collection. That absence will provoke historians, as will his confident reinsertion of a consensus ideology at the center of twentieth-century American society. Sparks should fly.

BRETT GARY  
Drew University

ERIC ALTERMAN, *Who Speaks for America? Why Democracy Matters in Foreign Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. pp. ix, 244. \$25.00.

Despite the triumphalist outpourings that punctuated the end of the Cold War, many scholars who study the past and present of American foreign policy have remained somber. To be sure, America and its allies prevailed over the evil Soviet empire, but at what cost? An impassioned monograph by the journalist and historian Eric Alterman contends that American leaders won the Cold War by debasing the democratic process.

Such debasement had its origins two hundred years earlier in what Alterman describes as the "Tocqueville problem": namely, how to conduct an expansive American foreign policy on a "sound, democratic basis" (p. 69). Leaders at critical junctures throughout American history manipulated and/or ignored public opinion and Congress, whether it was Thomas Jefferson adopting Alexander Hamilton's methods to acquire an "empire of liberty" that denied the rights of Native Americans, or Progressive presidents "armed and educated by Turner and Mahan" going abroad "in search of monsters to destroy" (p. 47), or Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "deviousness" in the "good cause" of World War II making it much easier for Lyndon B. Johnson "to practice the same kind of deviousness" in the "bad cause" of Vietnam (p. 73). The Cold War brought McCarthyism, undeclared wars, Central Intelligence Agency-sponsored coups, covert actions cloaked by plausible deniability, and a general constricting of legitimate political debate. Congressional checks such as the War Powers Act (1941) did not prevent U.S. forces from going to Lebanon, Grenada, Panama, Haiti, and Bosnia. Protests like the nuclear freeze movement achieved only "symbolic gratification" when the House of Representatives passed a supportive resolution in 1983, only to appropriate \$2.6 billion for the MX missile two months later (p. 138).

Even as growing globalization blurs the distinction between domestic and foreign issues, the Great Republic has become, in Alterman's view, a "pseudo-democracy" in which most Americans have virtually no voice in foreign policy. The outward forms of democratic checks and balances remain, but Congress has

become hostage to special interests and campaign contributors and an increasingly corporate media is addicted to sound bites and advocacy advertising. Policy makers see themselves answerable only to the officials, staffers, insider academics, think tank partisans, lawyers, and bankers who comprise the foreign policy establishment. These elites rationalize their dominance by decrying the public's alleged ignorance wherein "three times as many people can name the Three Stooges than can name three Supreme Court Justices" (pp. 166-67).

Yet, as Alterman persuasively argues, this public ignorance is mainly about arcane details, and opinions on key issues vary according to how questions are posed. His own careful reading of polling data indicates that the mass American public continues to see the world in much the same terms as the country's founders. Such a worldview, he suggests, should translate into a liberal republican foreign policy that would be minimalist in political-military terms but activist in support of jobs and prosperity. Its tenets would consist of the following: support for a stable peace enforced by the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with unilateral U.S. power as last resort; an international regime of reciprocal free trade in conjunction with a global workers' bill of rights; a realistic strategy to control immigration; an end to covert actions and support for friendly dictators; global efforts to reduce arms sales; support for a sustainable global ecology; and a renewed emphasis on foreign aid based on humanitarian needs.

How to make such bedrock assumptions part of the foreign policy process? Alterman proposes the creation of a citizen foreign policy jury, statistically representative of the population, elected nationally, with the power to compel public officials to meet and discuss policy issues with its members, although it would not replace Congress or the executive. In a country where citizens regularly phone into sports radio and expound learnedly without deference to experts, Alterman believes that Americans can have similarly enlightening conversations about foreign policy. He also assumes that any society willing to consider "the obviously bizarre" Ross Perot as "a serious presidential candidate is clearly ready to consider radical change" (p. 180). However unlikely his solution, Alterman's indictment is on target.

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#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR. *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture*. (H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 579. \$39.95.

This fascinating book probes the cultural exchanges between Cuba and the United States, and their impact on Cuban nationalist discourses, between the 1850s

and 1950s. Louis A. Pérez, Jr., attributes these exchanges to the close ties established by trade, technology, immigration, tourism, investment, education, communications, and transportation, as well as military intervention and neocolonial domination (although the latter two factors are not his main focus here). The author challenges the conventional view that Cuba was "Americanized" in the twentieth century through the unilateral imposition of U.S. economic and political institutions. Instead, U.S. hegemony was largely accomplished through the "assent and acquiescence" (p. 9) of many Cubans, who appropriated American culture to struggle against Spanish colonialism and, later, to define their own nation. In the last chapter, "Illusive Expectations," Pérez explains the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 as a result of the "collapse of the central formulations by which a people had come to define themselves" (p. 459).

This book approaches the construction of national identity as a contested representation rather than as a fixed entity. The dominant narrative on Cuban nationality centered on the icons of civilization and prosperity, which in turn depended on continued access to U.S. consumer goods, from telephones and radios, to television sets and automobiles, to clothes and cosmetics. American material culture became a way to articulate Cubanness, and much of what passed for Cuban actually came from the United States. Pérez underlines that "many vital elements of Cuban nationality were forged and acquired definitive form in North America" (p. 43), as the archetype of José Martí and other Cuban patriots who spent most of their lives in exile suggests. But more important to Pérez's argument is his broad definition of Cuban culture to include such popular practices as baseball, boxing, music, dance, film, fashion, food, architecture, education, religion, and language—all of which were permeated by American values and customs.

To substantiate his thesis, Pérez scoured the personal manuscripts, letters, diaries, and journals of Americans who lived in Cuba and Cubans who lived in the United States. Over ten years, he conducted archival research in Cuba (in Havana and Matanzas) as well as in the United States (including Washington, New York, Gainesville, and Chapel Hill). His primary sources of information range widely from U.S. consular reports, State Department files, and missionary correspondence to Cuban popular songs, magazines and newspapers, interviews, and novels. The book is meticulously documented and carefully referenced, as well as embedded in the recent literature on Cuban history, culture, and politics. While covering a large number of topics over a long period, Pérez accumulates a vast amount of evidence. Unfortunately, the documentation is sometimes excessive and repetitive, and the book itself is too lengthy (579 pages). Fortunately, the author's engaging style weaves together biographic details with broader collective narrations and his own personal interpretations.

According to Pérez, Cuban and American cultures shaped each other, if unequally, at least since the mid-nineteenth century. Through a massive two-way flow of tourists, investors, and developers, Havana and Miami became mirror images during the 1950s. Large-scale population displacements, including Cuban emigrés in Tampa and American expatriates on the Isle of Pines, brought the two countries closer together. Clear-cut distinctions between Cuban and American cultures became increasingly artificial in daily life, especially in sports and popular music. As Pérez argues, Cuban-American culture originated long before the postrevolutionary exodus, among Cubans who had lived in the United States or had been exposed thoroughly to the American way of life even without moving abroad. However, such multiple "points of contact" also generated strong "sources of conflict" between Cubans and Americans. For instance, the rapid expansion of U.S. sugar mills and evangelical missions provoked hostility from the Cuban population. Furthermore, most Americans imagined the island as an exotic place of forbidden pleasures—sex, alcohol, drugs, and gambling—thus challenging Cuban self-representations as a modern and civilized people.

This book offers a painstaking and sophisticated analysis of a neglected aspect of Cuban historiography—the influence of American popular culture on Cuban national identity. Pérez synthesizes an enormous quantity of scattered materials, organizing them around a recurrent theme: the constant interplay between the two cultures and their mutual recognition as Other. The book fills a serious gap in the existing literature on prerevolutionary Cuba, which has tended to dwell on the economic and political background of the revolution. Pérez's most original contribution is a fine-grained case study of the transnational flows of ideas, images, and practices that helped to define the Cuban nation vis-à-vis the United States. Ironically, it was this enthusiastic embrace of all things American—including unrealistic aspirations to a higher standard of living and a democratic form of government—that eventually led to the popular rebellion against an economically stagnant and politically corrupt order. Still, despite Pérez's eloquent and elegant argument, the question of why, of all countries in Latin America, Cuba was the site of the first (and last) socialist experiment in the Western hemisphere remains enigmatic.

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PETER V. N. HENDERSON. *In the Absence of Don Porfirio: Francisco León de la Barra and the Mexican Revolution*. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2000. Pp. xiii, 338. \$55.00.

Mexico's 1910 Revolution has aroused more scholarly attention than any other political phenomenon in modern Latin American history, yet authors continue



to find niches and interpretations with which to challenge an earlier historiography marred by hagiographies. Peter V. N. Henderson steps forward to do so with his second biography of a vilified revolutionary-era figure, Francisco León de la Barra, who oversaw a transition government between the *ancien régime* of the exiled dictator, Porfirio Díaz, and the upstart revolutionary Francisco Madero. Earlier historians have viewed this six-month interim as a disaster, when a supposedly antirevolutionary de la Barra bickered with the high-minded Madero and undermined the momentum for social reform.

Henderson skillfully debunks this rigid interpretation in a lucid and well-researched book. He finds that de la Barra, rather than being a scoundrel, was "a personable, well-meaning, and responsible public servant" (p. xii). A talented lawyer and experienced diplomat, he enjoyed repeated success in life by exercising both his abilities and his class connections. And, more significantly, Henderson contends that de la Barra and Madero were of the same ideological ilk. They were products of an elite "progressive consensus" that coalesced under Díaz, and both "agreed fundamentally that the dictatorship had accomplished much that should be preserved" (p. 23).

This philosophical common ground accounts for the pragmatic harmony that followed. In the spring of 1911 the negotiated transition between the Díaz regime and Madero's supporters went smoothly, and the *Maderistas* willingly approved of de la Barra serving as the interim president. Contrary to traditional assumption, Madero and de la Barra worked well together; both believed in private property and feared civil unrest. The most critical problem facing de la Barra's administration was growing discontent on the part of an unemployed underclass: those whom Henderson terms "popular Maderistas." Many of these were latecomers to the insurgency, taking up arms only after the dictatorship was clearly finished. By late May 1911, some seventy thousand irregulars brandished weapons in Mexico, menacing the social order even as they clamored for government provisions and pay. Neither de la Barra nor Madero was able to restore political calm during the critical summer months, although both longed to do so. In this context, Henderson reinterprets the controversial disarming of Emiliano Zapata's Indian revolutionaries, finding little fault with de la Barra's efforts even while deflating and humanizing the oft-revered but ever-suspicious Zapata. Only after this debacle, toward the end of the interim, did de la Barra and Madero drift apart.

Henderson examines de la Barra's policies, again finding support for his thesis that the caretaker president was not a reactionary. He was as committed to clean elections and a democratic opening as was Madero. Grasping the need for social change, he helped to plant the seeds of reform that Madero and others later nurtured. He gave workers a sympathetic ear, supported worker compensation laws, and created a labor department to investigate grievances. His

education initiatives included a June 1911 law that mandated public schooling for Indians and funded new rural schools. It was de la Barra, too, who began the National Agrarian Commission and launched some of the earliest studies on Mexico's inequitable land distribution. In sum, although long portrayed as an indecisive figure who governed in a time of increasing chaos, de la Barra provided a modicum of leadership and possessed a reformer's vision.

The weight of Henderson's research and carefully crafted arguments is undeniable. Yet, like any thoughtful book, this one will evoke questions. While Madero and de la Barra were, in practical matters, similar, could their motivations still have been different? Could it be, for example, that the pressures of the "popular Maderistas" prodded de la Barra toward reforms that he might otherwise have not embraced? To turn the question another way: if there was a genuine "progressive consensus" among the rich, why did it not produce substantial reforms in 1909 instead of 1911? One could hope that a truly farsighted, reformist elite would have at least been able to stay ahead of a visible and fast-approaching revolutionary train. There is little evidence that de la Barra advocated meaningful change before his time in office, suggesting that his credentials as a sincere progressive might be suspect; some of his government's policies were more a result of political expediency than deep-seated convictions. His support for the dictatorial Victoriano Huerta regime (1913–1914), which alienated him from the remainder of the revolutionary process and drove him into a comfortable exile in France, further complicates the image of de la Barra as a reformer and progressive.

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ALDO A. LAURIA-SANTIAGO. *An Agrarian Republic: Commercial Agriculture and the Politics of Peasant Communities in El Salvador, 1823–1914*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 326. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Aldo A. Lauria-Santiago's book adds the case of El Salvador to the growing literature on peasant participation in the construction of national states in nineteenth-century Latin America. His is a particularly noteworthy contribution, in that it convincingly demonstrates how often the extremely polarized and repressive society and polity of twentieth-century El Salvador have been projected back into the nineteenth century, through teleological interpretations of the development of an agro-export economy based on coffee, the consolidation of a central state, and the application of laws mandating the privatization of common lands held by the municipalities and ethnic communities.

In contrast to the conventional top-down, elite-centered view of these developments, Lauria-Santiago



argues that a landowning (if increasingly differentiated) peasantry engaged in both subsistence and commercial agriculture existed well into the twentieth century, long after the introduction of coffee. This peasantry, in fact, actually increased in economic and political strength throughout the nineteenth century, as the result of ongoing political and military strife, the overall weakness and decline of the hacienda system, and the absence of a strong central state. With secure access to both land and growing commercial networks, and sought out by contending political elites in need of popular support, Salvadoran peasants successfully "established significant limits and conditions on the actions of other social sectors and the state over questions of power and production" (p. 6). The origins of El Salvador's particularly brutal brand of authoritarianism, then, are not to be found in nineteenth-century agrarian structures and developments, as is so often argued, but rather, according to the author, in the political processes of the 1920s and 1930s (not themselves the focus of this book).

Much of the recent literature on peasant politics and nineteenth-century state formation focuses on popular cultures and identities in relation to emerging national ones, largely abandoning the structural approaches that dominated Latin American historiography from the 1960s through the 1980s. While questions of culture are hardly absent from the book, Lauria-Santiago is more concerned with political economy at both the national and the local levels. This concern is reflected in his detailed attention to how common lands were actually administered and used in practice, the processes of socioeconomic differentiation within rural towns and communities, peasant responses to new commercial and political opportunities, and the complex relationships between the expansion of small-scale commercial agriculture and ethnic identities and institutions. Carefully tracing the manifold ways in which national political and economic developments were mediated by local histories and politics, Lauria-Santiago thus establishes a well-argued middle ground between micro-level cultural histories and macro-level models of political economy, bringing the people back in, as it were, without neglecting the structural factors that shaped their lives, choices, and opportunities for collective action.

Lauria-Santiago's analysis of the liberal land reform is of particular importance to both Salvadoran historiography and to our understanding of Latin American liberalism and its reception by popular groups more generally. In El Salvador, peasant common lands took two legal forms: the *ejidos* held by the municipalities and the communal lands belonging to Indian and *ladino* (non-Indian) corporations and communities. Having expanded through the acquisition of hacienda land and unused national lands in the decades after independence, these two forms of common property came to constitute, by 1860, "the dominant feature of the agrarian landscape" (p. 224). Their privatization and distribution to individual property owners were

mandated in a series of laws promulgated between 1879 and 1882. Conventional wisdom holds that this privatization was an elite-orchestrated ploy designed to deprive peasants of their considerable landholdings and force them to sell their labor, so as to facilitate the expansion of coffee production to the benefit of a powerful agrarian oligarchy. Based on a meticulous rendering of local and regional case studies, Lauria-Santiago argues that the social groups pressing for privatization were far more diverse, and included Indian and *ladino* peasant producers anxious to acquire private titles in order to expand their investments in commercial agriculture, including coffee. The outcomes of the privatization process were even more diverse, depending very much on local landowning patterns, ethnic relations, and politics and defying any attempts at easy generalizations. According to the author, "the clearest result of so-called liberal reforms was the institutionalization of a differentiated, ethnically polarized, freeholding peasantry rather than a transition to a 'proletarian' agrarian capitalism" (pp. 6–7).

Well researched and gracefully written, this book will be of great interest to anyone concerned with peasant politics, state formation, Latin American liberalism, and Salvadoran history and politics.

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PAMELA S. MURRAY. *Dreams of Development: Colombia's National School of Mines and Its Engineers, 1887–1970*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 154.

In this brief and briskly written book, Pamela S. Murray tells the story of the long life of the prestigious Escuela Nacional de Minas de Medellín, the capital of Antioquia, a vital center of Colombia's entrepreneurial elites. Founded in 1887, when there were but a few places in the world that trained engineers, and when only a tiny number of Colombians could imagine what engineers actually did for a living, the school has been kept alive by a small group of driven Colombians with a vision of a nation led by hard-working, honest, and dedicated professionals, individuals whom Murray aptly calls "stewards of material development" (p. 101). These were men, and also women, as the author intriguingly points out in a chapter titled "Feminizing the Fraternity," who were filled with dreams. There cannot be too many of us living outside of Colombia today who can imagine that there has ever been, or still is, a place for dreams in a nation seemingly so consumed by death and destruction. This book speaks about whole chunks of Colombian history that are rarely if ever examined by scholars, especially foreign scholars.

This institutional history places the engineering school in local, regional, national, economic, and cultural contexts. Through it we learn about the bourgeois families who founded it, and of the pride that

*antioqueños* felt for their region and their commitment to maintain high levels of economic development and technical knowledge. The school imparted a practical, hands-on education that often had a difficult time finding its place between artisanship and the traditional scholastic learning of universities. The leaders of the school were imbued with a deep sense of Catholic morality, with a work ethic and a sense of *rectitud*, of correctness. The comportment of students and the image of the institution that alumni projected to the society were almost as important as the technical knowledge that was being imparted, albeit more so in the early years of the institution than nowadays. Poetry and the art of conversation were encouraged. There was never a sense among the administrators and faculty that they worked for themselves. They were there to better the nation. Engineering was an obligation. Many alumni went on to prominent positions in government and in the private sector.

Through this history we glimpse the workings of a surprisingly fluid social order. While the founders were members of the regional elite deeply connected to the Liberal and Conservative parties, and one of its graduates, Mariano Ospina Pérez, became president of Colombia in 1946, many, even most of the students came from the expanding middle sectors. Some had fathers who were artisans. The school, much like many Catholic schools, sought to bring talented youth from lower social orders into its classrooms. Often, as many as one quarter of all students were on scholarship.

At the same time, the school was buffeted by the social order in which it existed. It relied initially on foreign faculty. Some wondered whether Colombians had the discipline to become good engineers. Few Colombians wished to toil as mining engineers, and as elsewhere in Latin America, foreigners were able to dominate the field. Civil engineering proved more attractive. The centralizing national government in Bogotá often sought to undermine the school's independence. It benefited and was impaired by the traditional partisanship between Liberals and Conservatives, and the leaders had a hard time extricating their institution from politics. Faculty belonging to rival bodies were rarely able to trust one another fully. Clientelism and merit did battle. The institution was perennially short of funds. Men were intimidated by successful women graduates. The radicalizing student movements of the 1970s, which did so much harm to the nation's universities, forced the most enterprising of all the deans, Peter Santamaria, to quit. The book ends there, with a sense of nostalgia for the past that few if any books on Colombia have been able to elicit.

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CHARLES F. WALKER. *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780–1840*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.)

Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 330. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Recently Peru emerged from a prolonged term of political violence as terrorists and the regular army together cruelly decimated Andean villages and destroyed the country's already chaotic cities. Terrorism ended in the mid-1990s, but Peru's political culture deteriorated while the reformist government forced constitutional changes through the national parliament and damaged the free press. Ironically, this dolorous history rekindled interest in the legendary Andean utopia, a theme with roots in the early Conquest era. Stimulated by the intellectual debates, Charles F. Walker, in an evocatively entitled book, employs this trope to argue that a historic Andean popular culture lies at the core of Peru's national identity. The utopian ideal reawakens whenever popular culture is threatened in Peru, as it was during the recent terror. That also was the case, notes Walker, in the understudied, fascinating era of the founding of the republic.

Displaying the political centrality of the Andean utopia theme, Walker draws on a fire metaphor, highlighting three major torchlights in Peruvian history. One is the pivotal role of the Cuzco region in the making of Peru's national identity. A second is the critical place of the *caudillo* in the formation of the republic, here given fresh treatment in a discourse of political culture in formation. The third is the liberal-conservative ideological contest for dominance of the national political culture.

In two early chapters, Walker deftly synthesizes the historiography of pre-independence cultural/racial uprisings, 1780–1821, centered in Cuzco. Once the domain of the lords of Tahuantín-suyo (the Inca empire), by the eighteenth century the region was the home of a population stratified by wealth, privilege, and race. In the uprisings Inca revivalism mixed with anticolonial designs, raising the possibility of protonational alliances across racial and economic divides. But Bourbon imperial reforms unintentionally provoked much inter-class jealousy and a deterioration of royal power, and court records reveal that Indian villagers seized every opportunity to win justice over venal local royal officials. Willing to rebel when legal methods failed them, Walker notes that later they undercut creole designs for an independent republic in the interest of gaining precious lands for the community.

Taking his cues from Jürgen Habermas and similar theorists, Walker argues that successful *caudillos* did not merely preen or court the favor of landowners but relied most heavily on the loyalty of the popular sectors. His model is a Spanish-trained officer, Cuzco's Agustín Gamarra (1785–1841), who switched sides deliberately between independence battles, was made a prefect by Simón Bolívar, later pursued a "Cuzco First" campaign, and strenuously opposed the reunification of Peru and Bolivia. Not a particularly skillful warrior, he died on the battlefield. Walker's

analysis of *caudillaje* surpasses the lampooning this institution traditionally has received at the hands of novelists from Domingo Sarmiento to Gabriel García Márquez. Gamarra's career suggests that *caudillos* might have created a state that, albeit enigmatically, bridged colony and republic by providing nineteenth-century Latin America with a semblance of public order. The Cuzco treasury relied heavily upon the "personal contribution" (the Bolivarian name for the Indian head tax), and Gamarra used the receipts shrewdly to fill the state bureaucracy with loyal followers. The provincial militia was supplied by local textile mill owners and merchants. Meanwhile, through festivals, Masses, plays, parades, speeches, and "public revelry" (p. 164), Gamarra campaigned assiduously to associate himself with the Andean utopian tradition. The "celebrations reiterated one of the key tropes of Gamarrismo: a militaristic state based on the (invented) traditions of the Incas" (p. 167).

Gamarra curiously failed to control his enemies, the liberals, the final torchlight in this lambent discourse. After repeatedly enumerating the standard liberal and conservative views (free trade vs. protectionism, freedom vs. a well-ordered society, etc.), Walker poses the question: how could the liberal elite, wedded to literate enlightenment, gather popular support in an illiterate society? Immersed in a paradox with no exit, the high-minded, constitutionalist liberals, who relied on a lively press to propagate their views, found themselves down in the mud with their enemies. Personal attacks and ribald allusions ruled the Cuzco press and kept the crowds laughing. The conservatives ran with their advantage, and the result was a republic founded on an ideology of progress with a social order that firmly carried forward colonial practices (despite Gamarra's uneasy relationship with the church). Walker lucidly walks us through the twists and turns of the liberal dilemma, especially the racial and political implications of a tax levied unequally on Indians and *castas* (other non-whites). Contrary to convention, both groups paid or avoided the tax depending largely on how they read the opportunities to gain control of precious land.

By viewing independence as cultural conflict in the Andes, Walker has dramatically questioned the predominant structuralist and developmentalist approaches to Peru's national identity. Future work on the country's mysterious nineteenth-century politics will have to contend with his arguments, making this book a highly valuable contribution to the historiography of early republican Peru and Latin America.

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JEFFREY LESSER. *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 281. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

It is always a source of great amazement, even among those who pride themselves on their cosmopolitanism, to learn that the largest Japanese population outside of Japan is in Brazil, mostly concentrated in São Paulo. The reason, according to Jeffrey Lesser, is that the well-known Brazilian "racial laboratory" has been portrayed as a continuum between two poles: one made up of the descendents of African slaves and one of the descendents of early Portuguese colonists and later Italian and other European immigrants. In fact, Brazil's immigrants from China, Japan, the Middle East, and North Africa brought a variety of religions and cultural identities that stand outside Brazil's white Christian and African heritages. This pathbreaking book presents a new picture of the racial and ethnic character of Brazil by tracing the development of an ambiguous national identity comprised of non-European immigrants who sought to define themselves as a part of the Brazilian nationality, even in the face of suspicious and hostile reactions.

The book begins with the debates over recruiting Chinese immigrants to fill labor shortages in the early nineteenth-century coffee plantations. Confronting national and international pressure to end the slave trade and abolish slavery, Brazilian authorities, entrepreneurs, and planters began to consider the option of importing Chinese laborers, similar to the strategy followed in Cuba, Trinidad, Guyana, and other parts of the Caribbean. Although this alternative never met with the same degree of success, and few Chinese workers ever settled in Brazil, Lesser sees the debate that surrounded the issue as an important turning point in the discourse over non-European immigration. Whereas some government officials and contemporary observers argued that the Chinese were excellent workers and should be welcomed in Brazil, others contended that Asians added another layer of "non-white" corruption to the already Africanized population.

On their own volition, large numbers of immigrants from the Middle East, from Syria and Lebanon, and North African Jews arrived in Brazil in the nineteenth century. The attitude that greeted all of these groups, some of whom were Christian, seems to have been that they were not "desirable" European or North American immigrants, but neither were they "undesirable" Asians or Africans. Their entry remained largely unheralded, many of them settled in states distant from the populous center-south Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo axis, and they developed trade and entrepreneurial networks throughout the country. Nonetheless, as with every group, their detractors made much of the supposed threat to Brazil's future posed by this influx of non-white "Orientals."

Much of the book is devoted to a discussion of the arrival and integration of one of Brazil's largest immigrant groups, the Japanese. Many of the convoluted prejudices that had greeted other non-Europeans came to a head in the discussion of the *nikkei*, the term applied to Japanese-Brazilians. Arguments in favor of

Japanese immigration ranged from extolling their diligent work habits and cleanliness, to bizarre theories that indigenous Brazilians and Japanese shared the same "Mongolian blood" or that a special affinity existed between the two countries because they were both "discovered" by the Portuguese, to hypotheses on the impact of Japanese sexual practices on Brazil's future. The already contradictory process of assimilation was compounded by the momentous events of the twentieth century. The rise of fascist and ultranationalist movements in Japan, as well as nationalist secret societies in Brazil, alarmed democrats, while racist, anti-Japanese hysteria among Brazilians emerged to threaten the tranquility of the majority of law-abiding *nikkei*.

Lesser concludes with a discussion of the way Brazilian intellectuals, travelers, and admirers of Japan's economic success sought to adopt aspects of Japanese culture they considered positive while rejecting those characteristics they saw as negative. This contradictory process Lesser terms "Turning Japanese." It is in many ways the densest, sometimes most confusing, but also the most provocative section of the book. For me, it was disorienting to reach the end of the book and find myself starting over with a chronology of several centuries of Brazilian cultural attitudes toward Japan. Lesser's point, however, is to explain how these two cultures and people found themselves intertwined at the end of the twentieth century. This he does very well. In Brazil there was "a human piece of Japan, and in Japan, Brazilians found hope," especially as they viewed Japan's phenomenal postwar economic boom (p. 165). Despite the waning of Japan's boom in recent years, in comparison with Brazil's grinding poverty and economic problems, the "land of the rising sun" stands as a beacon of success. As a consequence, 200,000 *nikkei* have returned to the land of their ancestors in search of work.

Lesser has written an extremely valuable addition to the field of Brazilian studies in a book that expands the intricate complexity of what constitutes the Brazilian national identity.

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#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

STEVEN JOHNSTONE. *Disputes and Democracy: The Consequences of Litigation in Ancient Athens*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 207. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$17.95.

MATTHEW R. CHRIST. *The Litigious Athenian*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 317. \$39.95.

The practices of Athenian trials, and the habits of mind that motivated them, continue to attract interest—and justly so. Athenian democracy was character-

ized by *isonomia*, equality before the law. The ultimate power to adjudicate most legal conflicts resided with popular courts, in which large numbers of ordinary citizens, without the supervision or impartial assistance of trained jurists, determined for themselves the relevance and merits of all evidence and all arguments, legal or otherwise. Consequently, litigants, most of whom were members of the elite, endeavored to persuade their judges by appealing to legal concepts and social values that, they hoped, would correspond to the average Athenian's notion of proper civic conduct and the fair application of the city's laws. These circumstances, illuminated by a variety of sources, the most important of which are the extant orations that date from 425 to 322 B.C., invite the investigation not merely of the technicalities of the Athenian judicial system but also the democratic ideologies that informed, and complicated, the realities of Athenian trials. It is ideology and its particular effects on the rhetorical strategies of litigants that constitute the focus of two recent contributions to the study of Athenian law and society.

The Athenians were viewed, by themselves as well as by their critics, as litigious. Yet, as Matthew R. Christ observes in his excellent and well-written book, the relationship between a society's perceptions of its legal excesses and the realities of its system is not invariably unambiguous. The absence of court records over the period from the initial reforms of the popular courts in 462 B.C. to the end of the democracy in 322 B.C. renders it impossible for us to know anything about actual levels of litigation over time. Christ assumes that lawsuits increased in the aftermath of popular reforms (462–430 B.C.) but leveled off thereafter. However, the reform of 400/399 B.C., which required most litigants to submit to public arbitration before appearing in court, was probably a response to rising litigation, so it may be that the most one can say is that after 400/399 B.C. there is no evidence for a rise in legal abuses—apart from the complaints of orators. Since the accuracy of these complaints cannot be determined, Christ deploys them in order to answer other questions. In his approach, the "ongoing Athenian discussion of legal excess and abuse allows the modern observer to inquire into an intriguing facet of classical Athens: how Athenians conceived of, and responded to, problematic aspects of their personal and collective legal experience" (p. 3).

Litigation enforced justice and enacted Athenian democratic values. But not without risk to those values. In the absence of state prosecutors, for instance, private initiative was necessary for the enforcement of laws. But Athenians objected to fondness for strife and valued the citizen who did not interfere in the affairs of others, an attitude that was not easy to accommodate with the role of prosecutor. Christ examines complaints about legal excess as part of a discourse that exposes to us the Athenians' multiple attitudes toward the proper use of litigation.

Christ begins by providing a valuable survey of the



practicalities of Athenian litigation, in which he takes a sensible and balanced stand on the controversial matter of the relationship between law and politics in Athenian courts (law and politics overlapped but were not indistinguishable). He then turns to the idea of the sycophant, the man who makes his living by mastering and abusing the mechanics of the legal system. The sycophant exploits the voluntary nature of Athenian prosecutions in order to make himself wealthy and influential. He is thus the very antithesis of the unmeddling citizen (*apragmon*) who represented the Athenian ideal. The sycophant became the repository for every Athenian anxiety about their system of litigation. Consequently it was incumbent on every prosecutor to avoid being cast in that role, and many defendants claimed that they were the victims of sycophancy. Because sycophants were in business to make money, the rich were their natural victims. Thus the idea of sycophancy became a means whereby elite litigants could communicate the fears and problems of their class to the jury without incurring class hostility, which is the subject of Christ's third chapter. Chapter four addresses the problems, practical and ideological, of volunteer prosecutors in public suits: a litigant strove to avoid being viewed as a sycophant by claiming to be a self-sacrificing servant of the democracy, noninterfering by nature, uninterested in profit, a personal enemy of his opponent, or, conversely, by no means a personal enemy of his opponent (and therefore motivated by patriotism or a sense of justice). The subsequent chapter examines the difficulties faced by a prosecutor in a private suit: he had to represent himself as a respondent to a provocation or an offense and not as an aggressor (lest he offend against expectations of *apragmosynê*). Finally, in chapter six, Christ looks at the ways in which Athenians could have recourse to the letter of the law and the technicalities of legal procedure without being viewed by jurors as quibbling and therefore unjust or even as sycophants. In all of this, Christ demonstrates how challenging it was for litigants to contest their cases vigorously and yet to avoid the appearance of entering into litigation in order to win an unfair or inappropriate profit. He uncovers popular Athenian anxieties about the institution of litigation, and he shows how orators attempted to deflect and to deploy those anxieties. The Athenian discussion of legal abuse, then, "is best viewed as evidence not of a profound legal crisis or the sorry state of the democratic legal system but of the fundamental importance of the issues at stake. Concerns over legal excess and abuse pertained most directly to litigation and the courts, but they also reflected basic questions about the nature of public and private life within the democracy" (p. 226).

Christ rightly insists that there was no one who claimed to be a sycophant and so there was no actual profession of sycophancy. Consequently, "the combination 'real' and 'sycophant' is an oxymoron" (p. 63). This, I think, requires more nuance. The exaggerated and extreme nature of the rhetorical and literary

construction of sycophancy is, as Christ demonstrates, beyond doubt. But that does not mean that there were no Athenians who habitually engaged in the sordid practices characteristic of sycophancy, no "real" sycophants who embodied and sustained Athenian anxieties about legal abuses. After all, no American lawyer describes himself as an ambulance-chaser, but that does not mean that there are no lawyers in the U.S. who actually make their living by settling minor cases with insurance companies. In our effort to avoid taking Athenian complaints at face value, we must also take care not to deny them any credibility whatsoever.

Steven Johnstone's book also addresses the significance of the decision to prosecute. He is not concerned, however, with sycophancy, but with the consequences that result when one party in a dispute (Johnstone's introduction offers a rich discussion of anthropological dispute theory) elects to transfer that dispute into the courts. This move imposes on the dispute, and the disputants, a legal structure that requires the identification of an alleged crime around which the disputants, now litigants, must organize their contest with one another and their relationship with the jury. The criminalization of the dispute must be justified by the prosecutor; it is open to attack by the defendant, and, however convoluted the dispute, it must now be cast in legal language that often tends to reduce the dispute to simple and dichotomized terms. Litigation also eliminates, or transforms, the role of other participants in the dispute: the role of women, for instance, must be represented in terms of citizens' rights and responsibilities, a frame of reference that may diverge sharply from the actual circumstances of the original dispute.

This is a fascinating and important contribution to our appreciation of the conditions of litigation in Athens. However implicated in the full and natural complexity of social life a forensic oration may appear to us, its context imposed certain requirements and restrictions on its representation of actions, motives, and issues, with the result that the speech is always suffused with a strictly legal purpose. Johnstone's case for the primacy of the legal structure of litigation in the arguments and narratives of orators also uncovers an impediment to the use of orations by social historians: conflicts that could not (or ought not) take a legal form might be occluded when a litigant was attempting to make a persuasive case; thus "a legal narrative could express the interests neither of slaves nor women" (p. 127).

Johnstone is also good on certain specific matters. His discussion of the concept of "the lawgiver" as an enabling basis for legal interpretation (it allowed the laws to be interpreted as a comprehensive and consistent system) is insightful; Johnstone observes the degree to which Athenians, instead of cultivating expertise in a body of law, developed "an ability to understand and use certain protocols of interpretation" (p. 44). Chapter three, on legal dares, is subtle and intelligent: eschewing a reductive explanation,



Johnstone sees them serving a wide range of purposes, which made them useful to different litigants in different ways.

Unfortunately, there are serious problems with Johnstone's account of litigation and its consequences. Although Johnstone's appreciation of the legal nature of forensic oratory is welcome, he goes too far when he insists that "Athenian law was essentially rhetorical" (p. 1), by which he means that "'the law' was inseparable from its rhetorical context" (p. 126) and that "the only historical sense in which the law existed in Athens was in and through the rhetoric of litigation. To treat Athenian law otherwise, as a standpoint outside litigation, misrepresents both law and litigation" (p. 1). Yet the laws existed, quite literally, outside the practice of litigation: they were debated, drafted, established, and published. One could, if literate, read them either on stelae or in the archives. They were joked about in comedies. And surely it was the case that, in daily life, many quiet Athenians did their duty to one another and to the city in obedience to the laws—and with full presence of mind.

Johnstone is right to observe that the decision to litigate criminalized disputes. But this does not mean that every prosecution resulted from a previous dispute of long standing or that no prosecution derived immediately from a legal sensibility. Yet Johnstone insists that litigants "retrojected the law as the actors' sole motivation and the prime standard of judgment" (p. 127), and goes so far as to make the following assertion: "In fact, litigation was less the outcome of a 'crime' than a certain event was defined as a 'crime' by the decision to litigate" (p. 49). But this is hardly a fact: it is a claim, which Johnstone does not actually demonstrate.

"Language alone established the relationship between speaker and audience" (p. 2). This opinion is frequently asserted by Johnstone, who argues that, owing to Athens's large population, "the litigant and the jurors were unknown to each other so that relationship was constituted entirely through the litigant's speech" (p. 131). This will often have been the case, but, in view of the elite standing of many litigants, who can adduce liturgies and other acts of public service in their speeches, it will not do to be so categorical. Certainly, in the case of speakers like Demosthenes or Aeschines, Johnstone's formulation cannot be true.

Finally, Johnstone several times introduces statistical analyses of the extant orations in order to bolster various claims about the habits of prosecutors and defendants. He concludes, for example, largely on statistical grounds, that in litigation "the honor or reputation of a prosecutor mattered much less than that of the defendant" (p. 100). Let us leave aside for the moment the counter-intuitive quality of that claim and turn to the sources. We possess approximately 100 orations that were delivered over a period of approximately 100 years. It is, by the standards of ancient history, a wealth of information, but it is nonetheless a limited and peculiar collection of speeches, each of

which was at some point published and thereafter preserved, always by chance but often in view of their recognized literary merits. Historians are correct to make arguments by observing patterns that emerge from these speeches, but the speeches cannot be regarded as anything like a random sample. A stratagem that occurs only once in our sample might in fact have been fairly commonplace: we simply have no way of knowing. Johnstone himself seems to recognize that the preserved speeches do not constitute a random sample (p. 178 n. 2), yet "for purposes of generalization I have assumed that they are" (p. 135). He admits that "such an enabling assumption is unwarranted from the standpoint of statistics" (p. 135), but he makes it anyway. To his credit, Johnstone reveals all in an appendix, but this is hardly a sound methodology.

We have, then, two engaging books. Christ's thorough and workmanlike book will be consulted with confidence by historians for a long time to come. His exposition of sycophancy is masterly and a lasting contribution, and it is accessible even to undergraduates owing to his full and well-informed treatment of every background issue. All Greek is translated, and the documentation is scrupulous. Johnstone's contribution, in many ways more ambitious, contains important insights. But these are mingled with misapprehensions and methodological quirks, leaving us a volume that demands a careful and judicious reading.

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ANDREW LINTOTT. *The Constitution of the Roman Republic*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1999. Pp. xi, 297. \$80.00.

At the outset of his provocative book *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (1998), Fergus Millar remarks: "it remains extraordinary that the student of today cannot turn to any textbook that sets out in comprehensible terms the key features of the [Roman constitutional] system" (p. 3). Andrew Lintott's new book represents an attempt to rectify that oversight and succeeds in many respects.

Writing a book of this nature presents serious methodological challenges because, as Lintott notes in his introduction (p. 2), the Roman Republic did not have a written constitution; rather, tradition played the critical role in shaping the nature of Roman government. Trying to determine the functions and powers of each aspect of the Roman government is thus a daunting task and has seldom been attempted since the publication of Theodor Mommsen's great *Römisches Staatsrecht* (1888). In his book, Lintott treats the various branches of Roman government in turn, devoting chapters to the assembly, the senate, the higher magistrates (consuls, praetors, censors, and proconsuls), and the lower magistrates (including tribunes of the plebs, aediles, quaestors, and minor functionaries). One of the great virtues of this volume is the extent of the evidence that Lintott has marshalled to illustrate

the workings of the system; of particular note is his extensive use of inscriptions and texts of Roman legislation, which complements and often corrects for the biases of authors such as Cicero.

Each chapter succeeds in interspersing the presentation of evidence with often acute observations on important issues, as chapter seven on the higher magistrates illustrates. As part of his discussion of fundamental concepts such as *potestas* and *collega*, Lintott argues, against prevailing sentiment, that it would be wrong "to see collegiality in principle as a form of constitutional check: the multiplicity of magistrates was perhaps in origin intended rather as a cover for a multiplicity of functions and insurance against the sudden death or disability of a magistrate" (p. 100). Judgments such as this make this book more than a mere compendium of ancient evidence.

The same chapter reveals one of the difficulties of this book, for Lintott tends to confine his commentary to specific observations, and the reader feels the lack of a more extended analysis exploring how the system worked in practice. Lintott argues that without knowledge of the complex rules of the game, it is hard to grasp the behavior of Roman politicians, but the rules in themselves do not enable us to understand that behavior. This problem is evident in Lintott's chapter on the assemblies. Lintott writes, "the question which immediately arises is, how democratic these assemblies were; and this is the subject of the next chapter" (p. 39). This question is one of the most vexed in studies of Roman politics, and yet the ensuing chapter never offers a clear answer. Similarly the chapter on the senate does not fully address the issue of the nature and extent of senatorial authority. A more thorough attempt to understand the behavior of Roman politicians would have been a welcome addition to Lintott's superb treatment of the rules that governed that behavior.

A related issue is the question of the intended audience for this book. In the preface, the author indicates a desire to provide a work to which teachers of ancient history can refer their students, and many parts of the book will be well received by such an audience. For instance, chapter two provides a brief summary of a Roman political year drawn directly from the ancient sources; although scholars will not find this chapter enlightening and may well be troubled by the notion of picking 190/189 as a typical year, students may find it useful as a means of entering the Roman world. But in the chapter on assemblies Lintott engages in scholarly debates on the question of whether the *comitia tributa* was separate from the *concilium plebis* and how to reconcile discrepant evidence on the tribal reform of the centuriate assembly, debates that seem too narrow for undergraduates. Similarly, discussions on the influence of society and religion, the ideology and theory of the mixed constitution, and the republic as remembered by select humanists seem too brief to be of use for scholars and too simplified to be helpful for students. Despite these

caveats, Lintott's clear presentation of the structure of the Roman government and his judicious comments will help this book achieve its goal of providing a starting point for students of ancient history.

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EMMA COWNIE. *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England 1066–1135*. (Studies in History, New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell; for the Royal Historical Society. 1998. Pp. x, 262. \$60.00.

The Norman Conquest so gravely threatened the wealth of Anglo-Saxon religious institutions that "the post-Conquest experiences of the Church have largely been characterised in terms of despoliation" (p. 1). Yet the conquerors, now bountifully rewarded with the wealth of England, wanted and needed to support and endow church institutions. Emma Cownie looks at the interplay of these circumstances in order "to assess the impact of the Norman Conquest on the Old English Benedictine houses through an analysis of the distribution and timing of gifts given by the continental newcomers" (p. 7).

The scope of the work is somewhat broader than this statement of purpose. The largest portion of the book, entitled "Case Studies," elucidates the post-Conquest fate of the endowments of the Anglo-Saxon abbeys. Separate chapters on five great abbeys—Abingdon, Gloucester, Bury St. Edmund's, St. Alban's, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury—are followed by a chapter on the Fenland abbeys (Ely, Peterborough, Crowland, Thorney, and Ramsey) and another on a representative sampling of the remaining houses. The second section of the work, labeled "Analysis," considers the motives of donors and compares Anglo-Norman patronage of Anglo-Saxon abbeys to their use of English property to support continental convents and, to a lesser extent, new foundations in England.

Cownie's conclusions are, for the most part, hardly surprising. "[P]ost-Conquest developments only served to accentuate and complicate the differences in wealth and status [among] the houses" (p. 129). The chapters on the five abbeys amply demonstrate how important the abilities of individual abbots were to how their houses fared. Probably the most important additional factor, closely related, was the degree to which an abbey could rely on royal support. Cownie finds that "personal motives for religious patronage resembled the continental model" (p. 152). Patterns of patronage tended to reflect "the structure of feudal lordship" (p. 172). Beginning as early as the reign of William Rufus, "founders and benefactors of religious houses were increasingly drawn from the knightly class," and there was a corresponding "change in the nature of gifts, as sizeable grants of land became rare" (p. 168).

Many of Cownie's most interesting conclusions concern the wider question of relations between English and French after the Conquest. Thus, she argues that the continued existence of English monks was not a

deterrent to Norman support of English abbeys as long as the abbot was from the continent. "Despite the great disruption brought by the Conquest there was no wholesale replacement of the English monks . . . When instances of what seem to be ethnic conflict [within abbeys] are examined, more often than not the root causes are not ethnic, but cultural, focussed on linguistic and customary antipathies," that is, dislikes based on differences of monastic custom (p. 132). Normans had no objection to the cults of English saints, provided that they did not, like Waltheof at Crowland, threaten to encourage rebellion. Indeed, abbots of continental origin often promoted English cults by commissioning new lives and translating the saints' relics into the new churches they built. It was even possible for English monks to rise to high office under continental abbots. Moreover, despite the often repeated allegations that the wealth of the English church was exported to enrich Norman abbeys, "Normans retained a preference for giving lands to Norman houses for less than one generation after the Conquest" (p. 200). The same pattern appears in provisions about burial: "[B]urial location had more to do with where the patrimony lay, the location of the family foundations and the economics of transportation, than with such sentiments as regarding Normandy as the 'homeland' or 'feeling more at home in England than in Normandy'" (p. 203).

Some assertions are not developed. More than once, "the role of women . . . as conductors of religious enthusiasm" (p. 169) is cited as though it had been demonstrated, but it has not. Similarly, repeated references to "the model of downward diffusion of cultural patterns through Anglo-Norman society" (p. 192) are never systematically addressed. The whole paragraph on the relationship between "religious patronage" and "the exercise of political power and the nature of tenurial conditions" (p. 209) goes well beyond what is accomplished in chapters ten and eleven, which it purports to summarize. It would have been better had Cownie not claimed that this book "is one of the few systematic studies of an aspect of the relationship between England and Normandy" (p. 208). Nonetheless, she has produced a useful work with much to offer the reader.

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DYAN ELLIOTT. *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality and Demonology in the Middle Ages*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 300. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Given its focus on the growing anxieties of late medieval clerics about clerical purity, this collection of essays could aptly have been entitled *The Return of the Repressed*. Although she does not see herself as a "psychoanalytic historian," Dyan Elliott's framework for this book is decidedly Freudian, with a Lacanian twist. In a suggestive series of loosely intertwined

essays on such topics as the nocturnal emissions of the clergy, the libidinous female, sex in holy places, the priest's wife, and the purity of demons, Elliott argues that the effective repression of concern about bodily impurity in the patristic age set the stage for the heightened reaction that began to take place six hundred years later and that culminated in the great witch hunts of early modern Europe. By linking this framework to these topics, the author hopes that her work will shed "light on how images of pollution, sexuality, and demonology—subject to repetition in shifting context—made the materialization of the witch 'canonical and compulsory for a people.'" (p. 161).

The account of how these views unfolded begins with the belief that the fall of the body was the inevitable byproduct of original sin. Each individual's struggle to achieve the high ideals of Christian perfectibility perforce took place in a frail and impure human body that often betrayed the soul's most intense wishes. The tension created by this mismatch provided the fertile imaginative ground for the belief that demonic forces were at work to lead vulnerable Christians astray. Clerics, who were held to a higher standard of conduct, were viewed as particularly vulnerable, especially during that most defenseless state—sleep. Sexual dreams and nocturnal emissions, for this reason, already created anxiety during the patristic age. But St. Augustine and some of his contemporaries found a rather ingenious way around the problem by observing that because nocturnal emissions were involuntary, they were sinless (p. 18).

This comfortable "Thank God, it was only a dream" approach worked for over half a millennium; however, "the high Middle Ages," according to Elliott, "saw the repressed return trailing six hundred years of symptoms in tow. If we are to believe Jacques Lacan, the repressed always return retroactively, in conjunction with the historical perspective requisite for interpretation" (p. 21).

What was this new historical perspective that the high Middle Ages brought to bear on the reinterpretation of sex, pollution, and its relation to sin? First, there was a new emphasis on the power and wonder of the Eucharist, which led the church to become concerned with having a more pure clergy to administer it. Efforts redoubled to protect clerics as far as possible from the polluting influences of the body. They were to be kept distant from the corrupting power of women, whose bodily fluids betrayed their more libidinous natures and their limited rational abilities to contain their sexuality. Clerical marriage, which had been viewed with unease but tolerated, was stamped out after the mid-eleventh century. Reflecting these anxieties, the association of women with demons and with conscious, intentional carnality became increasingly evident and virulent in the clerical literature.

The intensification of fears about pollution, sexuality, and the power of women was also driven, according to Elliott, by the adoption of mandatory confession for the laity in the thirteenth century. Through auricular

confession, clerics spread their fears from their own ranks to those of the laity. From here on, the road was paved to the witch hunts of later centuries.

Elliott's central thesis and its analytical framework are problematic in several respects. As far as this reviewer is concerned, the difficulty is not the application of psychoanalytic concepts such as "repression" to historical periods that preceded modern sensibilities or the development of psychoanalysis. Rather, it is that the historical evidence does not fit the particular psychoanalytic interpretation the author puts on it. The "return of the repressed" thesis rests on the belief that late antiquity witnessed the "repression of dreams." Yet Augustine's explanation of dreams and their relationship to sin suggests acceptance of dreams rather than their repression. Indeed, the "Ambrosian" prayer's plea, cited by Elliott (p. 20)—"let dreams and fantasies of the enemy recede far away; and suppress our enemy; lest we pollute our bodies"—can be seen as an acceptance of the power of dreams, of the inability of humans to control them, and of the need for divine help.

Another difficulty is that the argument for the spread of clerical anxieties about pollution to the laity, while plausible, rests on evidence from clerical literature, principally penitential manuals. It yet remains to be demonstrated that lay people actually internalized the concerns of their confessors.

Finally, and most troublesome, is the book's attempt to link the great witch hunts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the increased medieval emphasis on transubstantiation and the concomitant insistence on clerical celibacy and purity. There are two major difficulties with the thesis. First are the enormous time lags involved in the "return of the repressed": six hundred years from late antiquity to the Gregorian reforms and over three hundred years from the official promulgation of the doctrine of transubstantiation to the witch hunts of early modern Europe. Second is the fact that the witch hunts were most pronounced in Protestant parts of Europe, where belief in transubstantiation and clerical celibacy were abandoned.

Despite these difficulties with regard to its thesis, Elliott's book offers many original and creative insights into clerical views about sin, pollution, sexuality, and demonology in the Middle Ages. These are sufficiently rewarding, in and of themselves, to recommend the book to readers.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PAUL KLÉBER MONOD. *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589–1715*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 417. \$35.00.

Paul Kléber Monod's insightful, far-ranging, and at times lyrical book traces the complex journey "in which

Christian Europe died and enlightened Europe was born" (p. 328), or, to invoke Monod's moving conclusion, the process by which Europeans "were carried away from the dream of heaven and into the harsh uncertain light of the world" (p. 328). How is it that between the late sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, kingly power and representations of monarchical authority were mostly remade? How did the legitimizing mantle of religion and the appeal to medieval ideas of sacral kingship give way, albeit reluctantly and only partially, to what Monod refers to as the "rational" state?

Monod's lucid and brilliant book locates these transformations within the interplay of religion—understood here in its broadest cultural sense—and politics. In seeking to explain the conflated politics of piety and power and the subsequent severing of religion and the "rational" state, Monod depicts a vast canvas of European institutional and political developments and the concomitant transformation of the Christian self.

This book is a courageous enterprise on two levels. First, the topic has already been studied by innumerable gifted scholars, from Max Weber onward. Second, Monod's inquiry includes almost the whole continent, drawing on diverse political systems and experiences. Although England and France receive the lion's share of attention, the book is cast in a truly comparative perspective. The final result—specific events examined in microhistorical detail but within a wide-sweeping context—is impressive indeed.

Chapter one introduces the broad themes of the book; rather than argue for secularization as the catalyst for political transformation, it connects the emergence of a new state ideology to the reshaping of the Christian self that followed the Reformation and Counter Reformation. Paralleling these individual and spiritual transformations, theoretical and practical notions of sovereignty began to transform the nature of state power and the king's claim to embody "national" sovereignty. Chapter two, "The Sickness of the Royal Body," illustrates how religious reform throughout Europe led to the desacralization of kingship and of the royal body itself. As Monod explores this process in detail, he highlights the similarities and differences in the way kings represented their rule and wielded power from kingdom to kingdom. Stripped of their holiness, rulers sought to redefine and relegitimize royal power by recourse to the works of lawyers. No longer the sacred representative of God, kings—or at least some kings—came to embody "that unbreakable supreme power," sovereignty (p. 73).

In the next chapter, "The Theatre of Royal Virtue," Monod describes how kings, through spectacles and display, exercised their authority over the people. The process leading to the emergence of the "rational" state was not easy. It was, as the author argues elsewhere, a perilous course with uncertain outcomes. Every royal action brought about resistance and strife, none more evident than the confessional-led upheavals of the seventeenth century explored in chapter four,



"No King but King Jesus." But the millenarian expectations of godly kingship fizzled out, making way, according to Monod, for the rise of the modern state. Chapter five is a stunning piece of scholarship. Monod taps into a wide variety of sources, interdisciplinary approaches, and case studies to portray the emergence of a "state based on collective reason rather than self-centred fear" (p. 271). The last two chapters trace the final evolution of royal power as the embodiment of the "rational" state, pointing to the pitfalls and failures.

This is an exceedingly rich book, and my brief summary does not do justice to Monod's extensive research and nuanced analysis. But some questions are unavoidable. Throughout the book, every development—almost in teleological fashion—seems to lead to the "rational" state. What is the "rational" state, and, far more important, how rational is it? Is it "based on collective reason," or is it very much still a Leviathan? Can one postulate a transformation from godly kingship to "rational," sovereignty-based kingship throughout all of Europe? The Castilian kings and their Habsburg successors eschewed any outward symbols of sacredness (anointing or crowning) and kept the church very much at a distance; yet, their rule was as forceful and "rational" as that of other kings. Was not the work of Bartolus, Marsilio of Padua, and others in the fourteenth century equally "rational"? These questions notwithstanding, this is an exceedingly wise book. Monod has aimed high, and he has succeeded in making a compelling case. His book will be cited, debated, and appreciated for many years to come. Its comparative approach, wide range of sources, and intelligent analysis make it the kind of book one dreams of writing.

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BRAD GREGORY. *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 134.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 528. \$49.95.

Close to five thousand men and women were put to death, usually in a public forum and often in a rather gruesome way, for refusing to abjure their religious convictions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Confessional writers and artists celebrated the memory of these martyrs by describing their steadfast faith in a range of martyrological media. Modern scholars certainly have not neglected these sources or the phenomenon of martyrdom, but Brad Gregory's book breaks important new ground by providing the first comprehensive and cross-confessional treatment of martyrdom in the Reformation and Counter Reformation period. Working from a vast array of sources that include martyrologies, pamphlets, narratives, poems, paintings, woodcuts, and songs, Gregory examines the understanding and application of martyrdom within

Protestant, Anabaptist, and Catholic traditions in the context of early modern religious culture. Not only has Gregory produced a truly seminal work with important findings for students of religious history, but he also advances a forceful argument that theoretical approaches, informed by anthropological and postmodern literary theory, have grossly distorted our understanding of early modern Christianity.

In the opening chapters, Gregory establishes the parameters of his study and recreates the contexts of martyrdom in this period. In so doing, he sharply challenges the pertinence of theoretical models in making sense of martyrdom in particular and early modern religious culture in general. According to Gregory, literary and anthropological theory deliberately disregards the motivations of those who killed and those who died for their faith. This type of scholarship has instead imposed anachronism and modern skepticism onto early modern sources. Gregory makes a strong case that a critical analysis of source material within the intellectual framework of the early modern world allows for a genuine reconstruction of martyrdom. By comparing variant narratives of trials, imprisonments, and executions, he shows that martyrological sources are generally reliable accounts of actual historical events. Consequently, Gregory brings these sources to the forefront to illustrate the religious commitments during this violent period. And, the sources demonstrate quite unambiguously that across the confessional spectrum early modern Christians believed in the objective reality of heaven, hell, and evil in the world. These assumptions obligated authorities to kill to protect the faith and compelled followers to give their lives if necessary.

The bulk of the book examines martyrological traditions that emerged among Protestants (Lutherans and Calvinists), Anabaptists, and Catholics. In a richly textured and perceptive analysis, Gregory shows that all three denominations esteemed the traditional values of martyrdom handed down through the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, Protestant, Anabaptist, and Catholic writers appropriated those ideals somewhat differently in keeping with their own confessional makeup or in response to historical circumstances. Protestant writers regarded their martyrs as witnesses to God's truth and likened them to biblical and early church martyrs. Martyrologists marshalled these witnesses to urge the faithful to stand defiantly against Catholicism, to convert nonbelievers, and to condemn persecuting authorities.

The most maltreated of all Christian groups, the Anabaptists established a martyrological legacy that reflected the idiosyncrasies of the radical Reformation. Initially Anabaptists memorialized their martyrs primarily through songs and oral tradition because of high illiteracy, acute fragmentation, and withdrawal from confessional struggle. Appearing in the 1560s, *The Sacrifice unto the Lord* became the first anthology of martyrs in an Anabaptist tradition. It reinforced



intraconfessional division, as its Old Frisian editors excluded other Mennonite factions. During the 1600s, Mennonite martyrology became more inclusive through the influence of ecumenical Waterlanders and their *Martyrs' Mirror*. It included a wide array of Anabaptists, and it functioned to confront complacent Mennonites in a period of growing toleration.

A sharpened awareness of contemporary martyrdom among Catholics developed slowly in the sixteenth century. Gregory illustrates the renewed significance of martyrdom for Catholics by tracing changes in attitudes about the deaths of Thomas More and John Fisher from the 1530s to the Elizabethan era. At the height of confessional strife in the 1570s, Catholic writers regained their momentum and, displaying fervent passion for martyrdom, touted the intercessory power of these new saints. As a result, sixteenth-century martyrs became important figures in Catholic devotional life. Gregory also shows that repudiating the martyrs of other groups was inherent to defining the boundaries of a martyrological community. Because all confessional writers understood that the reason for death was doctrinal truth, they (except Anabaptists) castigated each other's victims as martyrs of the devil.

Exhaustively researched and lucidly written, this is an outstanding study that reasserts the importance of religious doctrine in early modern Christianity. At times, however, Gregory's criticism of theoretical approaches becomes overdrawn and has too much of an edge, which detracts from his otherwise nuanced argument. Even so, his work calls for a useful discussion about the limitation and value of theory in historical study.

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LORRAINE DASTON and KATHERINE PARK. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750*. New York: Zone; distributed by MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1998. Pp. 511. \$34.00.

It is hard to describe this extraordinary work without resorting to the language of wonders; the text is a marvel of erudition and ingenuity. It is harder still to summarize its intricate argument. We might begin with the central chapter on monsters, a subject to which Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park devoted a now classic article ("Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England," *Past and Present*, 92 [1981]). That earlier study serves as a foil for the authors' revised and greatly expanded history of wonders more generally, which they characterize as marking the limits of the natural and the boundary between the known and unknown, from the high Middle Ages through the Enlightenment.

In "Unnatural Conceptions," Daston and Park described three successive notions of the monstrous: in the Middle Ages, prodigies with disturbing religious

implications; starting in the sixteenth century, natural wonders that evoked delighted appreciation; and finally, objects of scientific inquiry, wholly explicable in terms of natural causes. In the book, they repudiate what they now see as a teleological master narrative of the triumph of naturalization. In their current view, all three discourses on marvels were available during the entire period stretching from the twelfth to the late seventeenth centuries, in ways that linked the natural and moral orders. A radical break came only at the end; after many generations for which wonders remained a central part of high culture, the elites rejected them as destabilizing, vulgar, and indecorous. The transformation, the authors argue, owed little to the rationalization and naturalization of puzzling phenomena, although they do point to a fundamental shift in the conception of nature's regularities, from flexible customs and habits to invariant natural laws. The explanations they prefer are political, social, and even aesthetic.

In addition to abandoning the three-stage linear narrative, Daston and Park extend their purview to include more than interpretations of nature's vagaries. As they repeatedly emphasize, they are as much concerned with the experience of wonder and its attendant emotions—horror, pleasure, repugnance—as with wonders. They also have much to say about collections of wonderful objects and their social uses. Their analysis draws widely on the history of philosophy, theology, aesthetics, geography, politics, and social relations as well as science, medicine, and technology. Their attention to these interconnections recalls another masterly history of ideas about the preternatural realm, Stuart Clark's *Thinking with Demons* (1997), which makes a parallel argument against invoking rationalism and the new science as fundamental explanations for the decline of witchcraft beliefs. Daston and Park's central concern might, indeed, be described as thinking—but also feeling and ruling—with wonders.

Despite the rejection of clear-cut stages, one of the book's great virtues is that it still provides a bold narrative, although of a sort the authors characterize as "undulatory" (p. 17). Their story culminates in what they themselves present as a climactic and decisive change, and even the earlier parts fall into phases, although they are less schematic than in the 1981 version. In greatly simplified form: in the Middle Ages, literate elites remained fascinated with exotica and with wonders used for religious ends. From around the mid-twelfth until the late fourteenth century, however, an important current in natural philosophy excluded anomalous phenomena from analysis and insisted on the underlying regularity of nature. From about 1370 to 1590, wonders began to reenter natural philosophy, through the agency not of academic philosophers but of writers in related fields, especially medicine. Their approach reflected a preternatural philosophy, with links to magic and alchemy. Nature was an active craftsman whose workings were often obscure, moved

by occult forces, spirits, sympathies and antipathies. This philosophy was associated with a sensibility highly receptive to the emotion of wonder; the corresponding aesthetic, exemplified in neoplatonic criticism, had ample room for the marvelous and the play of fantasy. The late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century saw the apogee of wonders in natural philosophy, marked by the gathering of "strange facts" as a collective enterprise and by an epistemology based on the fact detached from explanation: the root, the authors suggest, of our modern conception of the scientific fact. This approach, they argue, suited the new scientific societies, for which the well-attested particular was less likely than theory to provoke unsettling disputes. Unusual natural phenomena were closely linked to ingenious art; both were potentially useful. The *Wunderkammern* (cabinets of curiosities) of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries exemplified this principle. The period extending from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries saw the expulsion of marvels from elite culture. Strange facts had to meet a much higher standard, including inherent plausibility rather than simply the credibility of witnesses. Nature and art were separated, though they remained parallel in the sense that verisimilitude in art corresponded to plausibility in science. Neoclassical criticism excluded marvels and monsters. Behind all these shifts, Park and Daston see a reaction to the political, social, and religious upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a preoccupation less with reason, science, and naturalization than with decorum, propriety, and order. In the period after about 1750, the authors describe a "wistful Counter-Enlightenment" encompassing the romantic rediscovery of everything from popular magic to fairy tales; they see this movement, however, as predicated on the Enlightenment's own self-image as the product of a passage to adulthood, with childish wonder now represented as charming innocence rather than contemptible ignorance and incapacity. Beyond that, they depict a modern era in which a need for wonder persists but wonders are marginalized, excluded from both science and elite culture.

Like any highly creative endeavor, this one will be an important starting point for further discussion. Much of it will no doubt center on the last part of Daston and Park's narrative. Their interpretation turns on a social and cultural transformation at the end of the seventeenth century, which, unavoidably in a book of this scope, is only suggested rather than shown. This version of the civilizing process raises a series of questions: how is it that wonders, once seen as sustaining order, came to be seen as subverting it? Vulgar credulity is an old topos; what gave the concept a new purchase over the minds of the elite? Another set of questions has to do with the authors' brief treatment of the period after 1750, which in many ways reprises a traditional account of Enlightenment and modernity in an untraditional guise. At one level this is unexceptionable, if unsurprising; at another, one wishes for the

nuances and complexities that characterized the earlier sections, for a discussion that could take into account the persistence and recurrence in the modern era of an interest in spiritism and the paranormal, treasure collections as emblems of status, and even a politics based on mystery and wonder. One difficulty is that Daston and Park tend to conflate modern professional science with elite culture in a way that simplifies the relationship. But the very raising of such questions is a measure of the authors' most fundamental contribution, which is to stimulate us to rethink familiar categories and make new connections, much as wonders do in their account. In this they have succeeded brilliantly.

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BRENDAN DOOLEY. *The Social History of Skepticism: Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 117th Series (1999), number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 213. \$39.95.

This innovative investigation of the production, sale, and transmission of several forms of manuscript and printed "news" is a substantial contribution to our understanding of early modern Italian journalism and publishing, and especially of "news" dealing with political events. Brendan Dooley has studied an enormous store of manuscript and printed news sheets housed in the Vatican Library. He uses these previously neglected materials to show that literate Italians had far greater knowledge of contemporary political events than traditional views of a repressive sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy suggest. He also shows that news writing, in both manuscript and printed form, was often biased and inaccurate and that those in control of political information exercised that control to enhance their political aims. He makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of "information entrepreneurs," licensing, censorship, the role of governments in producing and transmitting information on political topics, and the liveliness of seventeenth-century Italian culture. His Italian-based investigations will assist comparative historical research on the development of journalism and the transmission of information. This study complements recent work on the history of "fact," the history of the book, and the conditions of early modern publication and readership.

Dooley also suggests that historians, both those employed as government propagandists and those who were more independent, absorbed the canons of news writing and that the result was a reform in the writing of history. One might well argue the reverse, that "news" writers absorbed the canons of historians who, whatever their actual practice, proclaimed the value of truth and impartiality. Dooley argues that skepticism engendered by the news media contributed substantially to historical skepticism: that is, the view that

denied the possibility of historical knowledge. This development, he suggests, was only overcome when Ludovico Muratori and others initiated the practice of printing historical documents and, finally, when Giambattista Vico, who is depicted as having saved history from skepticism, entered the historiographical scene.

The author, however, makes substantial claims that he can not support adequately. That readers became sensitive to the distortion and error endemic to political news reporting does not necessarily mean that many doubted the possibility of any accurate information or the reliability of all historical knowledge. If that had been the case, there would have not been so many avid consumers of "news." Although Dooley suggests that the new information industry led to epistemological pessimism, the claim is difficult to sustain given the fact that the consumers of "news" and "history" retained sufficient optimism about the possibility of accurate information to purchase such publications. The commercial success of the many news genres Dooley so successfully describes makes it difficult to sustain the connection with epistemological skepticism. A critical stance that recognizes the possibility of bias and even falsehood does not necessarily lead to philosophical skepticism. Dooley emphasizes the depth of the early modern attack on empirical writing, but that attack may be read either as grounded in skepticism or as part of an accelerating quest for empirical truth.

Dooley has made an important contribution to the history of journalism and to our understanding of the means by which political information was transmitted. He provides an important corrective to the widely held view that Italy was a cultural backwater and brings one strand of early modern Italian cultural history, largely *terra incognita* to non-Italian historians, to light. These are noteworthy accomplishments, even if his speculations about the connections between information dissemination and philosophical skepticism cannot be sustained.

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MARGARET C. JACOB, *Scientific Culture and the Making of the Industrial West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Pp. x, 269.

There has been a crying need for instructors of Western Civilization to find readable texts that incorporate the rise of science into the traditional historical curriculum. Margaret C. Jacob has now produced such a work linking the Scientific Revolution to the Industrial Revolution. A decade ago, she attempted this feat with *The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Revolution* (1988), an original work that did not fully win over specialists either in the history of science or the Enlightenment. This new work, advertised as a second edition, is a significantly expanded and improved version that fills a major vacuum. The only comparable

attempt is the second volume of Richard Olson's *Science Deified and Science Defied: The Historical Significance of Science in Western Culture* (1990). In contrast to Olson, Jacob "treats culture as a structure in its own right, found in the mind, but also encoded in the objects available to people or invented by human ingenuity" (p. 3). Using this broad definition, she is easily able to fix her attention on the material transformations of late eighteenth-century society and relate them to the new scientific setting. The initial four chapters are a reduced version of the first edition that differ slightly in their discussion of the "culture of Cartesianism," downplaying the role of French educational institutions in favor of Bernard Fontenelle's popular exposition. Jacob's longstanding claim that Newtonian concepts were taken up as a support for the Anglican establishment remains a key part of the argument. Indeed, in these revised chapters, Jacob constantly harps on the political uses to which the New Science, Cartesian or Newtonian, was put.

In the remainder of the book, which is richly documented and brimming with new ideas, she turns her attention to showing how a popular secularized version of Newtonian science became an essential part of the world of English entrepreneurs and inventors. This section pivots around the recent deposit of the Watt family archives in Birmingham. Exploiting this teeming source to the full, Jacob weaves a convincing argument that scientific culture was not a mere adjunct to the emerging mechanized industry: it was its essential source. Traditional economic historians will surely disagree with her, but they will now need to address her thesis head on. Traditional historians of science will also have to reconsider what Newtonianism meant to the middling classes of Scotland and the Midlands, where the Industrial Revolution first sprang forth.

In the penultimate chapter, Jacob puts forward a set of cultural explanations to account for England's acknowledged lead in industrialization, far ahead of developments in the Lowlands and France. Because Newtonianism also spread to the continent during the early years of the Enlightenment, she is obliged to explicate this national differentiation, which was already recognized by contemporaries. Commenting on the peculiarities of the educational and bureaucratic systems in each of these continental cultures, Jacob weaves a complicated story based on anecdotal evidence often drawn from unpublished sources. While this at times leads to daring insights in comparative history, the narrative lacks the solidity of the first part of the book. Moreover, her argument often loses the thread of the particular religious and political issues featured so prominently in earlier chapters. The final chapter is framed as a vivid example of how the scientific and rational mentality operated in decision making about local projects vital to industrialization, in this instance in the port city of Bristol. The account offered is based on unique sources that are presumed to be representative with respect to harbor improve-

ments, canal building, and the draining of mines. Perhaps they are.

In the end, this is a suggestive work, written with verve and hewn from much new archival evidence. But the themes Jacob develops need to be tested and sorted by others before the book will be fully accepted as a standard text.

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DAVID N. LIVINGSTONE and CHARLES W. J. WITHERS, editors. *Geography and Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 455. Cloth \$52.00, paper \$25.00.

ANNE MARIE CLAIRE GODLEWSKA. *Geography Unbound: French Geographic Science from Cassini to Humboldt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 444. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$27.50.

Perhaps it is only the terminology that, with the fashions, has changed. There was a time when the theme of nature and the Enlightenment included geography. The spatial diffusion of the Enlightenment added another dimension to the study of space itself. The two books under review therefore rediscover some important themes that have been eclipsed in recent years, and in so doing, their authors exploit the archives to good effect, clarify the relationship between the geographical traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and provide a more sophisticated basis for understanding space as a context within which eighteenth-century institutions functioned and intellectuals were created.

Geography as a field of knowledge is Anne Marie Godlewska's concern, and her way to narrate and analyze the continuities and disjunctures between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in France is to look at the links between geography and cartography. This is largely an internal history, but that does not limit the book's value only to other specialists. The larger significance of the subject relates to such key issues in Western culture as the degree to which knowledge is specialized, the authority of the expert, the resolution of disputes among experts, the genesis of forms of information accessible to a wider public, the subjective appreciation of the perceptions of space as differentiated from their objective descriptions, and the relation between geography and other fields of knowledge. The chapters integrate the work of particular individuals (M. Edme François Jomard, Constantin-François Volney, Gilbert Chabrol de Volvic, Alexander von Humboldt) and themes (geography and discovery, historical geography, national map surveys). The story is of an indirect but marked decline in the usefulness of maps, both within educational circles and the state, and a growing conservative tendency in the field of geography, or in other words, a failure to reinvent geography leading to a gradual marginalization.

This story needs more comparative dimensions to be confirmed, and the explanatory references to Foucault are not very convincing. A clue to what is missing is the lack of references to Joseph Minard and the graphically dramatic economic and social maps of the mid-nineteenth century. In effect, the rate of spatial change in the eighteenth century was sufficiently slow to permit geography and cartography to make substantial leaps forward, getting in advance, so to speak, of their economic and political applications. Until the revolution, the study of geography could be a way of understanding a latent order in human affairs, as in the works of Montesquieu. With the political and industrial revolutions, however, geographical change seemed increasingly disconnected from nature. The search for patterns and latent order depended far more on statistics (Lyon Playfair) and on economic theory (David Ricardo), but the economic approach was largely absent from the work of the thinkers on whom Godlewska has concentrated. The continuities and links among geology, geological mapping (in which the French excelled in the nineteenth century), and evolutionary theory also do not figure in her work. This book is well worth reading, and it is an important addition to the history of scientific work in nineteenth-century France, but it is not a definitive interpretation of the change in the intellectual weight of geography between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

As a collective volume, this book has all the familiar characteristics often cited by reviewers who must deal with a range of topics covered in chapters of uneven quality. To this reviewer, the most interesting chapters were those by Charles Withers on "Geography, Enlightenment and the Paradise Question," David Livingstone's on "Geographical Inquiry, Rational Religion and Moral Philosophy," Michael Heffernan's "Historical Geographies of the Future," and Peter Gould's essay on the diffusion of information about the Lisbon 1755 earthquake, which dealt with issues directly related to key issues in the Enlightenment. Methodologically interesting were Matthew Edney's article on historical geography, Michael Bravo's chapter on ethnographic evidence in geographical studies, and Godlewska's study of Humboldt's visual thinking. The voluminous bibliographic references after each chapter will lead readers to many interlibrary loan offices or rare book rooms.

Reading this new collection after *Geography Unbound*, the reader is made aware of the extent to which geography lacked a synthesis in the eighteenth century. Yet it was pervasive in so many aspects of the Enlightenment in both its objective and scientific modes and in its subjective and artistic representation of the world. The two books at hand highlight the challenge that lies in defining the basic concepts about space that functioned within the Enlightenment while at the same time looking carefully at the role of specialist geographers and cartographers.

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Paris, France



HANS ERICH BÖDECKER, PETER HANS REILL, JÜRGEN SCHLUMBOHM, editor. *Wissenschaft als Kulturelle Praxis, 1750–1900*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 154.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 426.

The fourteen essays that make up this collection demonstrate how embedded the history of science has become in debates that inform cultural history. The collection is distinctive in a number of ways. First, it includes in “Wissenschaft” studies of the social as well as the natural sciences, a conjunction not unusual in German-language publications but nonetheless refreshing for an English-language audience. Second, over half the essays are devoted to studies of the Enlightenment: that is, the early part of the designated time frame rather than the later part. Finally, most of the essays concentrate not on specific events, experiments, or publications but rather on the intellectual constructs that govern a given discipline. The common thread running through the volume is the way scientists and scholars structure knowledge, make sense of the relation between detail and conception, and deal with the relationship between observer and observed. The introduction highlights these themes, citing Bruno Latour’s assertion that “science” and “society” “become mutually inexplicable and opaque when made to stand apart” (p. 12), and Thomas S. Kuhn’s analysis that “knowledge of words and knowledge of nature [are] not really two sorts of knowledge at all, but two faces of the single coinage that a language provides” (p. 12). Each scientific language, note editors Hans Erich Bödecker, Peter Hans Reill, and Jürgen Schlumbohm, has its own internal logic and narrative pattern, and the contributors have taken it as their task to decode the varied languages used by scientists.

Lorraine Daston’s “Objectivity versus Truth” begins the discussion by pointing out the nuances involved in two common words often associated with scientific investigation. Is “truth” the same as “fact”? Not at all, according to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, among other Enlightenment thinkers. Is objectivity the prerequisite for scientific truth? Not in the nineteenth century, Daston argues, when it became instead a “retreat from truth,” as scientists sought desperately “to salvage a small but durable core of facts” (p. 32) from the rapid turnover of scientific theory. William Clark’s “On the Table Manners of Academic Examination” takes a similarly nuanced look at the varied meanings of the word “table.” As the venue for academic examinations from the Middle Ages through the nineteenth century, the table, a concrete, three-dimensional object, had a code of manners associated with it, manners that could be rigidly enforced or, occasionally, subverted. Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that three-dimensional table was on occasion spun off into a two-dimensional, pen-and-ink table, listing students’ names, grades, and other attributes.

Tables were one way of ordering knowledge. Compilation was another, as Martin Gierl demonstrates in

“Compilation and the Production of Knowledge in the Early German Enlightenment.” Compilation was not “mere” fact-gathering. Instead, it was supposed “to be a comprehensive stocktaking in the field of learning” (p. 70). Compilers collected the best and most up-to-date information—which often included classic writings from previous centuries—to create compendia, in which each paragraph was a digest of established wisdom on a given subject. As important as the compendia were the learned journals, such as the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, which compiled knowledge both from learned societies and from other journals, disseminating it to enlightened readers. Compilations of artifacts—and one particular kind of artifact, natural history collections—is the subject of Emma Spary’s “Codes of Passion.” Natural history collectors like Antoine-René Ferchault de Réaumur and Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon collected specimens of birds, dead and thus definitively removed from their natural environment, and then took great pains to mount them in settings that were intended to illustrate “natural” features. Spary delineates the ways in which the mounting of birds in a scientific setting echoed their customary references in literary and polite language.

Jörn Garber’s “Selbstreferenz und Objektivität: Organisationsmodelle von Menschheits- und Weltgeschichte in der deutschen Spätaufklärung” continues the themes of the volume by analyzing both the standpoint of Enlightenment scholars and the internal logic of the language they used. Garber looks closely at the concepts of “World History,” “Total History,” and “History of Humanity” as enunciated by German scholars Christoph Meiners, August Ludwig Schlözer, Georg Forster, and Johann Gottfried Herder. All believed that the history of humankind must include the natural environment, as well as what was beginning to be called physical and cultural anthropology; all believed that a complete explanatory system required an understanding of the relationship of each part of the system to the whole. The issue of how German Enlightenment scholars viewed history, as well as the relationship between parts and the whole, is taken up by Wolfgang Pross in “Die Begründung der Geschichte aus der Natur: Herders Konzept von ‘Gesetzen’ in der Geschichte.” Herder intended his universal history of humanity to be based on laws of nature, just like natural history. In Pross’s view, underneath the apparently unsystematic organization of Herder’s *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1787) is a carefully balanced structure, in which the causes of historical development of mankind from the ancient to the modern worlds are clearly delineated. In “Aufklärerische ethnologische Praxis,” Bödecker examines the way in which the father-son ethnological team of Johann Reinhold Forster and Georg Forster made sense of their field work with Captain James Cook in the South Sea islands. Bödecker describes the mechanics of their field work, including their initial contacts, their interpreters, and their note-taking practices; he



also examines the meaning, for them and for us, of their insistence on their own objectivity and trained observation. In "Death, Dying and Resurrection in Late Enlightenment Science and Culture," Reijl turns a trained observer's eye on the Enlightenment fear of being buried alive. This fear had an impact on such diverse areas as debates over Jewish burial practices, medical writings, and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818).

Schlumbohm's "Die edelste und nützlichste unter den Wissenschaften" returns to the theme of practice, this time of midwifery teaching at Göttingen University in the mid-eighteenth century. Professors of midwifery, in Göttingen as elsewhere, faced the problem of justifying midwifery, generally considered a manual art, as a true science, worthy of its place in the university curriculum. They did this by making free clinics for pregnant women into theaters for scientific observation and instruction for university students and also by their midwifery writings, as much prescriptive as descriptive. Phrenology, too, was a subject in which writings were as likely to be prescriptive as descriptive, as Michael Hagner describes in "Kluge Köpfe und geniale Gehirne: Zur Anthropologie des Wissenschaftlers im 19. Jahrhundert." Eighteenth-century interest in physical anthropology and laws governing the development of humankind led to the search for physiological explanations for human intelligence and "genius." Assumptions about the relationship between, for example, brain size and intelligence became imbedded in works on the anatomy of the brain and skull, as in the work of Franz Joseph Gall. As Hagner illustrates, many of these assumptions had a political or social agenda. Biography could also have a social agenda, as Peter Becker argues in "Von der Biographie zur Genealogie: Zur Vorgeschichte der Kriminologie als Wissenschaft und diskursiver Praxis." In nineteenth-century Germany, both *Kriminalisten*, legal scholars, and *Kriminalologen*, social theorists, were interested in compiling biographies and even genealogies of criminals in order to understand criminal behavior. Whereas legal writers viewed criminals as "fallen angels," men capable of good, middle-class behavior who had deviated from the proper path, social theorists like Cesare Lombroso viewed them as men with stunted development, physiologically and psychologically distinct from non-criminals.

The last three essays bring the volume to the twentieth century. Jacques Revel's "Histoire et sciences sociales: Lectures d'un débat français autour de 1900" examines the fight between Durkheimian sociologists and historians over the function of history, a fight that forms the essential backdrop to the founding of the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*. In "Reason, Faith, and Alienation in the Victorian Fin-de-Siècle," Theodore M. Porter provides a complementary examination of two "grammars" of meaning, John Henry Newman's *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870) and Karl Pearson's *The Grammar of Science* (1892), finding that the underlying similarities

are more important than the superficial differences. Hans-Jörg Rheinberger's "Strukturen des Experimentierens: Zum Umgang mit dem Nichtwissen" uses case studies from the history of physiology and molecular biology to provide a general typology of experimental systems, and how those experimental systems may change in response to historical events.

This book has the defects of volumes published out of conferences. Several of the articles appear to be summary sketches of ideas developed at greater length in books and articles listed in the citations. Issues that were apparently raised by conference discussions are briefly mentioned, then dropped. But the book, like the conference, has the merit of bringing together scholars and topics in new and interesting ways. The reader profits from their juxtaposition.

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J. CHRISTOPHER WARNER. *Henry VIII's Divorce: Literature and the Politics of the Printing Press*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1998. Pp. ix, 163. \$75.00.

J. Christopher Warner's book engages the publications surrounding Henry VIII's effort to secure an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Warner's particular contributions arise from his interest in the "literary forms" and "rhetorical designs" (p. 2) of material more often treated in terms of its strictly political, religious, or intellectual historical import and from his attention to publishing history. The book's clearly stated premise is that the texts under consideration are all "fictions" operating within a discursive field centered around the image of Henry as a philosopher-king. Since a philosopher-king, by definition, solicited counsel and sought the truth, a certain amount of debate was desired. Warner traces the evolution of the debate on the king's great matter by analyzing the publications that emerged from the presses of Thomas Berthelet, the king's printer from 1530–1547, and John and William Rastell, lawyers, kinsmen of Thomas More, and, until 1535, printers.

The successive versions of Christopher St. German's dialogues, commonly called *Doctor and Student* (1528), first published by John Rastell and then by Berthelet, illustrate how Henry used existing texts to promote his cause. From its early versions, *Doctor and Student* had addressed conflicts between the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions, arguing for the authority of English law over the church and clergy. Although the authority of English law was hardly identical to royal supremacy, the dialogues themselves instance the kind of debate a philosopher-king would encourage and the publication of the third version, even stronger in its opposition to clerical privilege, by Berthelet enlisted them in the king's cause. So too, Warner argues, the works of Thomas Elyot (*The Governor* [1531], and the Pasquil dialogues), although also not directly addressing the king's cause and even subtly critical of Henry, operate within the rules of the discursive field as defined by the

image of a philosopher-king. They issue from the press of the king's printer and address matters of concern to the commonwealth in the general terms the king desired.

The test cases for Warner's thesis are afforded by More's religious polemics of 1529 and 1530 and Thomas Starkey's manuscript now called *A Dialogue Between Pole and Lupset*. If More's printed religious polemics demonstrate the flexibility of the philosopher-king image by explicitly calling on Henry to defend and keep the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, even as they portray him as a learned and virtuous prince, Starkey's manuscript dialogue, containing a single specific argument (the proposal that the king be elected by Parliament and subject to the laws) in a text otherwise well-attuned to Henry's image and desires, reveals the limits of that flexibility by remaining unprinted. More's chancellorship is a strategic element in Warner's presentation. For Henry, More's reputation as a humanist intellectual affirmed the philosopher-king image; for More, Henry's investment in that image allowed More to debate matters of policy, to follow the advice of his character Morus in *Utopia* (1516) and adapt to the play at hand, proceeding by an indirect approach.

In the last chapters, Warner convincingly demonstrates how the publication of religious polemic (John Rastell's *A Book of Purgatory* [1530] and William Barlow's *Dialogue on Lutheran Factions* [1531]) removed from the specifics of Henry's great matter and the printing of plays (John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* and John Heywood's *The Play of the Weather* [1533]) some years after their original performance go farther in suggesting a gap between the king's idealized image and reality. Yet because they are issued from the Rastells' presses and with a royal privilege specified in their colophons, Warner argues, they nonetheless participate in the discursive field as defined by Henry's philosopher-king image. The supremacy legislation of 1534, Warner concludes, inaugurated "a total reformation of the discursive practices that had attended Henry VIII's philosopher-king image" (p. 133).

Warner's argument hinges on what he sees as a Foucauldian notion of discursive practices (p. 3) in which codified rules of discourse function as constraints on those who wish to speak. In specifying Henry as the originator of those rules and the philosopher-king image as the central fiction, Warner's discussion produces a coherent and subtle analysis of the publications issued in the years leading up to the Act of Supremacy. Yet one might also argue, following Michel Foucault, that discursive practices are not susceptible to codification by any singular originator, even a king, and that the texts Warner examines also coalesce around other equally compelling "fictions," such as the rule of law and the authority of Parliament. Such an argument would not invalidate Warner's readings but rather would reframe them in terms of a struggle to define the rules of discourse in the relatively new conditions made available by an increasingly

well-established printing trade. The Rastells' publishing list, for example, is clearly concerned to disseminate legal knowledges; their initial publication of St. German's *Doctor and Student* offers matters of parliamentary debate to a more general public. While there is little doubt that accepting the title of king's printer is a political decision as well as a business one, it is less clear that a Rastell publication announcing a royal privilege "that no man print the same again within the next seven years ensuing" (p. 106) in its colophon is claiming a "quasi-official" status (p. 107). Warner's argument, by clear-sightedly investigating the relationship between the crown and the press in terms of a loyal opposition, makes it possible to begin to think about and investigate other configurations at work in a more diffuse discursive field.

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JULIAN GOODARE. *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 366. \$90.00.

Early modern Scotland is an attractive country for historians interested in the interaction between royal authority and a very decentralized polity. It was also a geographically complex country whose physical divisions corresponded with major cultural and linguistic divides. Rich state, legal, and ecclesiastical archives can be worked alongside those of many noble families. There are even a few aristocratic archives from the Highland region. This enables scholars to apply sophisticated anthropological techniques to the analysis of the interactions among noble factions and between them and the ruling Stewart dynasty. Revisionist scholars have already modified conclusions drawn from early explorations of the role of the blood feud. The changing nature of royal government has received extensive attention, particularly under King James VI and I when the indigenous, never-conquered Scottish realm entered into regal union with the two linked kingdoms of England and Ireland. This book by Julian Goodare offers a lively, intelligent, at times eccentric, but always entertaining overview not just of its historical subject but also of the debates generated by three successive waves of scholars who have brought modern techniques to the analysis of this resource-rich historical field.

Goodare's book is not primarily manuscript based, although it does make extensive use of the huge accumulation of printed contemporary sources generated by the government press and by the proliferating Scottish historical clubs of the nineteenth century. It summarizes the main results of a number of important theses, and it reads like an extended critical introduction to the presumably heavily archival work on the governance of early modern Scotland forthcoming from the same author. Goodare's opening discussion of the question of sovereignty ends with a general statement of the overall theme of this volume: that the

state in Scotland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries did indeed triumph over the power of the regional nobility with its vast feudal following inherited from the medieval period. Yet the nobility were not so much overcome as incorporated or even recruited into a state forged by complex struggles both against them and with them against other forces. Goodare is convinced that, by about 1600, the Scottish state was "absolutist." It is difficult wholly to accept this concept, since it is never really defined. Subsequent chapters do not suggest that the Stewarts, however much they aspired to be recognized as the font of all authority, were ever capable of ruling without the cooperation of the nobles and gentry of Scotland.

The chapter on warfare shows that the Scottish crown never developed the commitment to standing armies and constant war that was the way many continental European dynasties reached out for more power. To handle its many internal security problems, the crown had to rely on support from well-disposed magnates. In the Highlands, a special relationship with the crown often enabled a handful of great clans to prey on lesser ones. That was the essence of the "Highland Problem" that this book argues was largely created between 1581 and 1617. In the Borders, it proved easier to exert central authority over much smaller kin groups without breeding chronic instability. The crown was in many ways most successful in asserting control in the ecclesiastical sphere, where between 1584 and 1612 King James irreversibly subjected the kirk to the state. He failed to secure parliamentary acquiescence to legislation giving him power to regulate the kirk by mere edict, although he characteristically insisted his failure was irrelevant, since the power was inherent in his prerogative.

Specialists will particularly appreciate the chapter on state finance. Serving an insolvent crown with inflexible revenues in any financial capacity was as late as the 1590s a thankless and often ruinous job. The goldsmith Thomas Foulis introduced much more sophisticated debt management methods, but it was the departure of the court to England in 1603 that finally pulled the Scottish state into the black until the early 1620s. England paid for the court. James found English sources for the patronage that he showered on a lunatic scale on the parasites of his inner circle. The conclusion, which looks at state formation and the failure of the supposedly absolutist Scottish state in the late 1630s, is too ambitious and thin, especially when it tries to gallop, lightly mounted, from 1660 to 1707. Nevertheless, the ideas even here are interesting and overall this is a worthwhile, stimulating book, primarily about Jacobean Scotland.

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FREDERICK DREYER. *The Genesis of Methodism*. Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press. Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1999. Pp. 138. \$32.50.

Given the title of this book, it may surprise the reader that there is as much here about Moravianism as about Methodism. Frederick Dreyer has a sharply focused argument: "Methodism as a finished and developed system owes little to its background in England. Deriving from German Pietism, it originated in Saxony and came to England by way of Georgia" (p. 110). It was in Georgia that John Wesley came seriously under the influence of Moravians, and for Dreyer this explains everything. Contrary to dominant interpretations, Wesley was not enigmatic or eclectic. He was neither Anglican nor Dissenting, nor some sort of a Catholic-Protestant synthesis. Methodist connexionalism is not some novel form of ecclesiology that evolved ad hoc as Wesley responded to opportunities on the ground. Wesley was effectively a Moravian diaspora worker, and Methodism was essentially an English adaptation of Moravianism.

Dreyer argues that Wesley's version of the rise of Methodism obscured his debt to Moravianism, and that this has skewed the historiography of the movement ever since. Schism in the Fetter Lane Society in London divided the followers of Wesley from the Moravians in 1740. After this, Wesley disingenuously and systematically devalued the importance of the Moravianism to his own formation and the origins of Methodism. Dreyer says flatly, "Wesley lied." Colin Podmore, in *The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760* (1998), similarly argues that the controversy that led up to the schism looks very different from the Moravian point of view. What Wesley decried as extreme quietism on the part of Moravian leadership, the Moravians perceived as a pastoral response to the problem of English "enthusiasm" run amok. Unfortunately, Podmore's book was not available in time for Dreyer to interact with it, but Dreyer's concern is more narrow in any case: to establish Wesley's unequivocal debt to Moravianism.

What Dreyer brings into sharp relief is the importance for Wesley of a change within Moravianism regarding the doctrine of salvation. Dreyer argues that early Moravianism—the Moravianism that formed Wesley—taught the necessity of the classic penitential struggle characteristic of Pietism, the *Bußkampf*. In the order of conversion, the awakened sinner needed first to experience deep contrition, until convinced of the justice of his or her own damnation. In the midst of this despair, true faith was born and experienced as a breakthrough (*Durchbruch*). Count Zinzendorf moved away from this understanding of conversion in the mid-1730s, and the *Bußkampf* came to be seen as legalistic. It was replaced with an understanding of salvation in which no legal preparation was necessary but only a childlike trust and radical identification with Christ's atonement (*Versöhnungslehre*). This would lead in course to the excesses of the "blood and wounds" piety and the "sifting time" among Moravians, but Dreyer argues that formal adoption of this view occasioned the split in the Fetter Lane Society in London. By separating from Fetter Lane, Wesley was

rejecting the change in Moravian theology. His ensuing Methodist movement was a continuation of early Moravian teaching.

Likewise, Dreyer argues, Wesley reduplicated in the Methodist connexion the relationship of local societies to the common ministry in Moravianism. The Moravian diaspora worker was a pattern for the Methodist itinerant preacher. The subdivision of the membership into intimate devotional groups was something Wesley also borrowed from Moravianism. Dreyer even speculates that the societies Wesley took over in London and Bristol, usually understood to be traditional Anglican religious societies, may have been originally associated with the Fetter Lane diaspora mission. Dreyer's picture of Moravian proselytizing zeal contrasts significantly with Podmore's portrayal of official Moravian policy in England as one of reluctant involvement.

Dreyer's chapter on the Enlightenment is insightful, although it contributes less to his main thesis. He demonstrates the way in which Zinzendorf and Wesley both shared an empiricist epistemology that led them to appeal directly to sensible religious experience. Likewise, in their organizational polity, both Wesley and Zinzendorf made a practical appeal to contract rather than to a church order of divine right. Notwithstanding Wesley's objections to the American Revolution, his Methodist organization was, like Moravianism, justified as a private association founded upon the consent of its members. Dreyer argues that Wesley ran his connexion on principles that Thomas Paine would have approved.

There are few scholars who, having read the primary sources in both languages as Dreyer has, have explored in any detail the contribution of German Pietism and Moravianism to the origins of English Methodism. The most important study in the past decade is W. Reginald Ward's *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (1992). The concern of Ward is much wider than Dreyer, though he finds the origins of revival likewise in Central Europe. If Ward's book is distinguished by its wide range and density of argument—taking “thick description” to a whole new level—then Dreyer's book is distinguished by its narrow focus and strong thesis. On the whole, Dreyer chooses not to engage with Ward's detailed reconstructions, dismissing his work as unclear. Although he knows the whole historiography of the revival well, Dreyer's revisionary argument is aimed principally at the earlier scholarship of Élie Halévy, E. P. Thompson, and Bernard Semmel, and the more narrow world of Methodist studies.

Dreyer's book is an important reassessment of the genesis of Methodism. I am not convinced on the whole that Moravianism is as *singularly* important for Methodism as Dreyer asserts. If it was, then how do we account for the genesis of the wider revival, which certainly did not follow on from Fetter Lane like a chain reaction. Even the Pietist *Bußkampf* owes so much to a common “Protestant frame of mind” (Ward) that was shared by Puritan and Pietist writers

alike. Still, Dreyer has crowded a large amount of close scholarship into a short, provocative book that does much to correct the picture of Methodism Wesley labored so hard to create.

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NANCY D. LoPATIN, *Political Unions, Popular Politics and the Great Reform Act of 1832*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 236. \$65.00.

Studies of the passage of the Great Reform Act of 1832 have tended, in the view of Nancy D. LoPatin, to concentrate overly on the motives of the Whig reformers and on the effects of the Reform Act on the political life of the nation. What the aristocratic Whigs intended by their measure has been the subject of a large and growing historiography emphasizing the goal of preserving existing influence. Recent examinations of electoral behavior discuss the tendency of the legislation to influence voting patterns and party development. LoPatin's territory is different. She is concerned with the lack of serious discussion of the efforts of the public to help secure passage of the act through a stubborn Parliament, and over the objections of a worried king. Despite brief descriptions of the activity of the political unions in general, and of the Birmingham Political Union in particular, historians have neglected, in her view, any serious analysis of the unions themselves. LoPatin is right to stress the importance of the unions' agitation on the thinking of both Whigs and Tories, and on the king, but it must be kept in mind that while the movement affected the course of the bill, it should not be assumed that it prompted it.

During the two years required to enact the Reform Bill, over 120 political associations sprang up in the industrial midlands and north, and, to a lesser extent, in the southwest. Not united into an organized whole, most called themselves “political” unions, with the goal of advancing the cause of reform. LoPatin's study of this movement is meant not only as a counterbalance to the histories of high politics, but as a corrective to the view of Carlos Flick, Joseph Hamburger, and others, that only a handful of insignificant political unions operated in the shadow of the dominant Birmingham Political Union. It is her thesis that a national movement of political unions created an unusual level of mass politics necessary for the passage of reform legislation.

Reviewing a wide and impressive array of local newspapers, handbills, and the like, LoPatin concludes that the political unions represented an eclectic mix of occupations, religious and philosophical views, and classes: the “industrious” middle and working classes. Tracing the history of these unions through the chronological period from January 1830 to May 1832, she sheds a great deal of light on a not-well-studied movement. Unions comprised not only artisans, shop-



keepers, and industrial workers but also local commercial and banking interests, military and other officials, and even, it will come as a surprise to most to learn, some progressive gentry. What united them was the cause of effective parliamentary reform, which included at least universal manhood suffrage, annual elections, and the secret ballot. Birmingham was unique in its quest for currency reform, but several unions were interested in a plethora of free trade, tax, and monopoly issues.

The unity of middle and working-class cultures would not outlast the agitation for and passing of the Reform Act, with the result that the unions quickly disappeared. But despite this rather short history, LoPatin has demonstrated that political unions had their roots in earlier extraparliamentary reformist movements such as those of John Wilkes, Major Cartwright, Henry Hunt, Daniel O'Connell, and the more moderate parliamentary Radicals. In fact, she argues, convincingly, that Earl Grey's own extraparliamentary efforts in the 1790s, and the Chartist movement that followed parliamentary reform, place the political unions in a lengthy evolutionary tradition. And this whiggish progress, she asserts, rightly, contradicts James Vernon's view that the political unions had unwittingly assisted a bourgeois coup in 1832 that hindered further popular political action. LoPatin's study is a welcome addition to our understanding of popular politics in the Reform era.

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ARTHUR BURNS. *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1800–1870*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1999. Pp. xiv, 344. \$82.00.

In this comprehensively, if narrowly, researched study, Arthur Burns goes far to demonstrate that the classic institutional focus of "church history" is by no means dead. The issue is "church reform," that is, the activities surrounding and transforming the Church of England in the middle third of the nineteenth century. Traditional discussions most often begin with developments after 1832, stress the initiatives and impact of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and note the influence of the Oxford Movement on such concepts as the authority of the bishop. Burns argues that the chronology of church reform should begin earlier and should be located in developments in the diocese; that the thought of pre-Tractarian High Churchmen was of more importance than the Oxford Movement itself; and that reform efforts owed more to an interest in unity than to party spirit, whether from Tractarians or Evangelicals.

For Burns, this "Diocesan Revival" (reified with capital letters throughout the book) began with increased attention to episcopal visitation. As a response to criticisms of laxity and luxury, some bishops in the 1830s not only conducted visitations more frequently

than the mandated triennial pattern but also more frequently published episcopal charges. While visitations increased diocesan consciousness, they failed to develop meaningful relationships between bishop and clergy. Such a situation led to expansion of the office of archdeacon and the function of archdeaconries within a single diocese and a similar revitalization of the office of rural dean and the ruridecanal chapter. Persons were increasingly appointed on the basis of competency and experience rather than because they were episcopal relatives or favorites; the offices made the diocesan management more efficient and contributed to the development of a diocesan identity.

Factors not directly related to diocesan structure are considered in chapters five and six: the production of diocesan calendars (first in Lichfield in 1856) and almanacs, together with the publication of statistics (clergy rosters, names of newly ordained or recent clerical deaths, figures for confirmation, and the like); the foundation of voluntary societies providing networks of interested persons, both clergy and lay (e.g. building, education, and mission societies); the redistribution of clerical patronage (increasing episcopal patronage from 1164 to 2082 benefices between 1835 and 1865); and the establishment of diocesan theological colleges. Although several of these did not occur without criticism, each contributed—as did the structural developments—to the enhancement of local ecclesial identity.

In a final set of chapters, Burns considers topics representing debates over the middle third of the century in order to illustrate how the change of consciousness concerning the importance of the diocese was built on concerns related to ecclesiology rather than simply pragmatic and rational realignments of authority. These are the issue of clergy discipline, the press for expansion in the number of dioceses and bishops (for the latter, the addition of suffragans), and the question of diocesan assemblies. The first wound its way through a variety of ecclesiastical legislation, but the tension between competing visions of centralization vs. local control and the hovering pressures of party polarization meant that little was accomplished. The question of diocesan realignment or expansion produced a debate between the Ecclesiastical Commission's proposal that balanced modest expansion with amalgamation of dioceses and the more open-ended proposal for expansion with the creation of non-parliamentary bishops. The debate concerning diocesan assemblies arose in part because of the heightened diocesan consciousness; party spirit, questions regarding representation (all the clergy or only delegates?), and issues relating to the involvement of laity were among the factors that delayed the first of such meetings until the 1860s.

Burns concludes by reflecting on the complexity of the language of "reform" rather than by assessing the longer-term impact on the Church of England of the transformations he has considered. In that focus, contextualization is gained while other opportunities



are missed. If 1870 is an appropriate ending point, the continued transformations over the next two generations of many new dioceses, significantly enhanced lay representation, and increasing issues before the national church (such as disestablishment, Prayer Book revision, and the question of the ordination of women) must have meant something to this "Diocesan Revival." Still, Burns has provided a strong case for his argument, and discussions of "church reform" should not be the same in the future.

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K. D. REYNOLDS. *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. viii, 260. \$65.00.

This study of the female aristocracy during the Victorian era sheds new light on an old question. By focusing on women's public activities, K. D. Reynolds shows some of the ways in which the British ruling class remained in power despite the challenges posed by an increasingly forceful middle class. Reynolds argues that the mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives of Britain's elite were instrumental in maintaining class hierarchies and privileges throughout the first two-thirds of Victoria's reign. Aristocratic culture was essentially political and was based on "the shared belief that it was both their destiny and their duty to govern" (p. 1).

Class and not gender is the salient category of analysis in this book. Unlike several recent works which have challenged the relevance of class identities for Victorian social and political history, Reynolds states that aristocratic women had more in common with the men of their class than with bourgeois women. In particular, aristocratic women were not subject to the strictures of separate spheres ideology to the same degree as middle-class women. Elite women did not see their primary responsibilities as the care and nurture of husbands and children, nor did they envision their homes as "private spaces" cut off from "the public." This argument is typical of a newer generation of feminist scholars who have challenged the strict gendering of public and private and have questioned to what degree these spheres were actually separate at all.

Aristocratic women obviously did not hold the same sort of powerful positions as the men of their class. However, through a careful reading of letters and memoirs found in dozens of archives, Reynolds pieces together a picture of powerful women influencing both local and national politics in a variety of ways. Women actively managed their family's large estates and directed a large labor force resident in multiple households. They also used patronage, through the church and philanthropy, to maintain the social hierarchy in rural society. Historians have commented on such activities before, however. The book's contribution

mainly derives from Reynolds's examination of women's political activities. Through their personal and familial connections, elite women influenced elections, engineered numerous political appointments, and aided or hindered the careers of the male members of their household. There is also a detailed account of the significance of Whig political hostesses and the declining but still important role of the female members of Queen Victoria's court.

Reynolds provides ample evidence to support the claim that public and private were not separate spheres for aristocratic women. In this sense, they shared much with their female ancestors; and, thus the story presented is one of continuity rather than rupture as the aristocracy entered the modern age. However, the book is less successful as a critique of feminist scholarship on Victorian women. Reynolds's analysis uses separate spheres ideology as much as it undermines it in order to emphasize class differences between women. Although Reynolds admits that the middle-class lady was involved in charitable work and other public activities, the overall argument implies that she was mainly a private woman who spent most of her time in a home stripped of economic or political significance. This neglects to take into account the numerous recent studies that have shown bourgeois women involved in all kinds of "public" activities, albeit on a much smaller scale and in a less influential sphere than that of aristocratic ladies.

Finally, the author points to but does not explore an interesting line of analysis. Leonore Davidoff, Catherine Hall, and others have argued that separate spheres ideology, with its emphasis on politics as a "public" masculine sphere, was a bourgeois ideal born during the revolutionary era. Although the Victorians did not live in neatly fixed public and private realms, Reynolds's book suggests one reason why the middle classes would have cherished this ideal. If Reynolds is correct in seeing elite female influence as a significant aspect of Victorian political culture, then it should not be surprising that the middle classes found separate spheres ideology a meaningful critique of aristocratic hegemony in the late as well as the early nineteenth century.

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SHOMPA LAHIRI. *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity 1880-1930*. (The Colonial Legacy in Britain, number 1.) Portland Oreg.: Frank Cass. 2000. Pp. xviii, 249. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$24.50.

Until recently, historians of multicultural Britain have had very few secondary sources to rely on. Peter Fryer's *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (1987), Rozina Visram's *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700-1947* (1986), Ron Ramdin's *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain* (1987) do not comprise an exhaustive list, but

the titles and publication dates capture the project of recovery that motivated each study *and* the fact that the 1980s witnessed an explosion of work designed to interrogate the splendid isolationism of modern British historiography. Shompa Lahiri extends this work, reminding readers that Indians have long been a presence in Britain and demonstrating that some were highly visible in “domestic” British life during the Raj. Lahiri’s work overlaps with Visram’s pioneering study by giving us a differently detailed picture of the diversity of Indians—would-be barristers, doctors, and all manner of travelers, tourists, and visitors—who passed through the United Kingdom from the late Victorian era until the interwar years. Students of the colonial encounter will find here a useful compendium whose footnotes they can profitably scour for some time to come.

Although her title does not suggest it, Lahiri focuses on Indian students as the point of departure for her discussion of race and identity in pre-World War II Britain. This is a well-chosen strategy, since many Indian nationalists of the first and second generation studied in London or Edinburgh at the start of their careers. Although she discusses the travels of some Indian women and the sexual relationships Indian men had with white women in Britain, attention to gender (whether masculinity or femininity) as an analytical category is entirely absent from the book. Lahiri deals with Mohandas K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and a whole host of “transnational” Indians: people less well known outside India but crucial nonetheless for the direction of anticolonial resistance and the post-colonial political order. Unfortunately, the greater and lesser suffer equally from her choice of narrative structure, which privileges detail over attention to immediate historical context or analysis that moves beyond the particular individual or story. The relationship between Indian students and the British government is a case in point. The scope and significance of the Lee Warner Committee (established in 1907 to investigate the position of Indian students in Britain) is only alluded to here and there, which makes it difficult to appreciate the geopolitical landscape between 1907 and 1922, when the committee report was finally published. The reader might be expected to have some knowledge of the volatile events following the partition of Bengal, the *swadeshi* movement and the rise of revolutionary terrorism in India in this period. But the larger historical contexts—and the particularities of political pressure on the British government in Britain and India, as well as on Indian students more generally—are scarcely dealt with. One comes away with very little sense of what was at stake in terms of racial or colonial politics, despite and no doubt because of the welter of detail.

And yet this is not a book without political concerns. In a preface and a postscript that function more like add-ons than critical engagements, Lahiri tries to situate her research in the context of current discussions about identity, citing Stuart Hall and Homi

Bhabha but chastising them for their failure to historicize their claims. This critique may well be apposite, and her opposition to theory will no doubt be welcomed by many who feel that British history cannot sustain a postcolonial critique without collapsing from within. By the same token, Lahiri offers so little analysis of or argument about the impact of imperial culture on subcontinental identities that her book does little in the end except to reinsert Indian men and a few Indian women into a prefabricated, if unelaborated, narrative of British-Indian relations. In this sense, it parts company with the work of the 1980s, which was preoccupied not simply with recovering unexamined identities but with disrupting conventional “national” narratives of all kinds in the process. Historians seeking evidence of how, why, and under what historical conditions the colonial encounter took place on British soil will, I suspect, be as puzzled as they are disappointed by the choices Lahiri has made, even as they rely on the rich primary source material she has excavated to imagine different kinds of histories of life at the heart of the empire.

ANTOINETTE BURTON  
University of Illinois

ANNE DIGBY. *The Evolution of British General Practice 1850–1948*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 376. \$80.00.

This book is in fact about “Making a Medical Living,” the title of Anne Digby’s previous work (1994). The evolution she shows here is not the ongoing fight to unite the profession against the legions of quackery but, instead, an intraspecies struggle of licensed practitioners competing with one another to establish and maintain a livable general practice. Some aspects of that struggle changed during the period, with new medical technologies, such as the automobile and the telephone, new institutions of remuneration, such as the National Health Insurance scheme of 1911 and the National Health Service of 1948, and variations in supply (over-production by medical-training institutions made a young doctor’s life particularly tough at the end of the nineteenth century). But its essence varied little. “Profession” supplied it with a framework, but the image of a band of brothers united against disease hides the fact that the line between attracting patients and poaching them was fuzzy indeed.

The first part of Digby’s book treats the careers of general practitioners (GPs) in broad detail: origins, training, and income. Part two, the bulk of the book, examines the environment of practice: how did one create or purchase a practice; what did one charge to whom and for what; what services did one provide (midwifery was a valuable but rarely attractive component of practice, due to the hours it required); how did one manage the schedules, procedures, and records of the practice, and the space of the surgery—usually a part of one’s home. She examines also the arrival of

licensed women practitioners in this marketplace, and gives attention both to the kinds of medicine on offer and to the conditions for which patients sought it. Part three, "The Wider World," concerns the GPs' integration into their communities as well as their relation to medical specialization, which was both possible career path and necessary ancillary. It also examines their response to National Insurance and later to National Health. Digby's picture of this world comes from a database of almost 1000 obituaries of general practitioners from *The British Medical Journal* in the first year of each decade from 1880 to 1970. These she supplements with the records of individual practices held in local archives and with a wide variety of secondary and primary sources.

Often Digby's subjects survived by trying to manage enormous case loads. Often they had two-tier practices: bottles of ready mixed formulas for working-class patients, whom they saw in three or four-minute visits, often under capitation contracts with friendly societies or later the government; and leisurely consultations in pleasant surroundings for a wealthier clientele. Their profession despised the life most of them led; always they were pressured not to underbid brother doctors or even to acquiesce in the system of public appointments that subverted the forms of practice to which they were expected to aspire. With luck, many could gross a modest living of £400–800 a year at the turn of the century, but a fifth struggled on less than that, while a quarter had quite comfortable practices.

"Evolution" is misleading if one expects progressive change. Digby's "evolution" appeals to a social Darwinist conception of practitioners seeking niches of viability and to a Spencerian conception of differentiation under competitive pressure, but there is something downright Darwinian here too. It is true that GPs did have many choices to make—whether to buy a practice or begin one, where to locate, whether to take an assistant or to be one—but in the main, differentiation is not so much a product of strategic assessments of the medical marketplace as an indication of the varied assemblages of medical services that GPs ended up providing in their attempts to eke out a living. Digby shows us survivors in a tough market: luck, connections, capital, and necessity determined practice, and few of those with six-penny practices, like Shaw's Dr. Schutzmacher, probably would have chosen them as a first option. Indeed, it is hard to escape the conclusion that what we see here most of the time is medicine more poorly practiced than the knowledge and skills of the time necessitated.

In attending to the rank and file of British medical men and women, Digby's work is a welcome change from a focus on the profession: its organizations, elites, and journals. The book invites further research in the social history of medical practice—a finer focus on changes within the period, on regional variation, and perhaps on the implications of different forms of medical training. It would help also to know more about those who failed in general practice (or chose

not even to try it): the colonies and the military were the "raft" for undercapitalized medical graduates (many of them Scottish) at the end of the nineteenth century, Digby notes.

A fine book is marred by some glitches in figures. There is evidently a zero missing in the discussion of remuneration for life insurance consultations (p. 121), and the number of practitioners should be in thousands, not millions (p. 2).

CHRISTOPHER HAMLIN  
University of Notre Dame

MICHAEL T. SALER. *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England: Medieval Modernism and the London Underground*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 242. \$39.95.

The place to look for the authentic avant-garde in England during 1910–1939, argues Michael T. Saler, is not in Bloomsbury but in the London Underground. For the Underground, directed by its forceful general manager, Frank Pick, spectacularly succeeded in combining pure functionality and aesthetic form, its efficient trains arriving punctually at gleaming stations adorned with modernist architecture, sculpture, and graphic art. It is this reintegration of art and everyday life, Peter Bürger argued some years ago in the *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (1984), that constitutes the signature of the historic avant-garde. The presumed authority of Bürger's argument is then meant to sustain Saler's punning assertion that the London Underground "conjoined with England's artistic underground" in the early twentieth century (p. 3), so that the men the author calls "medieval modernists"—such figures as Pick, the artist Will Rothenstein, and the art critic Herbert Read—constituted the real avant-garde in England between the wars.

Saler's main effort is to extend into the twentieth century Linda Colley's argument concerning the deeply Protestant character of English nationalism, first proposed in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (1992). Saler's claim to originality lies in his assertion of a "Protestant Aesthetic" as a formative influence upon medieval modernism (p. 9). But it is just here that the book runs into difficulties, for Saler often seems out of his element in trying to deal with the immensely complex religious and aesthetic controversies of the period. Thus he depicts John Ruskin as a religious "nonconformist" (p. 27). Yet Ruskin's extraordinary sway over the English art-viewing public derived precisely from his having been not a Nonconformist but an Anglican, at once Establishment enough to win the assent of the fashionable classes and evangelical enough to command the attention of Dissenters. Similarly, Saler mistakes the medieval modernists' hostility to an art "priesthood" for the anti-papistry of English Nonconformists. But when Pick complained that art has passed into the hands "of bishops and archimandrites and priests and not of the people themselves," he was not, as Saler supposes,

protesting "the superstitions imposed by Roman Catholicism on the authentic primitive church" (p. 22) but the "Religion of Art" famously proclaimed by Oscar Wilde and the aesthetes, with its attendant notion of an aesthetic priesthood.

This is in many ways an admirable study, wide-ranging, thoughtful in its treatment of crucial issues in modern art and culture, exemplary in its imaginative use of materials from the Pick archives. Its only serious shortcoming, perhaps, is that, as a work of intellectual history, it seems ultimately distrustful of the power of ideas. So, for instance, at two crucial points in the narrative—when Rothenstein quarrels with Roger Fry and when Pick finds himself disillusioned with modern art—Saler undertakes to demonstrate with something of a flourish that purely personal considerations have been driving events all along. Rothenstein, we learn, was motivated by little more than professional envy. Pick was "shattered" to learn that his personal secretary, Beryl Barker, to whom Saler supposes him to have formed a deep personal attachment, had secretly married another man (p. 150). Thus does a study that began by announcing its commitment to a certain abstract level of discourse analysis rather than conventional or traditional biography end, somewhat anticlimactically, on a note dismayingly close to soap opera, with Pick a diminished figure wholly immersed in a world of less than momentous private concerns.

LINDA DOWLING  
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NEIL RIDDELL. *Labour in Crisis: The Second Labour Government, 1929–31*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1999. Pp. xi, 276. \$79.95.

Labour was in crisis not only in August 1931. Neil Riddell's fine study is not quite about the second Labour government itself, but as better worded in his dissertation title, it examines "The Second Labour Government, 1929–1931, and the Wider Labour Movement." He does this by dissecting the government's relationship with four critical components: trade unions, local Labour Parties (LLPs), the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP), and the ideas and actions of five Labour intellectuals.

Although exuberant in 1929, many Labourites in those sectors of the movement gradually grew disillusioned with the government, both over policy and over the decision-making process. Most sectors shared common concerns over such issues as the accelerating unemployment and the controversial bills on unemployment benefits and education reform. Some issues agitated particular sectors: the trades unions were disgusted over failure to repeal the Trades Disputes Act, Catholics opposed Nonconformists (and secularists) within LLPs over the education bill's state-funding feature, and many PLP backbenchers favored economic alternatives postulated by Sir Oswald Mosley or by the "Maxtonites" of the Independent Labour

Party. The decision-making process exacerbated those problems. Riddell adds Margaret Bondfield to the well-known listing of Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, and J. H. Thomas whose ministerial actions and aloofness so offended trade union leaders, as he also reminds us how Arthur Henderson tried in vain to maintain suitable working relations with the wider Labour movement. The August 1931 crisis was not an aberration but rather a culmination of two years of crises within Labour.

Riddell poses three questions. What was the relationship between the government and the wider movement? Who exercised power within the movement? What was the ideology and the role of ideology within the movement? Riddell superbly describes the relationship affecting those four components. In focusing on power in 1929–1931, however, he slights or omits women and youth as individuals or in pertinent party or trade union organizations. Riddell demonstrates that most party intellectuals themselves had relatively little to offer during the second Labour government, even had the government chosen to use them better. G. D. H. Cole did emerge during and after this period to offer the most coherent new approach, that of increasing statism through economic planning.

This book is a significant contribution that augments recent scholarship on high politics by Philip Williamson (*National Crisis and National Government* [1992]), and Andrew Thorpe, Riddell's mentor (*The British General Election of 1931* [1991]) and on internal party structure and politics by Neal McCrillis (*The British Conservative Party in the Age of Universal Suffrage* [1998]). Riddell's extensively researched, well-organized, and well-written book probes his subject much more deeply than does Thorpe's chapter on Labour. However, Riddell examines the General Council, the Trades Union Congress, and individual unions in their varying relationships with the Labour Party and Labour government, and not in relationship with each other. Ross Martin, in *TUC: The Growth of a Pressure Group, 1868–1976* (1980), has demonstrated how the General Council was then consolidating its power over the wider trade union movement, especially in controlling the relationship of unions to any government and at times to the Labour Party. As Riddell rightly tries to answer his question of who wielded the most power, he concludes "that ultimate power in the Labour Party of this period lay with the trade union movement, even when Labour was in office" (p. 225). Agreeing with Thorpe, Riddell also concludes that, based on the General Council's actions during August 1931 and following the government's collapse, the General Council dominated the party throughout the remainder of the 1930s. Yet, this reviewer finds that older interpretation in conflict with Riddell's excellent coverage of the erosion of support for the government throughout the wider movement. The General Council had by then the organizational structure enabling it to focus on a critical issue about which it was united: cuts in unemployment benefits, the very issue also causing



much consternation within the Cabinet and within other sectors of the movement. The General Council's power should not be overrated because its concerted action, in conjunction with the less-focused distress of other sectors, influenced the Labour government's resignation. Moreover, the mutual need thereafter for greater cooperation by both the weak party and the weak trade union movement during the 1930s did not result in the General Council's dominance of the party. Riddell's fine book, both in depth of research and in clarity of analysis, contributes significantly to the ever-lively debates within Labour historiography

JERRY H. BROOKSHIRE  
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AMY ZAHL GOTTLIEB, *Men of Vision: Anglo-Jewry's Aid to Victims of the Nazi Regime, 1933–1945*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998. Pp. xiv, 258, \$35.00.

Amy Zahl Gottlieb's informative, if somewhat uncritical, account fills part of an important historical lacuna. To the apparently endless debate about what could have been done to save Europe's Jews, she addresses the case of the British Jewish community and German Jews. She narrates the history of Anglo-Jewish responses to the coming of Nazism, the British (essentially English) institutional and financial improvisations to the overwhelming flow of refugees and problems of escape. Once continental European Jews were Adolf Hitler's wartime prisoners, destined for *Endlösung*, Anglo-Jewish efforts turned to specifically wartime concerns and difficulties for German Jews in Britain, including such bitter ironies as the treatment of many German Jews as hostile aliens. Finally and somewhat more generally, Gottlieb touches upon such immediate postwar issues as the rescue of children from concentration camps and the first approaches to problems of German reparations for survivors and heirs of those murdered.

Her principal source in this ambitious exercise, the recently discovered files of the Central British Fund for German Jewry, is well exploited. Her "context" remains very much that laid out in A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939* (1973) and William D. Rubenstein's neo-revisionist *History of the Jews in the English-Speaking World* (1996) and subsequent writing. She also owes much to such older accounts as Norman De Mattos Bentwich, *They Found Refuge* (1956). Her evidentiary base dictates her approach: the issues as the leaderships perceived and defined them, problems of management, the complex negotiations with British officialdom, and the constant quest for resources.

Gottlieb knows whereof she writes. Having worked in the field for British and American organizations during and after the war, she effectively conveys a sense of the endless frustrations and extraordinary dedication of those who undertook those Herculean tasks. Her story begins with Otto Schiff's open-ended

commitment: if the Home Office would waive immigration restrictions, the Jewish community, for which he and his handful of associates had no authority to speak, would underwrite the costs and guarantee that the government would incur no expenses for Jewish refugees from Nazi oppression. No one, of course, had yet confronted or could even guess at the gravity, depth, and duration of the crisis. The Jewish leaders involved, moreover, had their priorities clear: the doors must be pried open to accommodate escapees before developing comprehensive plans for their maintenance. Any hint of Treasury involvement then or in the future could easily have scuttled the enterprise before it could be launched.

Gottlieb dwells upon the complexities of placement, anxieties in the broader English population about professional competition, Anglo-Jewry's traditional preference for underwriting migration to areas other than the United Kingdom, the need to draw upon American resources and American professional philanthropic fundraising even to stay afloat. She reminds the reader of that durable myth, the bottomless resources of Anglo-Jewry, and the difficulty this created in trying to draw upon far more substantial American resources and the British Treasury. Only as war came did the financial reality begin to dawn on all principals.

Gottlieb appreciates the ways in which Zionism hindered and complicated as well as helped the cause. She reminds us how much professional and middle-class German Jews resented the dramatic loss of status their English refuge often brought. She also effectively conveys the unwillingness of many German Jews to accept the danger in which they stood and the determination of some to return to a Fatherland to which they continued to feel loyalty and love in the face of harrowing evidence. Gottlieb also understands the ways in which saving children opened doors which might otherwise have remained shut.

While Gottlieb would probably not have been able to use it, Veronica Lelaidier's "Jewish Children's Experience of Evacuation during the Second World War," presented at a conference in Paris in 1996 and published in *Parcours Judaïques IV* (1998), is suggestive. E. J. Baumel wrote a useful M.A. thesis on "The Jewish Refugee Children in Great Britain 1938–1945" (1981) at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. The Mass Observation archives at the University of Sussex could considerably enrich our understanding of the problem. The Jewish Board of Deputies, for instance, underwrote its examination of anti-Semitism in England. On some points, Gottlieb has reached deep into official British archives while on others, the attitudes of Home Office officials, for example, the same probing through files and scrutiny of file jacket comments might answer some important, unresolved questions. And while no one should be asked to write a different book, to understand what was happening and what it meant beyond planning, administration, and numbers, we



must turn to other approaches such as Diane Samuels's gripping play, *Kindertransport* (1995).

EUGENE C. BLACK  
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ARIEH J. KOCHAVI. *Prelude to Nuremberg: Allied War Crimes Policy and the Question of Punishment*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. x, 312. \$34.95.

At a time when accusations regarding atrocities and war crimes are once again being made across the world, from the Balkans to East Asia, a fresh historical consideration of Allied war crimes policy, and the treatment of war criminals, after World War II is both welcome and timely. The central focus of Arie J. Kochavi's book falls on Anglo-American concern about what should be done regarding those enemy (but not Allied) war criminals in Europe whose misdeeds occurred between September 1939 and August 1945 (which means that the "peacetime" Anschluss of Austria with Germany that Hitler engineered in 1938, for example, is mentioned only five times in the body of the book, and the Munich "Agreement" regarding Czechoslovakia, which also occurred in 1938, only twice). The core of the book is further narrowed by exclusion of war crimes committed by Japan in Asia and the reduction of Germany's European partners, such as Hungary, to walk-on roles.

Much of Kochavi's volume is focused on British efforts to develop a cautious yet effective war crimes policy after 1940 and to secure support for that policy from the United States. But in fact, from the time of U.S. entry into the war in December 1941, although the U.S. armed force also tended to focus attention on policies to punish Axis personnel guilty of committing conventional war crimes (such as mistreating prisoners), pressure rose in Washington to expand the war crimes effort to strike at what would come to be called "crimes against humanity."

Kochavi's study remains primarily focused on the development of Allied policy regarding conventional enemy war crimes. Here, his broad and deep research has unearthed a great deal of new information, especially from such archival collections as those of the British Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) in the Public Record Office (although it appears to me that much of the JIC material cited comes from JIC papers in Foreign Office records and related files rather than from the newly released JIC Minutes and Memoranda). Other British documentary collections, such as those of the Joint Planning Staff, do not appear among his citations.

A final comment is that Kochavi did not use the Soviet military archives, but as the travail of Patricia Kennedy Grimsted and others has shown in recent years, no one seems to have been able to mine much gold there on such delicate matters as war crimes. Nonetheless, for Kochavi to subtitle his book "Allied

War Crimes Policy" was to extend his volume at least one country, and one archive, too far.

But this consideration, as well as the other relatively minor criticisms made above, should not detract from this reviewer's conclusion that Kochavi has written a serious and important book that should not be ignored.

BRADLEY F. SMITH  
London

JOSEPH A. SOARES. *The Decline of Privilege: The Modernization of Oxford University*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 322. \$45.00.

Based on a doctoral dissertation, this book describes the transformation of Oxford University from an insular, socially elitist, private institution in the 1930s to a more meritocratic public institution at the end of the century. Joseph A. Soares understands the complexities of academic politics, and he remains sensitive to the cultural context of institutional change. In this detailed empirical study, he provides a clear narrative thread through the labyrinth of various committees, commissions, and formal inquiries that roused Oxford from its academic complacency.

As Soares presents it, three major changes marked the reinvention of Oxford after World War II. First, the massive infusion of public funds into higher education after 1946 effectively nationalized Oxford. Already by the early 1950s, Oxford received over sixty percent of its annual expenditures from the central government. The University Grants Committee administered a system that, before the rise of Margaret Thatcher, few recognized as a potential threat to academic freedom or institutional autonomy. Second, Oxford vastly reformed its admissions policies, opening its doors to the sons and daughters of the working classes educated in state rather than in exclusive public schools. Before the war, sixty-two percent of Oxford's undergraduates came from socially elite schools and only nineteen percent from the state sector. Forty years later, Oxford admitted nearly half of its students from state schools, a ratio that still dissatisfied social egalitarians but represented a major defeat for traditionalists such as Maurice Bowra and Lord David Cecil. This reconfiguration involved bitter, socially coded debates about such issues as the role of Latin in the curriculum and whether students should earn money over their summer holidays. As Oxford became more democratized, the children of the hereditary peerage drifted into other institutions of higher education. Third, starting in the 1940s, Oxford hugely increased its commitment to the natural sciences. Although it retained its reputation as a bastion of humanistic study, Oxford dedicated more of its resources to science and technology in the 1970s than American universities such as Harvard and Yale. Perhaps not unexpectedly, traditionalists prevailed over natural scientists within the college governance system long after their numbers justified such discrim-

ination. Many within Oxford remained ambivalent about its curricular reorientation.

Soares devotes considerable effort to explaining the politics of Oxford's modernization. Both the Labour Party and Thatcherite Conservatives sought to dismantle the high Toryism of traditional Oxford. The Franks Commission in the 1960s, for example, completely rewrote the university's statutes, redirecting the institution toward more democratic procedures within its governing bodies and rationalizing finances among the various colleges. Thatcher radicalized this process further than even Oxford reformers found palatable. Her governments introduced fiscal cuts that suddenly made questionable the intimate relationship between government and higher education. Despite her free-market rhetoric, Thatcher invoked central control over higher education. She abolished tenure for all new faculty and for existing faculty who accepted promotion or moved to different institutions. Soares argues that Thatcher drew academic legitimacy for her policies from books by Martin Wiener and Correlli Barnett, who during the 1980s linked Britain's relative economic decline to a pervading aristocratic ethos among its governing classes. Soares demonstrates the limitations of these arguments when applied to late twentieth-century Britain. Yet despite his vigorous disagreement with the anti-industrial thesis, his own evidence reinforces key features of the thesis concerning Oxford before World War II. Soares writes particularly well about the controversy over Oxford's refusal to grant Thatcher an honorary degree. Voters confronted a predicament without a satisfactory outcome. If they voted for her, they outraged educators deeply wounded by her policies. If they voted against her, they revealed a pettiness and snobbery that confirmed populist antipathy towards the institution. The enduring financial effect of her administration, he concludes not disapprovingly, was to separate the state gradually from the funding of higher education, an outcome whose wisdom the Thatcher years ironically confirmed. For Oxford to recapture its autonomy, the author maintains, it needs to cultivate alumni relations, an area long neglected by the university. Here, as throughout the book, Soares presents his sophisticated arguments clearly and forcefully. If occasionally he tends to repeat himself, his study provides a coherent framework for understanding an important episode in contemporary British history.

D. L. LE MAHIEU  
Lake Forest College

COLM LENNON. *Archbishop Richard Creagh of Armagh, 1523–1586: An Irish Prisoner of Conscience of the Tudor Era*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2000. Pp. 166. \$39.50.

A continuing weakness in the otherwise thriving field of the religious history of early modern Ireland, as Colm Lennon observes in his introduction, is the lack of detailed biographies of key figures. His own choice

of subject, however, is not necessarily the most obvious one. Richard Creagh (1523–1586) was the first papally appointed archbishop of Armagh in the period following the death of Mary Tudor and the restoration of a Protestant state church. His first mission to Ireland in 1564 lasted only a few days before his arrest. Returning in 1566, after a fortuitous escape from custody, he officiated for some seven months before being again arrested and spending the remaining twenty years of his life as a prisoner. His career was thus primarily one of passive endurance, and indeed Lennon's study grows out of research originally done to establish the case for Creagh's official recognition as a Catholic martyr.

To this inherent lack of drama must be added the absence of biographical materials. Creagh's career can be reconstructed from official state and papal records. There is also contemporary testimony concerning the aura of personal sanctity perceived by many of those who met him. But there is little to reveal the man's real character, thoughts, or personal development. We do not even know, for example, why the twenty-five-year-old Creagh abandoned a career as a merchant to study for the priesthood. Contemporary sources suggest a revulsion against corrupt trading practices or a providential escape from drowning. Lennon, more prosaically, points to hints of a catastrophic business loss that may have made a change of career attractive.

Within the limits thus imposed by his material, however, Lennon's biography is a valuable contribution, thoroughly researched, scrupulously documented, and offering a variety of insights into a crucial period in the redefinition of Irish political, cultural, and religious identities. His opening survey of the world of the Limerick mercantile oligarchy into which Creagh was born further illustrates themes developed in his major study of sixteenth-century Dublin. His reconstruction of Creagh's political and religious outlook reveals a typical member of the Old English elite, unwaveringly committed to Counter-Reformation Catholicism while at the same time insistent on his loyalty to the English crown. Where Creagh differed significantly from many of his contemporaries was in his attitude toward Gaelic Ireland. He not only openly acknowledged the Gaelic origins of his own family but prepared a scholarly treatise on the Irish language, as well as a catechism in both Irish and English. This did not mean uncritical approval: Creagh also wrote of the "barbarous wildness, cruelty and ferocity" of the Ulster Irish (p. 44). But this, Lennon argues, reflected a commitment to the diffusion of municipal cultural and religious norms rather than the ethnic bias commonly displayed by Old English writers.

Creagh's attempt to combine fidelity to the papacy and allegiance to the crown won him no favor in London. Instead, his reward was two decades of imprisonment, an abortive attempt to convict him of treason, and eventually, against the background of the Babington plot and the execution of Mary Stuart, assassination by poison. In this sense, his career typi-

fies the doomed attempt of the Old English to reconcile two traditional and deeply held allegiances, religious and political. However, there remains one mysterious episode. In 1570, the Spanish ambassador reported that Creagh had sent him letters pressing for a Spanish invasion of Ireland, on the grounds that England had violated the terms of the papal grant on which its title to the island rested. Lennon initially suggests that Creagh "may very well" have come to the view reported (p. 102). His final summing up, however, observes simply that Creagh's alleged comments "would have been aberrational in terms of his consistently stated principles" (p. 141), while offering no alternative explanation for what seems to be the unambiguous report of a well-informed source with no obvious motive to misrepresent.

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MIKE CRONIN. *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic Games, Soccer and Irish Identity since 1884*. Portland, Ore.: Four Courts Press. 1999. Pp. 214. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$29.50.

Mike Cronin's study of sport and nationalism in Ireland since 1884 draws attention to gaps in the historiography of Irish sport. Most literature on the subject is written by sporting enthusiasts. The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), founded in 1884 to revive and codify native Irish sports, has attracted particular attention because of its nationalist ethos and its remarkable success in popularizing hurling and Gaelic football (played nowhere else in the world). Cronin discusses how the enthusiasts, like "primordialist" interpretations of nationalism, claim spurious continuity with the Celtic past; in fact, Irish games, like other modern sports, were reinvented in the nineteenth century. He justly points out how academics, primarily interested in intellectual and political elites, discuss the GAA in terms of its relationship to political nationalism while ignoring its social role and persistent mass support. This reflects wider academic neglect of the associational culture of friendly societies, religious fraternities, and other clubs in nineteenth and twentieth-century Ireland. Unfortunately, Cronin's contrast between "abstract" and "elitist" political nationalism and "popular" cultural nationalism is overstated, ignoring the social role of mass participatory politics in the pre-television era and the extent to which political nationalism was expected to produce wider social transformation.

The book is a series of essays on nationalism, its relations with sport, and the history of the GAA and soccer in Ireland rather than a coherent study. More attention is paid to the early years and the 1990s than to the intermediate period; while this provides a useful sourcebook on recent controversies, it obscures their deeper roots. The primordialist interpretation of Gaelic games implicitly stereotyped other codes as ephemeral irruptions of foreign degeneracy. The ban

on GAA members playing or attending "foreign games," maintained until 1971, might have been compared to the "cultural protectionism" of the time and the elaborate pre-ecumenical demarcations limiting acceptable socialization between members of different religions.

While Kevin Whelan's work on the geographic distribution of hurling within Ireland is cited, Cronin does not discuss the urban-rural divide it reveals, with hurling's only mass urban base on the working-class northside of Cork city. (Gaelic football has a stronger urban presence.) Early GAA literature vituperates soccer-playing Dubliners as an urban lumpenproletariat, while many Dubliners dismissed the GAA codes as "culchie" (redneck) games. A different class division is fudged by Cronin's erroneous statement (p. 104) that the role of the public schools in codifying British sports could not have been replicated in Ireland because in the late nineteenth century the only Irish equivalent of a public school was Trinity College Dublin. Numerous Irish "public schools," Catholic and Protestant, existed by 1884, but their upper and middle-class clientele preferred middle-class sports, especially rugby, to specifically Irish games. The early GAA expressly defined itself against the "gentlemanly" Irish Amateur Athletic Association, which was disproportionately Protestant and Unionist and did not hold meetings on Sundays (the only free day available to workingmen). During the political conflicts of the early twentieth century, Protestant Sabbatarians accused the GAA of deliberately insulting Protestants by holding Sunday games, while GAA-supporting nationalists ridiculed the Irish rugby team as effete "West Britons" and openly rejoiced in its defeats. The overlap of "faith and fatherland" in the classic GAA self-image, although considerable (the GAA based its structure on the Catholic parochial system) should not be overestimated; in the 1930s, the *Irish Rosary* accused GAA fans of drunkenness and putting Sunday matches before religious duties.

Cronin's view that Northern Catholic soccer fans are more likely than GAA members to be constitutional nationalists would surprise many flamboyantly republican fans of Glasgow Celtic. There is no discussion of Irish support for British clubs, and while Cronin discusses the Irish Republic's triumphant soccer team as a symbol of modernity, there is no reference to the Northern Ireland soccer team. Its participation in the 1982 World Cup was presented as symbolizing cross-sectarian unity, but it has subsequently been damaged by association with loyalism.

Much of the associational culture within which the GAA developed has been eroded by greater mobility and alternative social outlets. The long-term decline of Irish league soccer, north and south of the border, is attributable to the greater accessibility of English matches through mass communications and easier travel. GAA fears that their association might share the same fate account for some of its recent *grands projets* and hostility to sharing facilities with rival

sports. Some wider reflections on the prospects for Irish sport in the age of multichannel TV would have been useful. Overall, this is a praiseworthy attempt to bring new perspectives to bear on Irish sport.

PATRICK MAUME  
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PATRICK MAUME. *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891–1918*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. 340. \$55.00.

Historians of Victorian and Edwardian Ireland have now discarded the once-dominant image of the two decades following Charles Stewart Parnell's death in 1891 as a political wasteland populated by revolutionary poets. Alvin Jackson, for example, has provided a dynamic revision of Unionist affairs, and Paul Bew has done the same for the agrarian-nationalist complex. The landscape has been surveyed, its main features noted and named. Patrick Maume's favored terrain, however, is that of the everyday interactions and discourse that made up nationalist life: within the Irish Party, between separatists and home rulers, and with and against the government. Here we encounter the scorned factionalists, the village Machiavellis, the corner-boy lawyers and journalists, many of whom have been catalogued in a valuable biographical appendix. Also raised from the dead are the endless once-bitter controversies over royal visits, parcels of land, or ubiquitous alleged conspiracies. It is a formidable feat of historical recovery and reconnection as a veritable dormitory full of strange bedfellows is revealed.

As year succeeds year in this manner, Maume's narrative technique comes to seem almost stream-of-(political)-consciousness, but his writing is deft and the details—culled primarily from newspapers—are telling and fascinating. Every second page elicits the exclamation "I didn't know that." Maume's tone remains detached and unheroic, even through the 1916 rebellion, but his writing slowly builds momentum so that the precipitate fall of John Redmond and the Irish Party thereafter acquires a solemn, even wretched, aura of tragedy. So many years of effort lost, their last chance at power destroyed. And herein lie Maume's themes, explicit or otherwise. The first of these is the fundamental contradiction within nationalism whereby the Irish Party's hegemonic power generated its own opposition—and thus established an alternate leadership-in-waiting. The second is the virulent nature of nationalist opposition to Dublin Castle, so relentlessly scathing as to erode its legitimacy. When Redmond and other leaders embraced the British war effort in 1914, they married their fortunes to the state they had helped to undermine. The party thus helped pave the way for the revolution that overthrew it, as well as ironically providing the model for the new hegemony of Sinn Féin.

Two caveats are called for, however. The first concerns the chronological scope of the book. While Maume does devote a useful and interesting chapter to

the 1890s, it is more of an outline than a full accounting of that busy yet neglected decade. He is primarily concerned with events after 1900. On the one hand, focusing on the new century in this way does make sense, as it brought with it a reunited nationalist party based on a new mass organization—the United Irish League—and the influential journalism of D. P. Moran and Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Féin. On the other hand, as Maume himself demonstrates, much of their thinking, and of the resulting debates, was derived from the Parnellite era of the 1880s and its calamitous finale. Given this, the reader does miss an assessment of Parnell's fall and its legacy, especially given Maume's knowledge of the actors and ideas involved.

Second, for all its virtues, Maume's book unfortunately lacks the analysis to enforce some of his arguments. His introduction does conceptualize many of the structural problems of the period in exciting new ways, including the similarities between the Irish Party and Sinn Féin, the social drives behind nationalism, and the failure of the British state, its governing class, and methodologies. These premises remain undemonstrated and unexplored, however, as a kind of preliminary statement of hypotheses and lines of inquiry to be pursued further. They are bound to bear fruit as Maume's data are digested by others, but it is to be hoped that the author returns to his own challenge.

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MARY E. GILES, editor. *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 402. Cloth \$49.00, paper \$19.95.

This collection means to combine two areas of interest and to reach a wide audience. Its editor, Mary E. Giles, envisions its fourteen contributors as drawing portraits of women who appeared before the Inquisition and capturing female voices from the past (pp. 1, 9). The contributors, in turn, almost always attempt to illuminate specific figures through the close reading of Inquisition-generated documents. The essays are divided into three sections: "The Inquisition and Jewish Converts"; "The Inquisition and Catholic Orthodoxy," which primarily concerns *beatas*, or women aspiring to a holy life outside convents; and "The Inquisition in the New World," which focuses wholly on women in Mexico.

In part one, Gretchen Starr-LeBeau follows the fate of a Christian woman prosecuted for Judaizing in Guadalupe in 1485. Haim Beinart presents a *conversa* child-prophetess who predicted the return of the Messiah in 1500 and vivified the hopes of *converso* communities. And Renée Levine Melammed reconstructs the life of a *conversa* who continued to practice Judaism.

In part two, Giles surveys the evidence and historiography on Francisca Hernández, one of the most notorious *beatas* of the 1520s; she finds her subject was



more complex than previously believed. Angel Alcalá reviews the edited trial of María de Cazalla (1532–1534) and discovers that she “defeated the Inquisition with her exemplary integrity and courage” (p. 118). In a well-written piece, Gillian Ahlgren investigates Francisca de Los Apostoles, whose social criticism and apocalyptic visions landed her in front of the Inquisition in the 1570s: for Ahlgren, Francisca’s “visionary epistemology” and “charismatic authority” made her a rebel vis-à-vis the Spanish Counter Reformation (p. 133).

Additionally, Elizabeth Rhodes explains how an Inquisition trial provoked an early seventeenth-century visionary into representing herself as a grateful object of correction, whereby she bolstered the Inquisition itself. Clark Colahan outlines the Holy Office’s sustained attention (1631–1649) to a famous *beata* and royal correspondent, María de Jesús de Agreda. Mary Elizabeth Perry examines the trial summary on a *morisca*, or Catholic convert from Islam, who was arrested and condemned for *alumbradismo*, an amorphous charge of heresy that involved spiritual interiority and, in this instance, visions. Perry believes that her subject represents both the blurring of identities and the power of ordinary people against the Inquisition. In the strongest article in the volume, Allyson Poska scrutinizes twenty-three inquisitorial prosecutions for bigamy in Galicia, in northwestern Spain, between 1560–1700. Poska discovers common strategies among female defendants, most provocatively their use of written documentation to bolster the validity of their second marriages; because she has compared female bigamists to male ones, she can pinpoint differences in defenses according to sex.

Part three begins with Jacqueline Holler’s detailed reading of a *beata*’s trial for *alumbradismo*, which she uses to illustrate the potential complexity of women’s lives in sixteenth-century Mexico. Kathryn Joy McKnight strives to recapture the self-representation of Afro-Mexican slave women by studying seventeenth-century trials for blasphemy. Linda Curcio-Nagy probes the meaning of private altar ceremonies that were carried out by two ordinary sisters in 1691 and then confessed by the same to the Inquisition. Finally, Kathleen Myers tracks the posthumous biographical fate of a *beata* who was born in Delhi, India, and died in 1688 in Puebla de los Angeles; through intensive analysis, Myers explains why one biography of the *beata* was censored by the Inquisition while another was not.

Close readings of Inquisition texts are potentially as valuable as they are difficult, but as with any historical method, their persuasiveness depends on the handling of evidence and the substantiation of conclusions. Although these essays illustrate the range of women who appeared before inquisitorial tribunals and implicitly highlight the role of rhetoric in a defense, most also evince conceptual, methodological, or bibliographical weaknesses. Many authors find their female subjects “representative” but fail to tell us why. Nearly

all mention the problem of mediation in their documents but do not wrestle with the interpretative challenges of leading questions, scribal error, and bureaucratic synopsis. Instead, the contributors insist upon their subjects’ agency, maintain that they have captured a particular woman’s “voice,” and then extrapolate from that voice to the delineation of character or to some larger insight. Yet it is not at all clear that a woman’s personality or priorities can be lifted from a single legal event, a trial summary (*relación de causa*), or trials outside the woman’s own prosecution, as multiple authors claim. When one contributor after another insists on the courage and independence of his or her historical subjects, the question becomes whether they have captured women’s individual voices or simply turned those voices into stereotypical expressions of heroism and survivorship. And the conclusions are more often pedestrian than insightful. Realizing that women were creative, that slaves or *conversas* did not possess identical interests, or that trials crushed female religious authority does not significantly deepen recent scholarship.

Many difficulties in this book result from declining to treat Inquisition documents as legal texts. Certain essayists attempt to explain the Inquisition’s prosecutions through elements that have nothing to do with the law, such as village factions, racism, and local rebellions. Few collaborators reveal any interest in what the inquisitors themselves thought they were doing, although the female subjects under review were being interrogated or assessed according to a complex legal and theological discourse and the inquisitor’s own judgment. (In a book about female agency, it seems strange that the male counterpart should be so absent or so reified.) Misstatements occur because of cursory attention to institutional language and the history of heresy. For example, Rhodes asserts that her protagonist was thinking allegorically when she called her inquisitorial cell “isolated,” since “the so-called secret cells of the Barcelona Inquisition . . . were neither secret nor isolated” (p. 139), but the notion of secret cells is a literary commonplace in Inquisition texts. Holler does not seem to grasp that Judaism was not heresy, but bigamy, blasphemy, superstition, and witchcraft were (pp. 212–13, 220). And Giles appears to rebut what we know about the law when she rejects the notion that torture was tied to confession and suggests instead that its purpose revolved around pornography and rape (p. 15). Directing the Inquisition and women toward feminist and philosophical concerns can be a provocative exercise, but such efforts are only compelling when they get the details right; moreover, this book purports to be about history.

The impact of the volume is further curtailed by cryptic writing (Colahan), overreliance on narrative (Starr-LeBeau, Melammed), and arguments with dubious reasoning (Perry, McKnight, Curcio-Nagy). Only Perry cites Angela Muñoz Fernández, whose books belong in the reference apparatus of anyone working



on Spanish *beatas*; if contributors studying false sanctity had moved outside a purely Spanish frame of reference, they would have found useful material in work by Gabriella Zarri. Most of the articles needed deeper, more extensive citations for early modern Catholicism and the Inquisition. And though the volume's general bibliography on the Inquisition is relatively satisfactory, it lacks important publications by Francisco Bethencourt and Angela Selke.

Finally, the text contains some translation errors that are mystifying in light of the authors' expertise with Spanish. In the worst instance—which could be attributable to a disastrous typographical error—the Beinart article becomes incomprehensible between pp. 43–45 because of confusion in the primary source quotations between the testimony of the female child-prophetess and a male deponent. According to Beinart's own transcription (pp. 305–6, n. 9), the girl alone was the sworn witness; but the pronouns in the English translation shift between *she* and *he*, as if two individuals were testifying at the same time, which is impossible. Most unfortunately, then, this book fails to carry out its goals in a substantial and consistent way, although it obviously was conceived with care.

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PAUL C. ALLEN. *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598–1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 335. \$35.00.

Philip III had a relatively short reign for a Spanish Habsburg, from 1598 to 1621, and the misfortune to be the son of Philip II. He and his son, Philip IV, are sometimes referred to as the “lesser Habsburgs,” although John H. Elliott has seen to it that Philip IV is not so lesser anymore. Paul C. Allen's excellent study is an attempt to work a similar rectification on Philip III, often regarded as an unprepared simpleton, of whom John Lynch once said, “His mind was empty, his will supine.”

The Pax Hispanica was, essentially, the period between the wars of Philip II and those of Philip IV, a time of diplomatic and military jostling among Spain, the Dutch, the English, and the French. The focus of Allen's book are the ten years leading up to the Twelve Years Truce (1609–1621) between Spain and the Dutch. It is not easy going for a reader impatient with detail, but it is well worth the effort. Allen's thesis, in brief, is that the truce gave the Spaniards what they wanted and that it ended in 1621 by design, not by failure. It was all part of what he calls Philip III's grand strategy.

After Philip II died in 1598, Spain began thinking about peace. The treasury was depleted, troops in the Netherlands were mutinying, qualified generals were scarce, and shipments of silver from America were unreliable and often attacked by the Dutch or the English. Elizabeth of England was about to die, raising

the specter of a potentially dangerous succession. The European powers were caught in a four-way struggle that Allen summarizes beautifully. All were anxious for peace on their own terms; none wanted the others to sign a treaty with a competitor that would weaken its own position.

During the early years of Philip III's reign, military engagements alternated with conciliatory gestures, but the disastrous course of the former finally persuaded the king's ministers that peace was the only option. In 1604, the Treaty of London was signed with England, and for the next five years sticks and carrots were thrown at the Netherlands. The question was whether to strive for a permanent peace or a temporary armistice.

The last two chapters describe the meat of the negotiations with the Dutch, and they are superb, offering one of the clearest illustrations I know of the Spanish monarchy's struggle to hold itself together as its periphery rebelled against the center. They also show how the king; his councilors; Archduke Albert, ruler of the Netherlands; and Ambrosio Spinola, commander of the Army of Flanders, with differing degrees of wisdom and rashness, each understood the possibilities and dangers of peace and the risks to the reputation and survival of the monarchy. The book's title is misleading, as the king is not the major player. Rather, the protagonists are his ministers, ambassadors, relatives, and generals, who together did a remarkable job of waging war and crafting peace when neither seemed possible.

This fascinating and lucid history of seventeenth-century diplomacy does not, however, prove Allen's thesis, which is that there was a grand strategy. Generally, the strategy comprised the twin, long-term goals of defending Catholicism and the preponderance of the Spanish monarchy on the continent. (The definition was, I believe, first put forward by Geoffrey Parker with regard to Philip II.) Specifically, in Philip III's case, it entailed the establishment of a temporary, not a permanent, peace. He fully intended to go back to war to reconquer the rebellious provinces after the Spanish military enjoyed a well-deserved rest, Allen says. But the strategy often seems absent. In 1604, for example, Spain finally decided to forgo short-term gains vis-à-vis England, which Allen calls “a far-reaching change in the ranking of Spanish foreign-policy aims” (p. 130). Pragmatic diplomacy could finally come to the fore. Yet only a few pages later, he comments that the Spanish “[refused] to adapt their grand strategy to the changed ideological and economic circumstances of their conflict with the Dutch” (p. 147). If a strategy is that inflexible, it cannot be much of a strategy.

If an armistice was, as Allen argues, the point all along, it is hard to square that with his depiction of the negotiations with the Dutch, which Allen himself terms “a sorry affair.” Was it a defeat or wasn't it? It certainly appears that it was. The Dutch won their independence, and that was, after all, the major issue

at stake. Allen would perhaps argue that, in line with the grand strategy, Philip III sacrificed the short term for the long term. The question, to be fair, is not how things turned out in the long term but what the intentions were. And that is missing. The grand strategy's existence is stated, not demonstrated.

Allen ends his study with an eloquent, well-constructed conclusion that reinforces the reader's gratitude that historians are finally paying respectful attention to Philip III, whose reign, it turns out, was not so lesser after all.

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GILBERT LARGUIER. *Le drap et le grain en Languedoc: Narbonne et Narbonnais 1300–1789*. (Collection Études.) Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan. In 3 volumes. 1996. Pp. 398; 409–900; 911–1368. 330fr. the set.

In the disappearing tradition of the *grand thèse*, this massive study, the fruit of research spanning three decades, records the history of a decline: five centuries of struggle by a city, arguably the most vital of all in Languedoc during the Middle Ages, to find new pathways of development in the shifting economic environment of the *ancien régime*. Its demise occurred during the eighteenth century, a time of expansion even for many of its sister cities in a region where storm clouds were only beginning to gather, crowned by the ultimate disgrace of being relegated to the status of a mere district seat reporting to the new capital of the Aude, Carcassonne, when the nation was redistricted by the revolutionary government in 1790. Gilbert Larguier has written what will undoubtedly be the definitive study of this process and a classic in the tradition of the *longue durée*. His research, which required considerable linguistic and paleographic skills, is thorough and profound. It supports an argument that seems irrefutable. The work's only shortcoming, in my view, is its failure to put the Narbonnais in the larger history of early modern European deindustrialization, a phenomenon that has been studied comparatively in great depth.

The title summarizes the historical trajectory examined. Like many other towns in lower Languedoc, Narbonne in the later Middle Ages devoted its energies to the production of good woolen broadcloth. But it was particularly favored by its location, a gateway not only to the lucrative Levant of the eastern Mediterranean but also to the "Levant" to the south, the eastern seaboard of newly reconquered Spain, especially Valencia, a market opening to a vast interior. At its apogee in the early fourteenth century, the population of Narbonne stood at 30,000, ranking it as a major European city. Narbonne buzzed with the productive activities of the trade. Its kingpins were the *pareurs*, cloth finishers who oversaw the quality of the *derniers apprêts* and often rivaled the merchants in

wealth and power. Indeed, the responsibilities of the two groups often overlapped, and each supplied personnel to the other. All operations, from washing and carding to folding and pressing, took place in the city or nearby rural areas where outworkers in weaving and especially spinning formed dense populations in the villages. But regional agriculture, though small-scale, was prosperous as well, an important reserve for the future.

Narbonne was also a city of traders, and its merchants did not hesitate to expatriate to the locales of its trading partners or to carry goods other than its fabled *draps*. It was thus well situated when the first round of decline occurred. The Black Death and warfare took their usual toll, but, Larguier argues, they were not the enduring reasons for the deindustrialization that ensued in the fifteenth century. Rather, the competition from indigenous Catalan and Aragonese cloth manufacturers, with the same access to the Mouton de Languedoc as well as Merino wool, proved fatal. But resilient Narbonne entrepreneurs invested their accumulated assets in two interconnected activities: general commerce and products of the land (and sea), including salt, wood, and above all grain. By the sixteenth century, families of former drapers were forming a new landed elite in the Narbonnais, creating large estates devoted to wheat and worked by a class of mirco-holders unable to subsist from their own land, thus available for wage labor. But urban merchants, often kinsmen of the gentry, continued active export commerce, not only in grain and other raw materials but in a revived Levant woolens trade. Goods of medium quality produced in the bourgs and villages of the interior (Carcassonne, notably), sent via Marseille to the Turkish Empire, came to be the hallmark of a new industrial Languedoc. Narbonne was no longer an industrial town but had survived handily. It had become, however, a town that served its countryside rather than vice versa. And with the prolonged rural crisis (along with the heavy taxes) that accompanied the later years of the reign of Louis XIV, that base collapsed. The eighteenth century saw little progress, especially as the canal du Midi, which connected Toulouse (and Bordeaux) directly with Agde on the Mediterranean, bypassed Narbonne. Even the *draps de Levant* business declined in the future department of the Aude. The revolution, in undermining both commerce and agriculture, did the rest. Narbonne was now a sleepy backwater of 10,000 souls, "a used-up town, without ideas, without a taste for enterprise" (p. 1173).

As is well known, if the vine did not exactly come to the rescue of the region, wine production provided revenue for the landowners who held on and work, often at good wages, for a land-poor peasantry. This, finally, was the fate of all lower Languedoc, although as I have argued in *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc, 1700–1920* (1995), it did not come as quickly as might be thought and arose from a dynamic far different from the one traced by Larguier. His dynamic, in fact, was a rather typical medieval-early

modern transition affecting regions as diverse as Norfolk and Lombardy, Flanders and Upper Swabia. It was the phenomenon of premodern deindustrialization. This is where this magnificently researched study nevertheless falls short. It may be the best book ever written on the long cycle of early modern deindustrialization, but it screams for comparison. One looks in vain in Languier's forty-one page bibliography for the names of the dozens of German, Italian, Swiss, Belgian, Polish, Scandinavian, English, American, and Spanish historians who have contributed to the economic history of this cycle so fundamental to our understanding of modern industrialization (and deindustrialization). Whole sessions at world congresses have been devoted to it, usually in connection with the controversies around "protoindustrialization." The insularity of Languier's book is all the more surprising in this day and age when French historians, stimulated by the *Annales* school, have bent over backwards to place their work in a larger framework of historical understanding. Still, these comments should not detract from a study that, despite its length, is always fascinating to read and makes a fundamental contribution to a major controversy.

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WILLIAM MONTER. *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 324. \$49.95.

In a field with many excellent studies and a long and illustrious tradition of scholarship, it is not easy to come up with a fresh interpretation of the French Reformation. William Monter, however, has managed to accomplish this feat in his latest work. Based on two years of archival research and on the ground-laying work of Alfred Soman, Barbara Diefendorf, Gabriel Audisio, and Raymond Mentzer, among others, Monter has offered us a new way to look at the Protestant movement in France by focusing on its judicial repression by the *parlements*, royal appellate courts that upheld both Gallicanism and the authority of the French monarchy.

In two introductory chapters, Monter sets up the conceptual framework for his book. He analyzes the concept of "enormous crimes" and "arbitrary justice" that would be indispensable for understanding the clash between the *parlements* and the Protestant reformers, between an immovable institution and an irresistible movement, as Monter puts it eloquently. Monter also contextualizes the French trials for heresy by placing them in a wider European context. Two salient conclusions emerge from this preliminary examination: first, the Anabaptist movement that had provided the majority of martyrs of religious repression was totally absent in France; and, second, the rate of executions for heresy in France, the most populous

country of Western Europe, was lower than that of the Low Countries or England.

Having established his conceptual and comparative framework, Monter presents his immense archival findings in chronological order, tracing the first *parlementaire* reactions to Protestantism in 1523 to the breakdown of royal judicial courts during the civil wars of 1562 to 1590. In seven chapters packed with information, he analyzes the workings of the different *parlements* and describes in nuanced details the rhythm and rhyme of heresy persecutions. The most important conclusion, and one that overturns previous scholarly findings, is that heresy persecutions were on the wane by the 1550s as the Calvinist Church gained strength and momentum. The most ferocious years of persecution, in fact, occurred during the last years of the reign of Francis I, a monarch whose reputation for the love of Renaissance culture will surely suffer for the picture of religious intolerance that emerges fully in these pages.

In addition to the statistics and sheer volume of new information Monter presents, there is the poignant story of the clash of beliefs and brutal religious violence. Individuals emerge vividly out of Monter's empathetic and skillful prose: zealous prosecutors, frightened Protestants, heroic martyrs, base opportunists, and vacillating judges. Monter's big picture gives the reader a sense of dynamics, of contingencies and constraints, as the Reformation movement unfolded in France, claiming adherents, offering up martyrs, and provoking fierce resistance. The outline of this history is of course well known, but Monter succeeds in retelling this narrative with new information gleaned from his patient work in the archives. Especially instructive is his correction of the information in Jean Crespin's martyrology of French Protestants. Ignorant of the earlier victims of judicial repression during the 1520s and 1530s, Crespin paints a picture of severe repression during the 1550s, when the judicial courts themselves were moving away from executions to milder punishments. Another interesting fact was the independence of the *parlementaires*, whose actions not infrequently ran contrary to royal intentions, be it in the direction of more severe repression or more leniency.

All in all, this is an important book, not only for the history of the French Reformation but for the field of Reformation studies as a whole. My only dissatisfaction is the rather sketchy description of the change of attitude on the part of royal judges during the 1550s, when a majority seemed to be moving away from repression and death sentences to a more lenient treatment of religious dissent. Monter acknowledges the difficulty of studying the effect of the collective silences of a judicial elite, who quietly resisted the ferocious persecutions of the last years of Francis I's reign. If anything, this dissatisfaction reflects rather the many more questions about judicial culture and the climate of opinion that gave rise to the *politiques* in

the mid-sixteenth century, questions that will inspire further agenda of research.

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JONATHAN L. PEARL. *The Crime of Crimes: Demonology and Politics in France 1560–1620*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 181. \$39.95.

Students of early modern demonology and witch-hunting have tended to emphasize the underlying social and psychological roots of these phenomena and to be wary of explanations that look to the outward political and confessional conflicts of the age. Jonathan L. Pearl seeks to challenge this tendency, at least with regard to France in the period of the religious wars. Pearl's main goal is to locate French demonology of that era within a "political" context by showing that demonological writings were Catholic and most often Jesuit propaganda against Protestant heresy. More generally, he aims to demonstrate deep divisions within the French elites over demonology and witch trials: the relative mildness of French witch-hunting, especially in regions dominated by strong *parlements*, was a result of the demonologists' inability to impose their program of extermination on the judges who presided over the trials.

Pearl's writing style is somewhat uneven, often marked by short paragraphs studded with disquieting generalizations. Nevertheless, his presentation is straightforward. After framing his approach in the light of recent scholarship, he offers a general discussion of demonological beliefs, legal traditions, and religio-political conflict in late sixteenth-century France. Early chapters also survey some of the sensational demonic possession cases of the era and argue for their role as Catholic propaganda. Pearl lays aside a number of slightly later seventeenth-century cases, such as the notorious Loudun possessions of 1634, which he believes did not reflect elite attitudes. By this time, he suggests, as witch-hunting waned in France, the Catholic "zealots" were shifting away from demonology to more purely philosophical attacks against "libertines."

Epitomized by figures such as Louis Richeome, Jean Boucher, and Pierre de Lancre, the demonologists were heavily influenced by the lectures of the Jesuit Jean Maldonat at the College of Clermont in Paris (1571–1572), lectures that closely associated witches and heretics, and that helped inspire—so Pearl suggests—the fury of St. Bartholomew's Day. The main goal of the zealots was to convince the powerful, especially judges, that the work of demons went hand in hand with Protestant heresy. These Catholic propagandists were members of elite culture; yet the stridency and violence of their polemic, Pearl argues, reflected their weakness and isolation, rather than their strength and influence, in French society. Although these writers were among the mainstays of the

Catholic League in the 1580s, they were always a minority, a fringe group whose views never prevailed. De Lancre, a unique French case of a demonologist who was also a judge, had to fight the scepticism and caution of his own *parlement*, at Bordeaux, in waging war against the devil's agents. He and his fellow demonologists were increasingly isolated, both intellectually and judicially, after 1600.

The more moderate Gallican and *politique* views of the French *parlementaires* kept them relatively restrained in hunting and prosecuting witches. "Rather than forming a united front with the zealot Catholic polemicists," writes Pearl, "the judges formed the main obstacle to their program" (p. 40). Opponents of "political demonology" such as Michel de Montaigne, Estienne Pasquier, and Jean Bodin, although differing on many counts, all reflected *politique* moderation. Pearl rejects the traditional view that Bodin's famous *Demonomanie* (1580) was a major spark to the rapid increase of trials in Europe; in France, he maintains, there was no major increase in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Bodin's work followed well-established legal principles and methods and thus did not alter the practices of French courts. On many points, Pearl maintains, Bodin's arguments were opposed by more orthodox demonologists.

This picture of zealous demonologists versus moderate magistrates is not exactly new, and what is new in Pearl's account is likely to provoke scepticism. The moderation of the French courts has been stressed by scholars such as Alfred Soman, whom Pearl cites frequently; in fact the restraining role of the Parlement of Paris in witch-hunting has become a textbook generalization. Robin Briggs and others have questioned the assumption of elite solidarity on matters of demonology and witchcraft. The propagandistic aspect of French demonology has been pointed out by D. P. Walker and William Monter, among others. Pearl all but ignores Lambert Daneau, to whom he refers almost passingly as "France's only Protestant demonologist" (p. 6), and his arguments regarding Bodin will strike many scholars as strained. Despite assurances that he takes religion seriously as a historical force, Pearl actually reduces the ideas of the French demonologists to little more than a function of Catholic fear and hatred toward the Huguenots. In the last analysis, this book adopts a perspective that is not without value but pushes it beyond useful limits.

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JOËL CORNETTE. *La mélancolie du pouvoir: Omer Talon et le procès la raison d'état*. Paris: Fayard. 1998. Pp. 442. 165fr.

The name of Omer Talon has an immediate resonance to students of the Fronde. In his memoirs, the incorruptible *avocat-général* of the Parlement of Paris has provided historians with a first-rate account of the origins of the Fronde, one that has proved difficult to



better at least from the perspective of a member of the Parisian *noblesse de robe*. The most recent account of Talon's career was that of Hubert Maifait (*Un magistrat d'Ancien Régime: Omer Talon, sa vie et ses oeuvres, 1595–1652* [1902]). There is clearly a need for a modern account of his life and work: in short a scholarly reassessment.

Paradoxically, Joël Cornette's interesting and important study does not provide this. Too much is taken for granted, there are too many gaps in the life, and the chronology is adapted too often to suit the principles on which the book is structured for this to be a conventional "life and times." Quite the reverse: the author delights in breaking such conventions and shocking his reader by overturning the natural order of events. Thus the culmination of the book is the *affaire du toisé* of 1644–1645, "*une Fronde avant la Fronde*" (p. 323) in Paris, rather than the Fronde itself. Such overturning of the conventional wisdom is challenging, perhaps even brave; but to the non-specialist of the Fronde it may well seem confusing or even bizarre. The book also makes greater claims to originality than may be warranted: Talon's very important *testament moral* for his son of July 18, 1652, is reprinted here from a manuscript source, although Maifait had already published it in 1902.

In this key document for an understanding of the mentality of an "old school" parlementaire, unwilling to be coerced by the faction of Gaston and Condé even in the summer of 1652, Talon recalled his twenty-one years of service in office "without the loss of a single day"; his lack of favor at court "because I have never flattered the first minister"; and also the fact that he was "suspect to those who are in the party of the princes" because he had "never followed their views," but on the contrary had spoken up too strongly in favor of royal authority. For Talon, the events of June 25 and July 4, 1652, in Paris were a sign of God's punishment. Central in his instructions to his son was the concern for piety, the fear of God, the centrality of Christian belief, and the meditation of the words of the Evangelist: "what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" (Matt. 16: 26). God is the sole judge of our intentions: for Talon, there was a great difference in the ethical standards to be expected of those who served in the king's judicial courts (in contrast to low ethical standards expected at the royal court or in the management of the royal finances).

Thus Talon was indeed a *dévo*t, as Cornette asserts (pp. 35–40), but to say this is not to say very much in the first half of the seventeenth century. Was he more than this: was he a closet Jansenist? His portrait was depicted superbly by Philippe de Champaigne and is reproduced in this volume as a color frontispiece: but though Champaigne was famous for his later portraits of key Jansenist figures, he also produced the great portraits of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin and of many other figures. The "martyr of patriotism and liberty" (p. 107) seems to have been influenced by neo-stoicism (his library contained the works of Seneca,

Justus Lipsius, and Guillaume du Vair; p. 48) and to have sided with Antoine Arnauld against the Jesuits in the polemical war concerning *De la fréquente communion*. A closet Jansenism is not impossible before the bull *Cum Occasione* of 1653 began to separate out the sheep from the goats; certainly Talon's library was well stocked with Arnauld's translations of Augustine and texts for and against Cornelius Jansenius; but he also had works by many other Catholic writers, including Richelieu. Eclecticism, rather than commitment to a clear party line, may be suspected of Talon's religious as well as his political position. Cornette's study is particularly interesting on the matters of Talon's library and also his work in the *grands jours* of Poitiers in 1634. There are surprisingly few new insights on the period of the Fronde itself, in spite of Talon's pivotal role in its onset if not its outcome.

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CHRISTINE ADAMS. *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 292. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

The Lamothes of Bordeaux, an eighteenth-century family of lawyers, doctors, a priest, and their women-folk, constitute, according to Christine Adams, evidence of a prerevolutionary bourgeoisie. Adams brings family history to bear on the recently revived question of bourgeois consciousness in Old Regime France and argues that eighteenth-century urban professionals recognized and exemplified "the values that we have come to associate with the solid provincial bourgeoisie" (p. 258). Adams moves this debate from the realm of public and literary texts to the world of private correspondence and daily life. Focusing on the Lamothes's attachment to family, penchant for thrift, and dedication to professionalism and public service, Adams argues that the hallmarks of bourgeois identity usually associated with the nineteenth century were, in fact, present on the other side of the revolutionary divide. Her account of the Lamothes as prerevolutionary bourgeois analyzes their family life (chapters one to three), professional identity (chapters four and five), and cultural activities (chapters six and seven).

Daniel Sanfourche de Lamothe, Marie de Sérézac, and their seven adult children (two daughters and five sons) left a rich cache of letters which form the basis of Adams's book. The correspondence reveals a provincial family living the Enlightenment: like good consumers, the Lamothes bought into *lumières* selectively. The family papers include both seditious *libelles* and assertions of dedication to royal service. The Lamothes remained practicing Catholics, although the men (with the exception of Jules, the priest) appear to have left more emotive religiosity to their sisters. The brothers embraced Enlightenment notions of utility, although because they believed that their professional identities as doctors and lawyers contributed to public



welfare, public service and private gain were closely linked. By mid-century, the Lamothes no longer defined themselves primarily in corporative terms, but the alternative was not the absolute individualism of later bourgeois cliché: professional organizations and learned societies absorbed the energies of the Lamothe men. Adams's exploration of the Lamothes' attempts to replace corporate identities with other group affiliations is suggestive of future avenues of research in social history across the French Revolution.

Adams's sources are particularly revealing of life *en famille*, and her chapters dealing with family affairs—both affective ties and financial decisions—are the most interesting of the book. The Lamothe correspondence shows the Rousseauist ideology of the affectionate family at work in the lives of real parents and children, brothers and sisters. The Lamothes exhorted one another to filial duty, careful choice of career, pious comportment, and thrifty habits. The letters between the family in Bordeaux and younger sons studying in Paris are particularly revealing of male coming of age, the maintenance of networks of family and friends, and the consumer desires of provincials. The chapter on family finances is especially well done: Adams untangles the details of inheritance and estate management to present a picture of a family in which each member was clearly aware of his or her individual property, which they nonetheless managed as a family unit. Indeed, elucidating the complex interplay between individual and family is the book's strong point: Adams gives us Lamothes with individual personalities, each of whom chose to organize his or her life around family interests.

Although Adams argues that the Lamothes' dedication to family was typically "bourgeois" (a category whose meaning she assumes rather than interrogates), their family life did not settle into nineteenth-century patterns. Of the seven siblings, only the eldest son married, and he waited until the age of forty-one, when his father and both his sisters had died. It is not clear why the Lamothes avoided marriage, although Adams persuasively argues that it was not a strategy to advance one son toward noble officeholding. Adams's discussion of siblings adopting spousal roles is interesting, but it points to the sort of experimentation with family structures that John Gillis has described (*A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* [1996]) rather than to a bourgeoisie meeting a full set of nineteenth-century criteria. Although the Lamothes did not adopt noble strategies for reproducing and enhancing family status, their general lack of concern for reproduction was not necessarily bourgeois either, at least not by nineteenth-century standards.

Most of Adams's cast of characters had died by 1789, so beyond noting that the brothers "avoided boldness in their political views" (p. 149), she has little to say about how an Old Regime bourgeoisie might fit into the origins of the French Revolution. Nonetheless,

Adams has made an important contribution to the definition of "bourgeois society" and to the social history of the prerevolutionary period.

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PETER MCPHEE. *Revolution and Environment in Southern France 1780–1830: Peasants, Lords, and Murder in the Corbières*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1999. Pp. vii, 272. \$75.00.

Between the 1780s and the 1830s, the Corbières was an impoverished region of the department of the Aude in Languedoc. Agriculture mixed with sheep-raising, wool production, forestry, and mining. The Revolution of 1789 began slowly in the region, with agreement in the extant *cahiers de doléances* for the region that the Catholic Church should be reformed and the condition of the parish clergy improved; the absolute monarchy should be limited by regular meetings of the Estates General; and taxes should be relatively equal across social groups. But there were also differences: the nobility sought a wider political role for itself while maintaining social stability by limiting the role of the elite of the Third Estate, and while parish priests supported their peasant relatives in seeking greater equality, they also desired a future monopoly of worship and moral guidance for the Catholic Church. In spite of these tensions, however, the major events of the early revolution—the Great Fear, the abolition of feudalism, and the election of municipal and district governments—produced few dramatic changes in the Corbières.

But from 1790 on, the revolution made more of an impact. The most important development between 1790 and 1792 was a widespread rural rejection of the seigneurial system, manifested both in legal actions by communes to force seigneurs to verify their feudal titles and in refusals to pay feudal dues. Only rarely did the question of clerical oaths to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy trouble the peace in the region, as most priests accepted the Constitution and their parishioners supported them.

The radicalization of the revolution in the summer and autumn of 1792, and the exactions of the war, once again brought the revolution home to the Corbières. The proximity of the region to Spain meant that it was directly threatened by war with that country, and administrators had little difficulty finding volunteers or meeting the *levées en masse* ordered by the government in Paris. Similarly, while the region generally maintained a Girondist position, it managed to avoid direct conflict with the *représentant en mission* sent to the department, and no inhabitant of the Corbières was executed during the Terror. But another conflict, Peter McPhee argues, was more significant in the revolutionary decade: the continuation of long-term debates over the use of land and forests. The collapse of seigneurialism allowed the peasantry access to forests and *garrigues*, the stony hillsides held as common lands that

provided pasture for livestock, and they had exploited this access in ways that, as the decade wore on, the former seigneurial elite who continued to dominate the region felt were environmentally destructive. McPhee argues, however, that these patterns were in response to the collapse in the 1780s of the wool textile industry, an extension of a decline that began as early as the 1750s and accelerated in the 1780s.

The advent of the Napoleonic regime turned the balance of power in this conflict away from the peasants who had profited in the 1790s by taking common lands for their own use and toward the rural elite. But these attempts ran aground both on resistance by rural communities to administrative initiatives and on the need for proper cultivation of forests for state purposes. Restoration of the monarchy, which promised that ownership of national lands would remain undisturbed and provided the opportunity for former seigneurs to regain some of their position, similarly provided no resolution to the ongoing disputes in the Corbières countryside. But while political conflicts pitted large landholders against smallholding peasants, McPhee argues that, in the course of the period from the 1780s to the 1820s, these smallholders began a process of shifting the Languedoc economy from its former dependence on the wool industry to the vineyards that marked that region in the nineteenth century. While large landholders remained in the declining woolen trade and railed against the depredations of peasants, those peasants chose what McPhee calls "their best hope for the future" (p. 204) as they planted vineyards.

McPhee's careful description of the French Revolution and Restoration in this region places him in the historiographical tradition of Georges Lefebvre and Anatoli Ado. This was, he argues, a true "peasant revolution," showing the way toward a peasant route to capitalism. Although his substantive conclusions for the Corbières are persuasive, the overall impact of his interpretation on rural historians' views of the revolution must remain limited by the regional framework in which he has made his argument.

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MICHAEL J. SYDENHAM, *Leonard Bourdon: The Career of a Revolutionary 1754–1807*. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999. Pp. xxvi, 419. \$49.95.

Most of the work on the Jacobins has focused on the phenomenon rather than on individuals. How useful to have Michael J. Sydenham's biography of Léonard Bourdon, a believer of the second rank who had neither genius nor charisma. An early Jacobin, probably in 1790, Bourdon is here presented as a representative radical revolutionary. His theoretical and practical interests were in education, which he believed was the necessary "highway to the future" (p. 37). He ran a school based on his principles and first fell afoul of Maximilien Robespierre, who championed Lepeletier

de Saint-Fargeau's Spartan scheme for educating republicans. His Paris neighborhood, Gravilliers, was "predominantly, even perhaps par excellence, socially and economically *sans-culotte*" (p. 67) and was also the home of the *enragé* Jacques Roux. Bourdon understood Jacobin politics, as Roux did not, and successfully worked through the Convention and the Club—which he was instrumental in reorganizing after the massacre in the Champs-de-Mars—rather than in the streets. Bourdon died in his bed, Roux in prison.

Present at the great events of the revolution and active in the revolutionary Commune, Bourdon nevertheless remained a minor figure. His one mission on behalf of the Convention, to the Côte d'Or and the Jura, was a failure (pp. 138–39). He was never sent again. The combination of mediocre oratorical skills, idealism unaided by shrewd practical perception, and a penchant for political posturing in place of relentless activity, Sydenham speculates, kept him a rank-and-file Jacobin. But Bourdon had no lack of idealism, ruthlessness, or independence. He supported Hébert's call (September 5, 1793) for a punitive revolutionary army, imprisoning all nobles holding military or civil office, Terror as the order of the day, and the immediate trial, and death, of Marie-Antoinette and the Girondins (p. 188). He was a dechristianizer because ferociously anticlerical and moved to the left just as Robespierre was leading the Club back to more moderate positions.

Bourdon was not directly involved in the plot to destroy Robespierre, even though he could realistically believe himself in some danger of purge. He welcomed Thermidor, naïvely, as the first step in the restoration of republican freedom by the Convention, the Jacobins, and the sections (p. 243). Sydenham's interpretation of 9 Thermidor is excellent. Essentially political in nature, it deftly weaves together domestic and foreign affairs with the convoluted motives of a half-dozen complex men. Equally sure is his grasp of the murky political maneuvering after Thermidor.

Bourdon survived the purge of Prairial, but by the summer of 1795, burdened with an evil reputation for murderous repression in Orléans, proscribed and ineligible for any new assembly, his career was irretrievably ruined. Here the biographer's paper trail runs out. Sydenham settles for sketching the collapse of a few other revolutionary lives that do not disappear from the surviving record.

Scholars, as well as Bourdon's historical reputation, are in Sydenham's debt. He has cleansed Bourdon of the calumny of cold-blooded, sadistic murder, painstakingly traced falsehoods and denunciations back to their often irresponsible originators, and given us an interesting radical who found in the Jacobin Club a home for his ideas and a means of realizing them. When the Paris Jacobin Club was closed, Bourdon's political life came to an end. His story, concludes Sydenham, "is essentially a tragic one . . . his life was constantly blighted by circumstances far beyond his control . . . His only legacy remains his vision of a

society that was unobtainable in his own day. In that, too, his career epitomizes many of the aspirations of the French Revolution itself" (p. 328).

Sydenham's sympathy for Bourdon the unrepentant Jacobin is worth a few words. His monograph on *The Girondins* (1961) argues against adopting the Jacobin version of their foes. *The First French Republic* (1973) is notable in its solicitude for the more moderate and accommodating revolutionaries, again with some anti-Jacobinism (albeit only implied). Now he has resurrected an obscure Jacobin, done him exemplary historical justice, washed away the accumulated slander, and apparently modified his views (or relaxed his scruples) about just how coherent the Girondins were. The truism remains: one has to understand the Jacobins to understand the revolution.

I have just two caveats. Sydenham's prose is less admirable than his careful scholarship, and I cannot help lamenting the absence of my book on Robespierre from an otherwise capacious bibliography.

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OWEN BRADLEY. *A Modern Maistre: The Social and Political Thought of Joseph de Maistre*. (European Horizons.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 273. \$55.00.

Owen Bradley provides a subtle and persuasive rereading of the thought of French conservative thinker Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821). Bradley argues that Maistre should not be dismissed as a violent reactionary with little to contribute to modern social and political philosophy. Rather, Maistre anticipated the critique of Enlightenment assumptions and arguments raised by twentieth-century thinkers from Sigmund Freud to Michel Foucault—hence this book's title. Moreover, Maistre's originality and breadth made him nearly as suspect to the religious and political institutions he sought to defend as to the revolutionary upheaval he condemned. Rather than either defend or condemn Maistre, Bradley seeks "to make of Maistre the ambiguous, equivocal, undecidable figure I believe he ought to be for modern thought rather than a monster plain and simple" (p. xviii).

The book is organized thematically rather than chronologically. After an initial chapter that places Maistre in his historical context, Bradley discusses Maistre's theory of sacrifice, which he maintains is not simply a theology of expiation nor an ideology of abject submission but a sociology of the sacred. Moreover, Bradley makes a convincing argument that, far from wallowing in a morbid fascination with violence, as is often suggested, Maistre sees ritual sacrifice as spiritualizing and minimizing the violence needed to maintain social order.

As Bradley presents it, the rest of Maistre's thought follows from his views on sacrifice. Judicial punishment and war are other arenas in which ritualized

violence upholds the social order by both displaying and channeling the legitimate power of the sovereign. Bradley shows that, contrary to many interpretations, Maistre "was among the first . . . to thematize how power . . . is based not merely on coercion but also, and even more fundamentally, on the symbolic, on custom, representation, and belief" (pp. 90–91). Maistre's theory of tradition is also more than a defense of throne and altar. Its originality lies in its ability to encompass both order and disorder within a larger logic of history as a law-governed process of expiation and redemption.

It is within the larger context of Maistre's social and political theory that the distinctiveness of his understanding of the French Revolution can be both identified and explained. Unlike many of his conservative counterparts and contrary to his reputation as a proponent of unbridled absolutism, Maistre included among the causes of the revolution the excesses and abuses of the absolute monarchy. Unlike other counterrevolutionaries, who could conceive of the revolution only as deviation and madness, Maistre portrayed it as sacrificial compensation for the sins not only of the revolutionaries but of the nobles and the king. And unlike most of his *Ultra* compatriots, Maistre held that a restoration called not for greater monarchical power and vengeance but for accommodation and mercy. Maistre believed that the revolution was necessary and meaningful within a larger view of human history as both providential and regular. For a thinker known for his intransigence and violence, Maistre was surprisingly moderate.

This book is very successful in arguing that scholars have been one-sided and anachronistic in their assessment of the French conservative. For example, Bradley demonstrates that it is misleading to present Maistre as a precursor to fascism, as Isaiah Berlin and others have done. Bradley also shows that Maistre is not the philosopher of absolutism that thinkers such as Carl Schmitt claim. Bradley's attention to issues of voice and textuality in an author whose best-known work is in the form of dialogues should remind us not to take the nearly irresistible jewels in Maistre's aphoristic style out of context as the whole of his thought.

The thematic organization of the book makes for a coherent and systematic exposition of Maistre's thought. However, it makes some of the traditional concerns of intellectual history more difficult to assess. Because each chapter draws on early as well as mature works of Maistre, the book does not provide a sense of the development of his thought over time. Some readers may find that Bradley does not give enough attention to Maistre's fellow conservatives. After the first chapter, differences between Maistre and his contemporaries are often asserted rather than argued. And the comparisons of Maistre with modern thinkers provide more of an argument for Maistre's continuing relevance than a history of Maistre's influence. But rather than fault the book for what it is not, we should

admire it for what it is: a provocative and engaging reassessment of an important if unsettling thinker.

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ALAN R. H. BAKER. *Fraternity among the French Peasantry: Sociability and Voluntary Associations in the Loire Valley, 1815–1914*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 28.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 373.

Nineteenth-century French peasants have gotten a bad rap from a long list of writers and painters, so Alan R. H. Baker reminds us. Peasants were neither Karl Marx's politically inert "sack of potatoes," nor solitary rural workers à la Jean-François Millet's *Sower* (1850), nor Eugen Weber's isolated rustics who saw no relevance in politics beyond the parish until the Third Republic made them into Frenchmen. In fact, argues Baker, the peasantry changed with the times and with the pace of secularization in particular. Shedding the once comforting cloak of religious belief and fortified by a secular fraternal spirit, they forged new voluntary associations to manage risk rationally and enhance their interests. Contrary to current thinking, many associations began decades earlier than the well-known agricultural syndicates formed in the 1880s. Their founding, moreover, did not depend as much on urban initiatives or directives from the state as is commonly thought. In the department of Loir-et-Cher livestock insurance societies, mutual aid associations, and fire brigades usually arose "from below," from those local communities in which a culture of cooperation was well established. Thus, the agricultural syndicates of the later date represented the further evolution of rational peasant efforts at risk management. Although all these efforts aimed at protecting economic interests, their underlying cause was not economic but cultural: a "fraternalist spirit," i.e., traditions of cooperation, born of a survival culture and redeployed after 1789 in secular form. Rural voluntary associations politicized members through participation in democratic decision making and self-governance—experiences, I would add, that were hard to come by in villages dominated by entrenched mayors and their allies. Geographically, rural associations flourished in the river valleys of the Loire, the Cher, and the Loir—those water-born roads of old. Then, with the onset of the agrarian depression in the 1880s, agricultural syndicates spread well beyond these former limits. Fraternity in the village, so Baker concludes, was a resilient and empowering cultural force, a key element in the modernization of the countryside.

An admirable book, readers will appreciate chapters one through three, which frame the problem and a triple context of socioeconomic developments in the Loir-et-Cher (1789–1914), elite discourse on fraternal association, and the representations of the peasantry in tracts, novels, paintings, and modern historical accounts. In addition to arguments by Weber, other

influential views are successfully challenged, including the notion that the revolution brought the victory of peasant individualism over village communalism. Chapters that follow examine specific voluntary associations that arose in rural Loir-et-Cher. Those on insurance societies, mutual aid societies, and fire brigades reveal a history of cooperation previously all but ignored.

During the 1870s and 1880s, in the battle against phyloxera, the state's top-down directives met with resistance and strengthened peasant suspicions of state intervention. In contrast, the agricultural syndicates, which enjoyed support from the state, were a popular success. By 1914, fully three-quarters of the department's farmers were syndicate members. This, Baker suggests, marked the full flowering of the fraternal spirit as well as the birth of the modern "agrarian interest." It also marked a new relationship between the peasantry and the state—something Baker could have explored further—in which peasant initiatives from below and top-down *dirigisme* were moving toward an equal balance of power. The substantial influence on government policy of today's well-organized French farmers was thus set in motion.

Baker deserves great credit for restoring aspects of rural cooperation that, in contrast to conflict, so often remain hidden by silent records. Likewise restored is the meaning of "tradition," not as unchanging beliefs and actions but as the evolving cultural practice on which peasants drew to adapt to constant change. As for points of debate, the author's argument that rural initiatives, rather than urban influence, were central is problematic with regard to the mutual aid societies, the fire brigades, and the agrarian syndicates, for the claim is broader than the slender and ambiguous evidence will sometimes allow. Further, the author's correlation analysis shows that cantons closer to the city of Blois, the seat of the department, had more associations than their more remote counterparts. In sum, Baker has rightly challenged the urban theory of rural modernization, but further qualification and a more complex discussion of the interaction between rural initiatives and urban influences would clarify matters. Careful to avoid economic reductionism, the author occasionally moves perilously close to cultural reductionism by reifying "fraternal spirit." More often, his interweaving of economic, political, and cultural elements is astute and welcome.

Baker's original and lucidly written book carries the authority of skillful, patient research over many years. The results prove that all those hours in the archives at Blois were well worth it. The image of the peasantry that emerges is at once sympathetic and more realistic than many other accounts provide. Baker's book is a fine contribution to the "revisioning" of the nineteenth-century French peasantry.

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HELEN MCPHAIL. *The Long Silence: Civilian Life under the German Occupation of Northern France, 1914–1918*. New York: I. B. Tauris; in association with New European Publishers. 1999. Pp. x, 235. \$59.50.

When the Germans executed the Schlieffen plan in 1914, they failed to capture Paris, but they did take a significant portion of northeastern France. Cut off from France by the Western Front, the *départments* of the Aisne, the Nord, the Marne, and the Meuse suffered direct occupation and administration by the German army for four years. The roughly ten percent of French territory controlled by Germany constituted a critical loss of resources for the French, comprising over twelve percent of France's population and accounting for a significant portion of French industry, including eighty percent of France's steel production. Not only were these resources lost to the French for the duration of the war, but the destruction of infrastructure—railroads, roads, waterways, and even entire communes—crippled the region for years. Despite such economic and social devastation, and despite the obvious implications as a precursor to World War II, the German occupation of northeastern France has caused scarcely a ripple in the collective memory of the French. Helen McPhail's book reminds us that World War I was just as devastating for some French civilians as World War II.

The Germans clearly ruled northeastern France with an iron fist. The list of oppressive measures is long, including the creation of civilian labor gangs, the conscription of labor (often for military purposes), the requisition of food and supplies despite profound shortages, the taking of hostages to insure compliance, and draconian punishments for minor infractions. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences of the German measures on individual lives and on the region's economy. Widespread malnutrition and starvation drove the morbidity rate up. Food, clothes, and even mattresses went to the German army. The confiscation of factories and the destruction of mines robbed the French of their livelihoods. Without jobs or goods, simple survival often depended on international charity coming from the Commission for Relief in Belgium under the direction of Herbert Hoover.

McPhail bases her research primarily on French memoirs and published diaries, and the book is accordingly organized on the basis of the issues that most concerned the local French population. The topics cover the invasion, the structure of the occupation, food, resistance and the German reaction to it, and liberation. Particularly compelling is the story of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which also included northeastern France under its purview. Cut off from the outside world by a British blockade, the French population starved when the German army requisitioned the local crops. Over the objections of some in the British cabinet and even some French officials who were concerned that deliveries of food would aid the German cause, the privately formed Commission be-

gan sending supplies in April 1915, ultimately rescuing millions from starvation.

Although McPhail convincingly demonstrates that German rule was oppressive, something is missing. Little is said, for example, about collaboration. Well over half the population did not appear to require direct assistance. How did they do it? Richard Cobb (in *French and Germans, Germans and French* [1983]) makes much—probably too much—of sexual collaboration. McPhail mentions 10,000 births recorded as "*père inconnu*" (p. 203), which, along with countless abortions, suggest a complicated relationship. Were the women involved prostitutes and rape victims, or did some have consensual relations with Germans billeted in their homes or neighborhoods? What of the mayors and others who occupied pivotal and compromising intermediary roles? The ambiguity of their positions must have led to agonizing choices and even outright collaboration. Such choices lie at the heart of understanding the dynamics of occupation.

Any occupation involves some sort of interaction between the rulers and the subjects. To understand this relationship truly, the aims and policies of the Germans in northeastern France should be addressed. Germany undoubtedly knew that it was violating international conventions when German forces conscripted French civilians to work on military fortifications. Why did they deem it necessary? The book alludes to the dire material straits of the German soldiers but does not explore the possible ramifications of their desperation. Looking at German records would flesh out both the pattern of German regulations and French responses.

This book is not about the complexities of collaboration or the motivations of the German occupiers but about how the French experienced the Great War. Regrettably, the dramatic Vichy regime has overshadowed the earlier occupation of northeastern France during World War I. McPhail does a service by drawing attention to the occupation conditions and demonstrating that World War I pioneered more than airplanes, submarines, and tanks: it also presaged the occupation of France during World War II.

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MICHAEL JANSEN. *De industriële ontwikkeling in Nederland 1800–1850*. (Reconstructie Nationale Rekeningen/Reconstruction National Accounts of the Netherlands.) Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief. 1999. Pp. 430. f. 69.90.

In 1850, the village smith in the Netherlands still stood under the spreading chestnut tree, just as his grandfather had done half a century before. His task was to repair pots, pans, stoves, and agricultural equipment. For him as for most Dutch men and women, there had been no industrial revolution. Except in sugar refining, steam engines were not worth their extra costs. Wind, water, and horse-driven mills were good enough for



most purposes. When they were not, progress was often blocked by law and custom. Millers were not allowed by law to bake bread, while taxes on food kept the price of wheaten bread high. At least in the inland provinces, the usual diet consisted of rye bread and potatoes.

Although there had been something of a readymade clothing industry in Paris in the reign of Louis XIV, most Dutch clothing was made at home until the end of the nineteenth century. Peasants often grew their own flax, converted it by an elaborate process into linen, spun and wove the material, and then might employ a tailor or seamstress to come to the house to work it up into garments. In a make-do-and-mend economy, clothing, like iron kitchenware, was often inherited. Fortunately for the peasant, clean raw cotton began to come in after 1815, and by 1850 calicos had substantially replaced linen save at the dining table.

The Dutch preserved their antiquated economy with protective tariffs and by positive action as well. Thus the copper industry benefited when the government decided to issue a copper coinage for the East Indian empire. By encouraging calico manufacture, the government hoped that Dutch cloths might compete with English goods there. Factories for the production of those calicos were located in areas of the Netherlands with high unemployment. Sugar production was encouraged in Java for the benefit of refineries in the mother country. Shipbuilding and many other industries were protected by tariffs, subsidies, and whatever remained of the old guild rules.

In an absolute sense, this paternalistic system may have been successful in the years before 1842. Until then, the Dutch may have been as well off or even richer than their grandparents had been during the French period. But they were losing ground to the Belgians as well as the English. And the 1840s were a hungry time for them as well as their neighbors. Thus, between 1842 and 1850, meat consumption, not very high to begin with at a pound a week, declined by twenty-five percent, while rye bread replaced the wheaten loaf on many tables. Beer and gin became luxuries. The old system did not work any more. A series of Excise Laws in the 1850s and 1860s got rid of the old guild restrictions and made large-scale industry possible. At last, the steam engine found a home in the Netherlands. But in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Dutch were dependent to an unhealthy extent on their Indian connection.

Writing this book was a work of great courage. In the first place, the years 1800–1850 do not form a meaningful unit. Michael Jansen would have preferred to begin at 1770, while the end of the preindustrial period might better be dated to 1867 or 1870 than to 1850. Since he was doing a volume in a series, however, he had no choice. For the same reason, he had to classify shipbuilding as a metals trade, even though ships were still built of wood at this time. Another problem is that good statistics for the period are simply

not there. Some survive for a part of the French period, and one can also rely on those for the single year 1849. Jansen has done wonders in finding others for single towns, or records of family businesses, but there are still many gaps that must be filled by guesswork. He does give us a detailed picture of the Dutch economy in this period: the best we have, and perhaps the best we are likely to have.

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MAGNUS PERLESTAM. *Den rotfaste bonden: Myt eller verklighet? Brukarsansvar i Ramkvilla socken 1620–1820*. [The Settled Peasant: Myth or Reality? Communal Responsibility in Ramkvilla Parish, 1620–1820]. Summary in English. Malmö: Team Offset and Media. 1998. Pp. 270.

GÖREN HOPPE and JOHN LANGTON. *Peasantry to Capitalism: Western Östergötland in the Nineteenth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 22.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 457. \$69.95.

Swedish historians for nearly a century have favored economic and social research. These works by Magnus Perlestam and by Göran Hoppe and John Langton make very worthwhile additions to the fields. Although they are in many ways more different than they are alike, both add to our understanding of Swedish economic development and landholding and mobility patterns.

Perlestam's work examines the nature of generational land tenure transfers between 1623 and 1819, a vital two-hundred-year segment of Swedish history. Selecting a single parish, Ramkvilla, in the province of Småland for his research, he considers the issue of the frequency of the transfer of farmsteads from one owner to another, the reasons or causes, and the extent to which this led to an immobile, *rotfaste* society or one that was more mobile than normally believed.

Hoppe and Langton, on the other hand, cover a much more limited period of time, 1810–1860, thus beginning essentially where Perlestam concludes. They also work with a relatively larger area, two counties of twenty-three parishes in Western Östergötland. Their purpose is different: to show the agricultural and industrial changes during the period that led to a significant increase in the number of capital-intensive farms and industries. This hastened the development of a proletarian labor force in both regions.

Perlestam divides his study into two contrasting periods. The first, 1623–1721, during Sweden's "Age of Greatness," was characterized most often by war, excessive military recruitment, relatively frequent years of famine, and high taxes. The latter, 1721–1819, was one of less frequent war, lower taxes, fewer years of want, and soaring population growth. Frequent warfare during the seventeenth century led to a large

number of land transfers, particularly during the 1630s and 1710s. The average tenure under these conditions was twelve to thirteen years, although great variations from this norm existed. The role of women changed profoundly during the above decades, when one-fourth of all land transfers involved women. However, their control of land was much briefer than that of men, as they either held the land while a husband was in military service or as a widow preserving it for a son. Peasants working crown land also experienced noticeably shorter tenures than their counterparts who were freeholders or living on *frälse* or noble-held land. This appears to be because crown peasants were hit harder by state taxation and military conscription.

The significant population increase of the eighteenth century meant above all a greater number of children competed for the family holding. Parents therefore relinquished main responsibilities for the farm at a much earlier age than before. Women were also much less likely to control land than in the previous century. A farmstead often passed through the hands of more than one of the children, thus at least temporarily reducing the average tenure period. Perlestam has also found that younger and unmarried children were the least likely to retain a long-term hold on the farm and the most likely to pass it on to another sibling and then leave. Conversely, older and married children were the most likely to remain. This, in turn, tended to give parents who retained an ultimate ownership of the farmstead considerable influence over the changes that ensued after they ceased to work the land themselves.

In short, Perlestam has been able to document that the family farmstead remained the norm in many ways throughout both periods, if it is understood that it was retained only by passing its tenure through more family members than had been true before. The author has clearly done his homework. The explanation of his sources, land tax, parish catechetical and visitation record, is valuable in itself. The book is replete with numerous charts and graphs that present his findings. The thoroughness of his research is best reflected in the tables that account, farm by farm, for the farmstead transfers and causes for several decades in both periods. These provide a very human and personal touch to the discussion of survival during a long period of accelerating change.

The middle three chapters of Hoppe and Langton's work are the longest, most substantial in content, and follow the same general format. They all begin with extensive and useful discussion of the fundamental characteristics of Swedish agriculture and industry before 1800 and up to 1860. As with Perlestam, this general information may be of as much value to European historians of the period as the specific data that it provides. This treatment is then followed by a detailed examination of the selected regions to determine their conformity to the patterns established earlier. This approach is worthwhile, but the authors' failure to identify their subject regions clearly within

Sweden might prove confusing to those not certain of Östergötland's exact location.

While examining agricultural livelihoods' positions and productive situations, the authors find that the *laga skifte* enclosures of the 1830s and 1840s led to a dramatic increase in the number of large farms that employed greater numbers of proletarian laborers. This group was more and more composed of cottagers as the number of crofts declined and of married workers who replaced the single men and women who held these positions earlier. Such changes are considered a clear sign of the increasingly proletarian nature of labor during the period. The authors also cover those aspects of agricultural life considered earlier for all of Sweden. The discussion, for example, of stills producing alcohol in the region and their possible economic impact is an interesting sidelight to this study.

Hoppe and Langton then move to consider the region's two urban centers, Vadstena and Motala, which represent opposite poles of economic development. Vadstena was originally dominated by its castle, convent, and monastery, all representatives of its importance during the later Middle Ages. By 1860, there is evidence of the emergence of independent craftsmen and the decline of guilds. Merchants also began to exploit the development of greater commercial agriculture of the region, with larger markets available after the opening of the Göta Canal. Motala, by contrast, was not of much consequence in 1800 but had assumed greater significance by mid-century. This was due to the continued development of the iron industry in the region and particularly to the opening in 1822 of the Motala Engineering Works, which came to dominate industrial enterprise in the region and along the Göta Canal. Motala had become at least the equal of Vadstena by 1860. It possessed fewer unemployed people and a greater number of both skilled craftsmen and menial laborers. Both towns were evidence of an increasing urbanization and of increasing economic interaction with the neighboring rural region and the rest of Sweden.

The authors conclude their look at the region with a chapter on the movement and availability of labor. The need for proletarian labor grew as a result of the consolidation of farms, intensification of agricultural production, urban economic change, and increased industrial production. Static wages during the period are ascribed to a population increase that was probably higher than previously estimated and to the availability of labor from greater distances than before. The authors find, however, that for the most part population and labor mobility were still very limited, particularly within rural areas and occupations.

Although covering connecting time periods and looking for somewhat different things, both works take full advantage of the rich sources that make research into local history very rewarding throughout Scandinavia. These works offer insightful views of land tenure practices and capital development. They are also par-

ticularly valuable to the non-specialist for the information they provide regarding agricultural and industrial conditions and practices throughout Sweden during the early modern period.

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WOLFGANG BURGDORF, *Reichskonstitution und Nation: Verfassungsreformprojekte für das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation im politischen Schrifttum von 1648 bis 1806*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 176; Beiträge zur Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte des alten Reiches, number 13.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1998. Pp. x, 578. DM 98.

Since the mid-1960s, the Holy Roman Empire has undergone a rehabilitation from the verdict of most nineteenth-century historians, who had condemned the old *Reich* as a sclerotic anachronism and an impediment to national unification under Prussian leadership. According to this revision, the empire and its complex institutions of decision making and conflict resolution retained their vitality throughout the eighteenth century. But the consensus has also prevailed that, prior to 1789, German public law remained descriptive and contained few proposals for constitutional reform. As Wolfgang Burgdorf's exhaustive study shows, however, this was far from the case: between 1648 and 1806, German jurists and publicists produced hundreds of texts—in the form of polemical tracts and pamphlets, official memoranda, and multi-volume juristic treatises—that “formulated the intent to achieve concrete changes” in the empire's fundamental laws and customs (p. 22). With this definition, Burgdorf takes the reader on a long march through constitutional debates of remarkable liveliness, variety, and scope. Some contributions to these debates, such as that of Bogislaw Philipp von Chemnitz (1647), advocated reconstituting the empire as an aristocratic federation; toward the end of the eighteenth century, several reformers proposed replacing the imperial “Capitulations of Election” with a single, perpetual contract that would serve as a written constitution. As Burgdorf freely admits, many of these proposals did not spell out practical reforms, and only two authors—the pseudonymous “Bonfido Tuiscon” (1673) and Karl Theodor von Dalberg (1787)—grappled fully with the problem of implementation. Ultimately, none of the reforms were carried out. But the reformers were not divorced from reality: rather, most reform proposals responded directly to the empire's many political crises, such as the brief interregnum of 1740–1742 and the subsequent emergence of Prussian-Austrian dualism. Moreover, Burgdorf insists, their proposals constituted a continuous, coherent, and often forward-looking discourse with far-reaching consequences for the development of German political culture.

Burgdorf's case for the historical importance of these debates rests on three interrelated arguments

about the impact of reform proposals on the formation of public opinion, national consciousness, and the empire's stability as a political system. For the first, Burgdorf is careful to note that constitutional debates began as an “intergovernmental discourse” and never fully escaped the control of jurists and functionaries. In the politically fractured landscape of eighteenth-century Germany, intergovernmental discourse encouraged appeals to public opinion but did not create spaces in which people could debate and criticize freely. Thus the empire's heterogeneity could politicize the public sphere without differentiating it socially. But as a discursive function, at least, public opinion had become a relevant factor in German politics well before the French Revolution. Finally, constitutional debates undermined secrecy and so promoted greater transparency in public affairs.

This leads to Burgdorf's second argument. The idea of a modern nation-state in Germany, he argues, originated during the “nationality debate” of the 1760s in what he calls an “imperial constitutional patriotism” sponsored in Vienna, first articulated by Friedrich Karl von Moser, and directed against princes who wished to keep the empire in a state of disarray. Von Moser attributed the empire's ills to insufficient national spirit on the princes' part, which he defined in political terms; during the controversies surrounding the League of Princes (1785), Habsburg reformers strove to create a community of interest between people and emperor as the guarantor of civic freedoms. This, according to Burgdorf, was the most enduring legacy of the eighteenth-century reform proposals: to intensify national consciousness and bind it to the idea of a unitary nation-state. Contrary to the “Borussian” narrative of German nation building, “the idea of a unitary nation-state” arose not only from a politically maturing middle class “but was also propagated by the Austrian imperial dynasty and so found its way into the consciousness of the German *Bürgertum*” (p. 344). Another implication is that ideas of freedom and equality were not imports from revolutionary France but emerged independently in Germany from the fusion of Enlightenment ideas with imperial reform politics. In contrast to France, enlightened political theory was deployed to legitimate authority, not to undermine it.

The strength of Burgdorf's third argument—that reform debates thwarted centrifugal tendencies by intensifying at crucial moments of political crisis—would depend on evidence that intergovernmental discourse, as distinct from imperial institutions themselves, had an immediate impact on decision making. Burgdorf is arguing that the cumulative effect of reform debate was conservative and stabilizing because every project generated a counter-proposal, and because no single reform initiative could muster enough support to overcome institutional obstacles to change. The extraordinary longevity of certain reform texts attests to this conservatism, but it is hard to find examples of constitutional debate affecting actual de-

cision making. On the contrary, even Joseph II abandoned reformers as soon as they had outlived their usefulness or exhibited too much independence. It is striking how often the reforms read like confessions of helplessness. Von Moser's solution to the empire's ills lay in educational reforms, as if an imperial revival would happen if only the princes could be trained to place national interests before their own. In any case, it is hard to see how the reformers' stabilizing effect was any greater than the success of their proposals. Far more powerful was the empire's institutional capacity to frustrate aggressive energies (to paraphrase Mack Walker).

In light of all this, one has to marvel at the persistence of these reformers. Many were rewarded for their proposals with offices and sinecures, even ennoblement, but the personal risks of such engagement were potentially catastrophic. Not a few proposals were condemned, censored, and burned; some reformers suffered arrest and exile. As Burgdorf shows, many of their ideas survived the French Revolution and Napoleon to influence Germany's constitutional development well into the nineteenth century.

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SARA FRIEDRICHSMEYER, SARA LENNOX, and SUSANNE ZANTOP, editors. *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1998. Pp. vi, 370.

This collection of essays takes up the challenging question of how colonialism and colonial legacies have shaped the German past and present. It necessarily also faces the question of how to define colonialism, a question that emerges already in the first of three chronologically defined parts. Part one deals with colonial discourse during the Kaiserreich (1871–1918). While Helmut Walser Smith analyzes parliamentary debates on colonial war and race mixing and Friederike Eigler and John Noyes discuss literary texts that explicitly portray life in the German colonies (in Noyes's case extending into a more general discussion of ideas of nomadism and settlement among colonialists), Nina Berman moves outside the bounds of formal empire when she contextualizes Karl May's *Orientzyklus* in informal colonial relations between Germany and the Middle East.

Part two turns to "Imperialism without colonies," the era in which Germany had lost its formal overseas empire but not its colonial ambitions. One of the four essays in this part, a longer piece coauthored by Tina Campt, Pascal Grosse, and Yara-Colette Lemke-Muniz de Faria, fully carries out the promise of the volume's subtitle, explicating across forty years and three political regimes the changing fantasies and policies that white Germans attached to blackness and to black Germans (as opposed to black colonial subjects or black visitors to Germany). No other essay in

the volume so successfully connects ideas of formal empire to later forms of racial thought in Germany. In fact, most of the essays in the volume do not attempt to do so. Rather, they use implicit definitions of colonialism that expand that word to mean a fascination with primitivism (Andreas Michel), encounters with "the Other" (Leslie Morris), racism, or inequality (Sara Friedrichsmeyer). Such inflation of colonialism's meanings is both the strength and weakness of the cultural studies approach taken here.

Part three takes up "imperial fantasies" in West, East, and unified Germany. The quality of these essays is more consistent than in parts one and two. Part three is also on relatively familiar methodological and disciplinary ground. Almost all of them analyze the workings of individual literary or philosophical texts (Sara Lennox, Leslie Adelson, Friedrichsmeyer, Willi Goetschel) or juxtapose the work of two creative artists to revise earlier critical approaches (Lisa Gates's interesting critique of Susan Sontag's interpretation of Leni Riefenstahl's African photographs). Katrin Sieg's essay on the politics of "ethnic drag" in theater productions discusses the casting of white German actors in roles for non-Germans, as well as the reverse as portrayed in Emine Sevgi Özdamar's playful work *Keloglan in Alamania*. Her essay is very worthwhile reading. But by this point in the volume, the reader is given very few clues for how to interpret these late twentieth-century racial issues as legacies of German colonialism. The final essay, by Willi Goetschel, discusses how Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* "exposes the paradigm of critical thinking itself as predicated upon the model of colonization" (pp. 321–22). It is also a successful piece, though its position as the final essay moves an already sprawling volume to a yet more abstract and sweeping level.

Some of the best questions are posed in the editors' useful introduction. That essay provides some historical and critical background. It also shows what is at stake in bringing postcolonial critique to German studies. If post-Holocaust Germany's choice for "Europe," shorthand for parliamentary democracy, is basic to the world's acceptance of the Federal Republic, then German participation in a postcolonial critique of Europe will necessarily be fraught. As the editors put it, "so long as the options are postulated to be Europe or Auschwitz, that critique of the European legacy remains difficult for Germans to advance" (p. 5). A related, major question is whether German colonialism was closer to the wider colonization and "Westernization" of the world in the modern era or closer to a specific development toward Nazism not shared by other colonial powers (p. 29). None of the essays take up these vital questions. There are a few factual errors showing unfamiliarity with some of the historical literature (pp. 10, 137, 175, 297 n. 4), but the errors are in each case peripheral to the points their authors are making. This book is the first to bring together scholars in various disciplines who work on German colonial-



ism and postcolonial racial issues, and it is a vital contribution to German studies.

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MICHAEL A. MEYER, editor. *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*. Volume 3, *Integration in Dispute: 1871–1918*. Assisted by MICHAEL BRENNER. New York: Columbia University Press; for the Leo Baeck Institute. 1997. Pp. viii, 466. \$50.00.

This is the third of four volumes presented simultaneously in English and German by the Leo Baeck Institute. Its authors are the distinguished scholars Steven M. Lowenstein, Paul Mendes-Flohr, Peter Pulzer, and Monika Richarz. Each book offers the empirically most up-to-date synthesis in its period now available in any language. Quite likely these richly illustrated volumes will long stand as the authoritative general history of the German Jews.

In setting the stage, Pulzer invokes, familiarly, the all-encompassing process of “modernization” or “adaptation to modernity” (pp. 3–4). Yet the vital issues of this volume, as of its companions, are changes in Jewish collective self-understanding and the degree of Jewish acceptance or rejection within German society. In the imperial German period, these translate into Jewish variants of the broader phenomena of national consciousness and “nationalization of the people,” and of national minorities’ relation to politically dominant majorities. In my view, this volume, like the whole series, required more thoroughgoing theorization under these headings. As volume three now stands, its impressive empirical strengths clash, often jarringly, with generalizations and judgments to whose acceptance the reader has not been led by explicit, step-by-step analysis. Nor do these volumes always escape the fallacy, to which studies of nationalism are peculiarly susceptible, of assuming what needs to be proven: the existence of the national community as a self-aware, willing collectivity.

In Richarz’s rich chapters on demography, social structure, and women and family, stress falls on the German Jews’ urbanization and *embourgeoisement*, accompanied by outstanding success in business and men’s rapid mobility through higher education into the professional elites. Shadowing these developments were steeply rising rates of religiously mixed marriage in a setting of spreading “secularization” and a significant rate of strategically motivated baptism. For these phenomena, negative from a Jewish religious or national perspective, no sustained explanations emerge, apart from anti-Semitic pressures. But unless ingrained anti-Semitism is to be taken for granted, as in the blanket characterization of imperial Germany as “an anti-Semitic society” (p. 102) and “one that continued to reject [the Jews],” thus figuring (despite anti-Semitism’s obvious importance) as an explanatory *diabolus ex machina*, the reader needs to be concretely

shown how and why anti-Semitism achieved these negative effects.

Lowenstein’s knowledgeable chapters on religion and Jewish communal-organizational life chart a transition from a still largely traditional religious self-understanding to widespread “internal indifference” and “assimilation” (p. 152). Jewish self-understanding, among a large majority, came to be expressed through membership in philanthropic-political organizations and Jewish social clubs, most of which had arisen in consequence of anti-Semitism at home or abroad. A fervent religious “will to Judaism” or the assertion of Jewish national peoplehood were missions confined, at least among the eighty-five percent of German Jews aligned with Liberal Judaism, to rabbinical circles or, among the anti-Liberal minority, to the Zionists, whose numbers in 1914 were “tiny” (pp. 120, 143). The inquiring reader will wonder about the causes of the rise of indifferentism and appeal of assimilation. Obviously the dissolution via Jewish civil emancipation of rabbinically enforced religious observance produced a flight of great force and numbers from Jewish religious practice and temperament and toward acculturation in the emergent German national community. Neither this volume nor its predecessor adequately explains these phenomena, nor the gratifications Jews found in becoming German.

Pulzer’s chapters on politics, the rise of modern anti-Semitism, and Jewish reactions to it are characteristically masterly. Yet, for lack of more systematic explanation, it is not clear how and why German nationalist “tribalism” (p. 186) overwhelmed and defeated a “dying Liberalism” (p. 280). Is it enough to say that the post-unification generation’s nationalist yearnings could not be satisfied by Otto von Bismarck’s handiwork and sought, among other things, through anti-Semitism to perfect “the national spirit that the new state still seemed to lack” (p. 208). Was the new post-1879 anti-Semitism’s popular appeal nothing more than a “return of old hatreds” (a chapter title) in the form of a politics of fear and resentment? Here, again, essentializing judgments about “the dilemma of the Liberal Jew in an illiberal society” (p. 271) are of little help, particularly when Pulzer quotes the pre-1914 Zionist leader Richard Lichtheim’s reflection that German anti-Semitism was “irksome . . . but by no means dangerous” (p. 271). Pulzer himself takes the view that in 1914 there were, in Germany if not in Austria, more grounds for Jewish optimism than disillusionment (p. 162).

Lowenstein’s sophisticated chapters on German Jewish self-understanding and participation in German culture, like Mendes-Flohr’s lucid and nuanced discussion of Jewish religious thought, as expressed especially by Hermann Cohen and Martin Buber, emphasize post-1880s “dissimulation” among the Jewish intelligentsia, championed by the Zionists but evident also among the leaders of the mainstream liberal majority. These circles’ “defense of Jewish difference, rejection of complete assimilation, and

open espousal of Jewish interests indicated a strengthening of Jewish self-consciousness" (p. 303). It was, Lowenstein writes, "largely the rise of anti-Semitism" (p. 304) that yielded this outcome, although the reader is left to formulate the causal pattern in this obviously sound, but still incomplete, conclusion. For Jewish nationalism was not altogether a function of anti-Semitic rebuffs but expressed a deep transformation among self-conscious Jews shifting the basis of identity from religion to culturally manifested ethnicity or peoplehood (*Volkstum*). It would strengthen the element of autonomy in Jewish historiography to pursue this issue more systematically. In doing so, the German and Austrian Jews' deepening understanding of the processes of nationalization occurring among Eastern European Jewry (as opposed to the German Jews' religious-cultural idealization of the eastern Jews) will perhaps emerge as vital or even crucial.

Pulzer's chapter on World War I is especially interesting on German Jewish engagement in the war aims discussion concerning Eastern Europe and Eastern European Jewry, but it serves better to introduce the melancholy fourth volume of this series than to end the third. Richarz's conclusion presents drastic judgments that will doubtless impress themselves on many readers' minds, such as that the Jews' legal equality "offered no protection against social and occupational discrimination and that education and wealth were no guarantee of admission to the middle class" (p. 384). Similarly, "anti-Semitism supplanted liberalism in the educated middle class," forcing the Jews into an oppositional role dangerous for a minority to play. Moreover, "since the larger society was not prepared to accept Jews as shapers of German culture, their notable scientific and artistic achievements, ironically, led to claims that the Jews were corrupters of that culture" (p. 388). These are one-dimensional exaggerations, psychologically understandable in the post-Holocaust era but incompatible with this book's rich evidence of Jewish integration in German society, disputed though it was by anti-Semites of varying degrees of single-mindedness and menace.

Valuable though this volume is, much work remains unfinished. It seems especially important to move beyond the limits set by the documentation of Jewish communal, organizational, and cultural life to grasp the experience of those many Jews who, like so many people of Christian ancestry in the same era, abandoned their forefathers' faith and sought to live, without succumbing to nationalist intoxications, as modern men and women.

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CHRISTINE VON OERTZEN. *Teilzeitarbeit und die Lust am Zuverdienem*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 132.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 411. DM 78.

Christine von Oertzen's excellent monograph treats the expansion of and changing attitudes toward women's part-time work as a paradigmatic case of social and cultural change in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) before 1970. Based on exhaustive research into the proceedings of unions and women's organizations, the press, decrees and laws, state and firm archives, statistics, and interviews, this well-organized book combines the methods of discourse, legal, and social history to reconstruct the changing measure and ambivalent meaning of part-time work and, by extension, married women's employment in general.

Oertzen recognizes that her topic presents a classic half empty/ half full problem. As a gendered phenomenon, part-time work rests on the assumption that married women cannot hold full-time jobs because they have also to maintain the household. It puts them in a category that denies them their full status as workers, often depriving them of benefits, usually depressing their wages, and always depreciating their value as workers in a society that counts work as hours labored outside the home. Yet part-time work can act as a "foot in the door" to mothers' employment, not only for the individual woman who needs or simply wants a job but also for a society in the process of redefining women's social roles. Oertzen argues that for the West Germany of the 1950s and early 1960s, the latter criteria apply and, thus, the rise of part-time work should be interpreted as both a sign of social change and a contribution to it. By reversing the dominant tendency among scholars of West German gender relations to highlight continuity and to slight change, she offers a nuanced but significant revision of our understanding of women, work, and the family after 1945.

Oertzen does not deny, but details, the overt hostility of official discourse, West German law, and many large firms to married women's work in the early 1950s. She argues, however, that the "housewife model" always faced challenges from women's groups and female trade unionists, the press, and citizens' complaints to government bureaucrats and in court. In practice, women's employment rose throughout the 1950s, and wives' employment expanded considerably at the decade's end. By 1957, antagonism to married women's work receded even among conservative Christian Democrats, not to speak of employers, as the economic boom induced a severe labor shortage. A new discourse bubbled up. It recognized, indeed, applauded, woman's "new blueprint for life" which encompassed a desire, not just need, to contribute to the family's income and, more important, a wish for an independent world alongside life in the family. Part-time work became an increasingly accepted arrangement, especially for women in white-collar positions. Housewives could now move into the labor market as they reassured husbands that "it's only part-time." Part-timers who worked more than twenty-four hours a week won unemployment and insurance benefits.

Oertzen is sensitive to the often conflicted and

frequently unpredictable positions of her actors and to interesting shifts in alliances among them. She follows, for example, the evolution, on the one hand, of female trade unionists from spokeswomen for full-time women workers to qualified supporters of part-time work and, on the other, of the Protestant Church from a strict purveyor of the housewife model to a quite enthusiastic endorser of mothers' part-time work. In the chapter on law, she considers the case of husbands who preferred to remain in a higher tax bracket as sole earners rather than admit to their employers that their wives worked part-time.

In tracing part-time work's development, Oertzen explores its easy invasion of offices and stores in contrast to its slow, uneven expansion in industry. Industrial employers, she argues, did not happily address the problems of work organization and coordination of schedules that part-time work entailed. Although plausible, this explanation downplays, I suspect, the resistance of male-dominated industrial unions to the revision of shopfloor rules and hierarchies that the integration of part-time workers required. Especially fascinating is Oertzen's discussion of why the Bahlsen cookie factory in Hannover successfully recruited a large force of part-time working mothers, while nearby manufacturing firms had difficulty in attracting former housewives. Both Bahlsen and the women who worked there, she contends, interpreted the packaging of cookies as "homey" labor that shared little with low-status, full-time "factory work" or masculine "machine work," even though the women in question performed unskilled jobs on an assembly line. The superb chapter on women's "strategies," based on interviews with four Bahlsen workers, continues this consideration of the interaction of preconceptions about class and gender, focusing especially on how couples came to terms with the wife's return to the workforce.

The book ends with an impressive comparative overview of part-time work in the FRG and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). For the East German case, Oertzen draws on the research of Almut Rietzschel, whose work she knows well because they conceived of their dissertations at the Technical University/Berlin as a parallel, comparative project on postwar German part-time work. In its phases and connection to an intense labor shortage, the expansion of part-time work in the FRG and GDR demonstrates striking parallels. The differences, however, are just as significant. The battles of opinion in the West were, not surprisingly, more open and unfolded in many arenas. Once the East German state decided to tolerate part-time work, industrial concerns put up little resistance to its implementation. Most important, part-time work in the FRG functioned as a path into employment for housewives, while in the GDR it operated as a retreat for women from the burdens of full-time work.

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LOUIS ROSE. *The Freudian Calling: Early Viennese Psychoanalysis and the Pursuit of Cultural Science*. (Kritik.) Paperback edition. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1998. Pp. 228.

While psychoanalysis is under siege (if not worse) as a treatment modality, and Sigmund Freud is under attack for personal failings and even psychological fraud, the appreciation of psychoanalysis as a tool for scholarly understanding still survives in certain circles. Louis Rose's book falls in this latter category. Rose believes that calling attention to the ways psychoanalysis can be applied to elucidating artistic endeavor and societal development and organization make psychoanalysis a worthwhile enterprise.

Rose's main concerns are with psychoanalysis as a new "cultural science" (*Geisteswissenschaft*) and the role of psychoanalysis as a "cause" (*die Sache*) to which one dedicates one's life because it makes a morally bereft existence bearable. Rose argues that Freud and the early Viennese analysts, as embittered Jews, were disappointed and angered by the way the Austrian Liberal promises for a more equitable world failed to materialize. "The psychoanalytic movement channeled their personal mission into a collective cause" (p. 27). Freud rejected the "moral intensity" (p. 49) of the social critics Friedrich Nietzsche and Karl Kraus and taught the members of the Vienna Society to be scientists and skilled craftsmen—not moralists—by applying psychoanalytic theory to the artistic, literary, anthropological, social, and even political arenas. One sees in Rose's hypothesis—that Freud and his followers transformed their political and social ambitions into the psychoanalytic revolution—the strong influence of Carl Schorske, to whom this book is dedicated.

At the start, Rose says, the Viennese analysts worshipped Freud as a "guru" (p. 52) because he gave them a sense of mission (p. 56). They adopted Freud's message of the value of sublimation and wrote vividly about the role of the artist who enabled people to become conscious of the unconscious. In this way, they believed, it was the job of psychoanalysis to be a psychological science that would elucidate art. Interestingly, Rose portrays two schools of thought in the Vienna Society. One was that of the physicians Isadore Sadger and Wilhelm Stekel, who preached studying the artist's personality to show how the artist was like a neurotic: in short, to write pathographies. The other view was that of Freud and Max Graf, a music critic, who argued that artists and their creative process could be best known through their works, and who rejected pathographies as reductionistic. Rose presents Freud's study of Leonardo da Vinci (1910) both as an example of that belief and as demonstrating that the application of psychology to art confirmed psychoanalysis as a new science of mind and culture.

From biography, Freud turned to the psychological exploration of culture in *Totem and Taboo* (1913), a work on society and religion. The essays that make up this work first appeared in the new psychoanalytic

journal *Imago: Journal for the Application of Psychoanalysis to Cultural Science*. Together with Freud, the Viennese analysts moved from the examination of art to the examination of society.

Rose argues that although Freud had tried to shift away from a preoccupation with morality, the times after 1914 made this impossible. "Thoughts for the Time on War and Death" appeared in *Imago* in 1915, and the analyst Paul Federn, writing "On the Psychology of Revolution: The Fatherless Society" (1919), reflected an attempt to understand psychoanalytically the crisis confronting the new Austrian Republic as it sought to rise from the patriarchal authority of the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire. Freud's postwar social psychology revealed the continuing impact of war. "The Disillusionment of the War" (1915) adumbrated "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego" (1921) in exploring why individuals behave differently when they are part of a group.

In Rose's analysis, Freud fares well, portrayed as a person who argues against reducing everything to libidinal forces. He lectures to his followers that "one simply cannot do justice to a personality if one stresses only its abnormal sexual components and does not make an effort to establish their close ties with the individual's other psychic forces" (p. 89). The Viennese disciples whom Freud came to dislike are cast by Rose in a positive light, thus making more complex the place of these men vis-à-vis the analysts in Zurich in whom Freud delighted. Rose's book has one outstanding flaw: the elevation of Otto Weininger, the anti-Semitic and misogynistic cultural critic, to the stature of a serious thinker, giving Weininger respectability that he does not deserve (pace Chandak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger* [2000]).

I have a mixed assessment of this book. Rose displays with some success the positive side of the Viennese circle surrounding Freud, and Freud himself emerges, on the whole, as a sophisticated thinker. But while reviewing at length the ways in which psychoanalysis can be regarded as a cultural science, Rose brings no critical eye to the field of applied psychoanalysis. And at a time when psychoanalysis is viewed increasingly as a humanistic discipline, Rose's emphasis on it as a science shows no awareness of current arguments, even if only to let the reader know that Rose is alive to the controversy.

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ÉLISABETH CROUZET-PAVAN. *Venise triomphante: Les horizons d'un mythe*. Paris: Albin Michel. 1999. Pp. 428. 150fr.

In *Sopra le acque salse: Espaces, pouvoir et société à Venise* (1992), Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan presented a path-breaking ecological history of the city. Her argument—that the environmental challenges faced by late medieval and Renaissance Venetians shaped in fundamental ways the social, political, and cultural history of

the republic, even as these latter forces continually impinged on Venice's own relation to its environment—opened up a fresh set of theories about nearly every aspect of Venetian studies.

Now, less than a decade later, Crouzet-Pavan has reprised many of her earlier arguments in this accessible account of the medieval and Renaissance city and its empire. She develops her thesis around a series of interlocking themes: from the Venetians' colonization of the lagoon to their conquest of the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, and the *terraferma* (their mainland territories in northwestern Italy). All along, she stresses the way this expansion in space came to shape the Venetians' views of themselves and their destinies. Thus, while she devotes individual chapters to such themes as the economy, social life, politics, and culture, she explicitly rejects a more traditional approach that frequently assumed that politics and culture could, in some fundamental sense, be explained as expressions of underlying economic and social realities. In place of this paradigm, Crouzet-Pavan offers a new model that lays special emphasis on the symbolic and the imaginary in Venetian culture—a symbolic that she has chosen to interpret as a representation of the overlapping sites and places in which Venetian history played itself out. Thus, this is not merely an excellent introduction to Venice (although it is now one of the best), but it is also a book of marked historiographical significance, one that shows quite clearly the degree to which historians have lost faith in older forms of economic and social determinisms. In their place, greater emphasis is devoted to the ways in which historical communities imagine their role in the world. In the case of Venice, the myth—in its many variations and the way it both shaped and was expressed in the city, from the piazza San Marco to the city's canals and parishes as well as in the republic's colonies and dominions—was as important a historical actor as the spice trade.

Yet Crouzet-Pavan's attention to detail never allows her interest in the symbolic to obscure her fascination with economic activity, social life, or the realities of power and politics. Drawing on a remarkable range of Venetian studies (a field that has grown exponentially over the last generation) as well as on her extensive archival knowledge (especially her pioneering investigations into the records of the *Giudici del Piovego*, the magistracy charged with zoning issues such as water rights and building permits), she never loses sight of the dynamic interaction between the material problems Venetians faced in the construction of their city and their social, political, and cultural organization. Thus technical problems from the provisioning of the population with fresh water through the construction of communal wells to the maintenance of a viable reserve of fish for exploitation in the marshes and the lagoon shaped the collective identity of the Venetians in ways that make it virtually impossible to ignore the ecosystem in the consideration of their history.

In her opening chapter, Crouzet-Pavan examines the



relation between the arduous construction of this city “on water” and the fundamental image of Venice as a kind of miracle, secure and safe from the turmoil of Italy and increasingly confident in its collective and public interests. Here, it was the parish or the *contrada* that came to serve as the basic structure around which Venetian identity was forged. She then turns to explore the way that this early experience was inscribed in the shaping of the city’s overseas colonies (chapter two), its conquest of the *terraferma* (chapter three), its commercial and economic activity (chapter four), its political institutions (chapter five), and its social and cultural life (chapter six). Throughout, she attends to the varied but mutually reinforcing roles that iconography, history, ritual, religious imagery, the cult of relics, and even cartography played in the transmission of images and values to the Venetians. She is especially strong in her unpacking of familiar symbols—from the ritual marriage of the Venetians to the sea, on the one hand, to the image of Venice as a lion posed to conquer the mainland, on the other—in order to show the close interplay between the symbolic and the political history of this strange imperial city-republic.

In short, this book simultaneously synthesizes current scholarship and offers a fresh interpretation of the history of this city and its empire. The lively style, the crisp images, and an uncommon attention to the telling detail or text within the context of a creative and beautifully sustained argument make it a text equally suited to the advanced scholar and the neophyte. Scholars may challenge the author’s interpretative framework (perhaps in particular her tendency to ignore the relation of class to the images she explores), but it is unlikely that they will dismiss it lightly. Building on her previous scholarship, this book offers a new way of thinking about a great city-state. Crouzet-Pavan, already an author of several masterful studies of on Venice, has now emerged as the leading Venetianist in her generation.

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JONATHAN DAVIES. *Florence and its University during the Early Renaissance*. (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, number 8.) Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV. 1998. Pp. xii, 232.

Florence’s late medieval university, or *studio*, never gained the reputation or size of the older universities of Bologna, Paris, Oxford, or Padua. By comparison, it was founded late and had an uneven history: an initial plan in 1321, the real founding in 1348 (curiously, in the immediate aftermath of the great plague), alternating periods of prosperity and difficulty, even times when it was shut down altogether, until, in 1473, most of it was relocated to Pisa. Consequently, for a long time historians dismissed the *studio* as peripheral to Florentine intellectual life, and, if anything, argued that its very weakness helped to liberate Florentine culture from the constraints of scholasticism, thus

permitting the emergence of the new “studies of humanity”—rhetoric, grammar, poetry, history, and moral philosophy—that were the essence of Renaissance humanism.

In this useful contribution, Jonathan Davies revises such received notions and expands our knowledge of the *studio* in the period from 1385 to 1473. Building on the archival findings of Alessandro Gherardi in the nineteenth century and the more recent contributions of Enrico Spagnesi, Katharine Park, and especially Gene Brucker, Davies adds much new material to the picture. The first chapter clarifies the roles of administrators, students, professors, and examiners. The governing *ufficiali dello studio* represented and answered to the civic authorities, and, within the government’s budget limitations, appointed the teachers. Although these officials successfully limited the civil jurisdiction that the *studio*’s statutes gave to the corporate association, or *università*, of the students, Davies thinks that the latter had more power than is usually supposed. The traditional division of the teaching staff into three faculties of theology, law, and medicine/arts was respected, but theology had a very small role, being taught mainly at the *studia* of the mendicant orders. Law predominated until the middle of the fifteenth century when more money began to be spent on “arts,” which by this point meant, in addition to philosophy, the humanist studies of grammar and rhetoric, which were kept in Florence when the rest of the *studio* moved to Pisa. Davies has also uncovered the crucial role of each discipline’s college of doctors, consisting of about fifteen members at any time, who conducted examinations and awarded the doctorates. Because their members did not have to be professors, these colleges provided an element of continuity that the teaching staff lacked. Davies fleshes out this institutional history with some valuable prosopographical data culled from the notarial and treasury records. Appendix I (pp. 145–55) identifies over 200 of the governing officials (a list that would be easier to use if the names were listed either chronologically, or, as far as possible, by family name). Appendix II (pp. 157–62) lists over 130 doctorates, most with recipients’ names. Appendix III (pp. 163–71) assembles the names and terms of service of eighty-one members of the college of doctors of canon and civil law and forty-two members of the college of doctors of arts and medicine. These lists span the period 1385–1473, although none is complete. Appendix IV (pp. 173–200) lists (in most cases multiple) payments to seventy-four of the teachers between 1450 and 1473, supplementing the rosters for 1357–1380 and 1413–1446 published by Park (see “The Readers at the Florentine Studio,” *Rinascimento* [1980]: 249–310). In addition to the alphabetical listing, Davies could have rearranged the payments by academic years in order to allow for comparisons with Park’s lists. Happily, Davies’s appendices are all indexed.

These important rosters are also the basis for Davies’s effort to set the *studio* in a number of larger

contexts. Chapter two shows that upper-class Florentines became increasingly involved in the *studio's* administration, that the teachers always included a mix of Florentines and non-Florentines (with members of local elite families more active in the teaching of law, and with fewer Florentines, generally from the middle class, teaching theology, medicine and, at least until about 1450, arts). A surprising eighty percent of doctorands were non-Florentines (p. 63). Chapter three explores contemporary awareness of the economic costs and benefits of the *studio*. Chapter four shows that after the *studio* became embroiled in the factional divisions that led to the expulsion and return of the Medici in 1433–1434, Cosimo de' Medici made sure that trusted men of the regime ran the institution. Some phony doctorates were awarded to members of the Medici ruling group to support their ambitions for ecclesiastical careers (chapter five). Medici influence culminated under Lorenzo, who turned the *studio* into "an important instrument of direct power" (p. 135) and engineered its relocation to Pisa (funded in large part with revenues from the alum mines of Volterra after the brutal military subjection of that city in 1472) as part of a broader aim of establishing his power and cultivating new patron-client ties throughout the dominion (chapter seven).

But the book's most important argument (chapter six) is that, despite inconsistent funding, the *studio* was "at the heart of Florentine culture" (p. 124) for much of the fifteenth century. Beginning in the 1420s, more members of elite families studied there, even if they did not always take doctorates. An impressive number of major figures taught there, including humanists (e.g. Giovanni Malpaghini, Carlo Marsuppini, Benedetto Accolti, Cristoforo Landino), jurists (Francesco Zabarella, Lorenzo Ridolfi, Paolo di Castro), professors of medicine (Niccolò Tignosi), and philosophers (Johannes Argyropoulos, who taught Greek philosophy and powerfully influenced Florentine intellectual life, and, as Davies discovered some years ago, Marsilio Ficino). By mid-century, Davies argues, the *studio* was an important center not only of humanist studies but also of crucial links between humanism and law, medicine, and philosophy.

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GREGORY HANLON, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition: Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts, 1560–1800*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1998. Pp. xii, 371. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.00.

This book explores a curious historical phenomenon, hitherto largely ignored: the demilitarization of Italy in the early modern period. When Spanish hegemony was imposed in the mid-sixteenth century, the Italian states still possessed significant military capabilities, and their aristocracies were imbued with a warrior ethos. But by 1796, when Napoleon Bonaparte burst in, their military potential had withered away—with the aber-

rant exception of Piedmont (or the Kingdom of Sardinia, as it was after 1720)—and their nobilities had abandoned their military vocation. Gregory Hanlon does not claim to explain why this happened, although he has some hypotheses; his goal is to conduct a "preliminary inquiry" into the problem and to suggest avenues for future research. He offers a blend of social, political, and military history, based on an exhaustive search of the voluminous secondary literature (a bibliographical tour de force in its own right).

Until now, this important historical development has not been studied systematically. In the Risorgimento, historians wrote panegyrics to local heroes or detailed the military institutions of individual states. The fascist regime produced biographical dictionaries of great Italian captains to evoke (or construct) the nation's glorious military past. (With due caution, in chapter six Hanlon uses these materials to quantify the declining military activity of the Italian elites. This decline was already pronounced by the late seventeenth century and precipitous in the eighteenth.) After 1945, there was a revulsion against this genre of historiography. The author thus reopens a subject long neglected, or even disdained, and examines it systematically for the first time. He also looks at it as a pan-Italian phenomenon transcending the regional focus of research up to now.

Hanlon begins with a detailed narrative of events from 1560 to about 1710, describing both the conflicts in the peninsula and the participation of Italian aristocrats in warfare abroad: as knights of Malta, or as soldiers for the Habsburgs, both Spanish and Austrian. (Italian nobles rarely fought for France. Confessional loyalty, and Spanish territorial dominance, made them gravitate overwhelmingly into the Habsburg camp.) He devotes special attention to the military resilience of Venice in its long wars with the Ottomans. He sees the collapse of Spanish military and financial might in the 1640s as the turning-point in this narrative. Thereafter a dwindling number of Italian nobles fought for the king of Spain. But a steady stream continued to pledge their swords to his Austrian cousin, down to the end of the war of Spanish Succession. Most distinguished was the Modenese Raimondo Montecuccoli, premier military theorist of his time, victor over the Turks and Turenne, and architect of the new-model Austrian army.

By the early eighteenth century, the military zeal of the Italian aristocracies was fast cooling and would fade away as the century wore on. Hanlon posits various explanations for this development, none wholly satisfactory in itself: the demographic pool of noblemen was shrinking; nobility was being redefined in civilian terms (the final chapter, on "The Military Imagination," offers valuable insights into this shift in mentalities); the switch to nationally recruited armies by the major European states was closing off careers to non-nationals. The author also invokes the effects of *Kleinstaaterei*: the lilliputian Italian states could not fight the titans beyond the Alps and gave up the

attempt. Here a more extensive comparison with Germany would be useful; many smaller German principalities let their military institutions languish, too, for much the same reason.

Perhaps another kind of answer is to be found in the counter example of Piedmont-Sardinia, which the author analyzes in chapter seven, but which merits closer scrutiny. It is no accident that Piedmont, the only Italian state to create an effective army (albeit in a long-drawn-out, painful process), was also the only state to build an effective absolutist government. The demilitarization of Italy should therefore be seen as part of a wider sociopolitical development: an incomplete transition to absolutism, resulting in the absence of the fiscal and institutional structures to sustain military forces and in the inability to harness nobles for military service. This failure is exemplified by the case of Naples. After 1734, the Bourbons tried to breathe new life into the kingdom's military institutions, but a ramshackle state and a fractious nobility vitiated their efforts. Piedmont alone succeeded—at enormous cost—in forging coherent military-bureaucratic institutions and in turning its aristocrats into an officer corps. The Piedmontese *Sonderweg* suggests that we must examine the abortive trajectory of absolutist development elsewhere in the peninsula if we are to answer the question the author poses in this original and well-researched book.

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PETER D. STACHURA. *Poland in the Twentieth Century*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xv, 180. \$45.00.

Early on, Peter Stachura makes known the purpose of this collection of his essays on twentieth-century Polish history: to defend the honor of Poland against “left-wing and pro-Zionist scholars” (p. 22). This much is clear, if a bit comical. It is less certain that Stachura succeeds in adding anything of significance to our knowledge of Poland. The main thrust of the eight essays in this book is the period from the rise of a newly independent state in 1918 to its subjugation to Soviet control in 1945. Interwar Poland, Stachura feels, has been much maligned, indeed stereotyped as a bastion of reaction and anti-Semitism. Drawing almost entirely on secondary literature, he hopes to redeem the honor of the Second Republic.

This is a valuable goal, because that period is still remarkably understudied. It has been decades since a major research monograph on interwar Polish history (excepting the study of minorities and of foreign affairs) has been published in English. Unfortunately, Stachura has little to offer in the first two essays devoted generally to this topic. In defending Poland, he wants it both ways. On the one hand, Poland was marginalized and mistreated at Versailles (forced to accept a Minorities Treaty to ensure ethnic harmony) despite a “long and well-established tradition of toler-

ance” (p. 26). On the other hand, Poland's shortcomings in this period must be forgiven, since its politicians lacked “adequate training or experience for running the Polish state and, of course, none of them had an understanding of the parliamentary democratic system which, for effective operation, demanded a spirit of compromise” (p. 27). Perhaps the victorious allies shared Stachura's doubts and recognized that vague traditions counted little in the business of running a state.

Polish historiography has (I hope transcended) the dead weight of national stereotypes with which Stachura would have us understand Poland: Poles' “capacity for improvisation,” “sophisticated cultural heritage,” and religious, national, and military traditions (p. 28). I do not mean to undermine any of these ideas, but they are utterly unexamined here. How have these traditions changed over the last two centuries, and how have they been understood and used by different leaders, thinkers, and social groups? What elements of the cultural heritage have proved valuable in the twentieth century, and what have been jettisoned or forgotten?

In two essays, Stachura focuses on Polish-Jewish relations in the years 1918–1945. He takes the unfortunate position that Polish anti-Semitism was balanced—canceled out, even—by Jewish “polonophobia.” Stachura connects the latter to the pro-Soviet sympathies of some Jews, and the wealth of the Jewish community. It is pointless to refute Stachura's claims; instead, let it be enough to note that one term connotes hatred and the other fear: surely the one provokes the other? Stachura says that “the Jews were allowed to enjoy considerable freedoms” (p. 46); this condescension toward free citizens of a democratic state would seem to be precisely the problem. In his only brief discussion of the details of Polish anti-Semitism (“polonophobia” is explored at much greater length), the author appears to justify all the persecution of Jews in the years 1936–1939 as “economic measures designed to rectify . . . the imbalance created by the disproportionate influence exerted by the Jews” (p. 49). To say the least, there are many far more valuable, and more balanced, interpretations of Polish-Jewish relations available.

The core of the book is really the two essays on the figures of generals Władysław Sikorski and Stanisław Maczek. Stachura admires them greatly, for they both appear to embody precisely that Polish spirit which he alludes to earlier: inventiveness and political pragmatism combined with a reverence for tradition. (The final essay, on nationalism in Poland since 1989, suggests that Stachura sees President Lech Wałęsa in a similar light.) Although not original, these are the most useful essays in the book, as they provide introductions to the careers of two leaders of the first half of the century. The only essay based on primary research, on the Polish minority in Scotland since 1945, seems connected to the other essays only by the

common theme of Poles' mistreatment at the hands of the West.

On balance, this is not a good book. It will be handy for undergraduates who need footnotes with which to back up unfounded vagaries and half-truths about the history of a nation whose greatness no one denies. For this reason alone, libraries and scholars are advised to save their money.

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JOHN S. KOLIOPOULOS. *Plundered Loyalties: World War II and Civil War in Greek West Macedonia*. Foreword by C. M. WOODHOUSE. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xxviii, 304. \$45.00.

Greek academic historiography and the country's political right have traditionally claimed that modern Greece is ethnically and nationally a homogeneous state. In fact, this has not been the case at least since the small Greek kingdom expanded to the north and conquered and annexed lands in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace as a result of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) and the peace settlement ending the Great War. The most ethnically mixed area was undoubtedly Greek (Aegean) West Macedonia. Its inhabitants, among others, included Albanians, Vlachs, Greeks, and a substantial number of Macedonian Slavs, who, even after its annexation by Greece (1913) and the "voluntary departure" or expulsion of many of them, still comprised a majority in some districts.

John S. Koliopoulos earlier published a two-volume Greek version of his work, with a more suggestive and precise subtitle: *The Macedonian Question in the Years of Occupation and Civil War in West Macedonia* (1994–1995). The stated purpose of the English version is to describe "the impact of these events and outside factors on the region's multilingual and deeply fragmented population" and to examine the changes and "mutations of its linguistic communities straddling national boundaries" (p. xiii). The author focuses his attention on the two dominant themes of the turbulent decade, namely: the deep, indeed, unbridgeable split in Greek society between the political right and left; and the Macedonian question, which to an extent also mirrored the political rift. Koliopoulos claims and, to a certain degree, questions the extremes of both the left and right Cold War interpretations of the Greek 1940s. Although he obviously sympathizes with the right, at least he strives to present a more balanced analysis than the extreme nationalist version that dominated Greek academic historical writings for so long.

Koliopoulos's handling of the Macedonian question, the Achilles heel of Greek politics and academic historiography, to which he devotes most of his attention, is an entirely different matter. True, he uses the term "Slav Macedonians" rather than "Slavophone Greeks," and, more important, he questions the official Greek figures on the number of Slavs in Greek Macedonia and in its western districts. Otherwise, he

embraces wholeheartedly the traditional Greek extreme nationalist view on the Macedonian question, which ignores the more than 150-year-process of Macedonian national identity formation. It denies the existence of any semblance of Macedonian particularism, separatism, patriotism, or nationalism until Josip Broz Tito somehow "mutated" Slav Macedonians into "Macedonians" and supposedly created an artificial Macedonian identity. Koliopoulos seems to argue that the Slav Macedonians of Greece were Greeks or soon-to-be conscious Greeks, and some were even more Greek than the real Greeks. He implies that their counterparts across the border in Yugoslav (Vardar) Macedonia were Serbs, and, one assumes, those in the Bulgarian (Pirin) partition, Bulgarians. He calls Tito's new creations *Makedontsi* (plural of *Makedonec* or Macedonian), suggesting derisively that Tito also invented the name. In fact, the term *Makedonec-Makedonci* had been adopted as a national name and symbol and used by Macedonian patriots, revolutionaries, and nationalists since the appearance of Macedonianism (*Makedonizm*) in the 1860s.

By embracing the official Greek position (and ignoring evidence to the contrary in British and in Greek left-wing sources that he cites) Koliopoulos cannot possibly understand the motivations of most Macedonians in Greece, including their rejection of the official Greek state, which denied their existence and oppressed them. He does not explain convincingly why Macedonians supported the Communist Party (KKE), the only party in Greece that recognized their Slav Macedonian identity and came to their defense, and why they joined in large numbers the Communist-dominated EAM-ELAS resistance movement during the occupation and the Communist side during the Civil War. Nor does he explain why some right-wing or Bulgarophile Macedonians joined armed bands (*Komitadjis*) sponsored by the occupation authorities, who promised them deliverance from Greek rule in a "free," "autonomous" or "independent" Macedonia; or finally, why, after Tito's movement (AVNOJ) proclaimed the establishment of a Macedonian state in late 1943, "a free Macedonia" (*slobodna Makedonija*), in the postwar Yugoslav federation, even Macedonians in Greek and Bulgarian Macedonia viewed Yugoslav (Vardar) Macedonia as the Piedmont of Macedonian liberation and possibly unification.

Koliopoulos, like other Greek and, for that matter, Bulgarian traditional academic historians, will not be able to come to grips with the complexities of the Macedonian question as long as he sticks to the politically inspired myth that Tito or the Yugoslav Communists invented and created an artificial Macedonian identity. Tito did not invent or create it. It established itself in a long and complex process which began with the Slav awakening in Macedonia and culminated with the establishment of Macedonian statehood in federal Yugoslavia. Tito, who was neither Bulgarian nor Greek nor Serb, was able to consider the Macedonian problem more objectively. He realized



that Macedonian nationalism was already a force to be reckoned with and that Macedonians would be satisfied with nothing less than a "free Macedonia." He promised them exactly that.

All in all, this is a very disappointing book. It contributes virtually nothing to the understanding of the Macedonian question in Greece or the enhancement of Greek academic scholarship on the subject. While I can easily understand the political reasons and motivations for its publication in Greece, I find it difficult to comprehend why an academic press published the English version in North America.

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MELISSA K. BOKOVY. *Peasants and Communists: Politics and Ideology in the Yugoslav Countryside, 1941–1953*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 211. \$40.00.

The revolution in property rights in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in the 1990s has been the subject of substantial scholarly interest. Economists, anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists, geographers, and agronomists have analyzed state capacity, changing class structures, patterns of land use and productivity, winners and losers, and political resistance from parliaments, state farm managers, and cooperative farmers in response to Western-imposed, radical, and rapid land privatization. Historians would be correct in noticing, with Melissa K. Bokovoy, how comparatively little interest and research attached to a similar revolution in Eastern Europe after World War II—externally imposed, radical, rapid collectivization—or to comparisons of the two periods.

Equally surprising is the lack of interest and knowledge of Yugoslav scholars and League of Communists members about Yugoslav exceptionalism in this field. While claiming and winning Western attention for their maverick approach to Marxism, industrial organization, foreign policy, and state order, Yugoslav communists were nearly silent on their innovative efforts in agriculture. So successful in buying four decades of Western support was their explanation for this "separate way"—that an initially "Stalinist" Yugoslav party had abandoned its "administrative socialism" and "collectivization" in response to popular pressure—that it became both political and intellectual orthodoxy.

A new generation of social historians and historically minded political scientists, primarily in the United States, has begun to correct that picture with archival research on the wartime and early communist period. Bokovoy was one of the first, and the contribution of this work on the party's failed efforts to revolutionize landholding and productivity in the countryside in 1949–1952 is to rehumanize and empower the Yugoslav majority of the period: the peasantry. In the tradition of James Scott's *Weapons of the*

*Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Bokovoy seeks to document how the Yugoslav party, after initial mistakes, first adapted their ideology during World War II to gain the peasant support that was essential to survival and victory, and then, in 1951–1952, abandoned the 1949–1950 Stalinist policies of compulsory deliveries and collectivization in the face of stiff peasant resistance and sporadic rebellion. Indeed, this "ideological retreat" can be seen, she argues, as the first challenge to Eastern European regimes, long before urban workers and intellectuals in the 1980s (p. 159).

Bokovoy's extensive archival research, however, suggests a different story: one of the immensely greater challenges of peacetime than of war, and of the weapons of a weak party and new state. The first emerges out of the paradox she presents, of a Communist Party that won in 1941–1944 by being "astute" (p. 17) and "flexible" in "dealing with the peasantry on its own terms" (p. 24), but which by 1947 chose "honor to their ideology" over "honor to their promises" to the peasants, abandoning their wartime "ambivalence toward the Stalinist approach to the countryside" and creating a "myth" of an "undifferentiated" and "loyal" peasantry "unwavering" in its willingness to surrender "their local and parochial interests to those of the new state" (p. 37). To explain the paradox, one needs to place agricultural policy in context: severe food and fuel shortages for a burgeoning urban population, postwar reconstruction, and an industrialization drive, under economic sanctions from the West and then blockade and expulsion from the East, a party at risk of losing all that the war had gained, in "siege mentality" (p. 128).

As for the second, far from "a total and all-pervasive political monopoly" (p. 35), Stalinist ideology, or "miscalculation" (p. 157), the party leadership in 1947–1950 was in crisis-response mode: internally divided on policy, with no time to develop managerial or governing capacity, let alone agricultural machinery, and confronted on a daily basis by the refusal of republican agricultural ministries to implement central policy, by policy fights within republics, and by the consequences of zealotry, incompetence, and obstruction from the party cadres in the villages on whom policy depended (p. 132). An equally plausible hypothesis for policy change is that there never was a policy of collectivization but rather a short-lived mobilization under economic crisis that could end once Western recognition, credits, and trade had been secured.

The book also yields support for theories on the politics of economic transition and state building (then and now), the economic crises likely to face social democratic and socialist revolutions and the critical role of foreign conditions, two-level games in international bargaining (why Joseph Stalin might have opposed the Yugoslav policy on agriculture for domestic reasons, and domestic bases for Josip Broz Tito's "rebellion"), and the strategic opportunities created by new property rules (how kulak "victims" turned the

collectives to their benefit, or how peasants who resisted the compulsory deliveries in 1949 also disliked the new policy of "cost accounting" after 1952). Along the way, Bokovoy also illustrates Yugoslav patterns that lasted forty years and longer: governance through simultaneous punishment of party cadres and policy modification, economic policy that depended on training courses for party cadres as a substitute for insufficient financial capital, and local politics that protested central policy through scapegoating new settlers as community "outsiders."

Bokovoy has opened a fascinating new chapter in scholarship on Yugoslav socialism that is ripe for new research. One hopes that others will recognize the challenge.

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W. F. RYAN. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. (Magic in History.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 504. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.50.

W. F. Ryan's magisterial work on magic in Russia offers a richly researched compendium of magical beliefs and practices in the east Slavic lands from pre-Christian times to the present. Ryan establishes beyond any doubt that magical thinking must be taken seriously as a feature of Russian culture. With his extraordinary bibliography, his skillful readings of sources and evidence, and his deft translations and clear explanations, Ryan explores hundreds of variants on magical beliefs and practices, ranging from spells and curses, to talismans and amulets, to alchemy and geomancy. This encyclopedic work clarifies many questions that arise from Russian sources and will make it far easier for scholars in the future to figure out the meanings of folk customs they encounter in their research. For instance, frequently reproduced woodblock prints from the nineteenth century show young girls telling fortunes at Christmas time by having chickens peck at grain; the book finally explains what those chickens are doing and what the girls see in it. Ryan adeptly works through the various contentious claims about particular symbols and rituals and arrives at his own syntheses.

The book is impressive in its scope, its thoroughness, and its phenomenal basis in knowledge. Written with verve and humor, it is a pleasure to read and makes an invaluable contribution to Russian cultural studies.

Ryan does not pretend to present a coherent interpretive argument. In fact, he specifies that his goal is "description at the expense of theory and classification" (p. 4). The book carries through on its promise in this regard. The chapters are arranged descriptively, as successive lists of magical practices or phenomena. Chapter five, for example, lists six different categories of "Signs, Omens, Auguries, Calendar Predictions," while chapter six leads the reader through every form

of "Prediction from Dreams and the Human Body," from dream imagery to "twitches and itches." The five-page introduction addresses the difficulties of distinguishing "magic" from "religion" and provides a rather skimpy survey of the literature on Russian magic, quite rightly noting that, although there have been vast numbers of studies of particular aspects of magic, little has been done to synthesize these pieces into a coherent whole. Otherwise, Ryan deliberately avoids imposing an overarching analytical framework on his survey.

Instead, the book's interpretive framework remains unstated and, in places, somewhat inconsistent. Ryan's approach differs according to the nature of the sources and practices he is addressing. When exploring the textual histories and the transmission and translations of texts, he is scrupulously precise and powerfully persuasive. In textual traditions, he sees a dynamic trajectory, according to which Russian culture incorporated and adapted foreign texts or developed its own, through a wide array of contacts and intermediaries. He explores Byzantine, Jewish, Polish, and "Oriental" influences and finds magical traditions developing over time. Alchemy, for example, remained largely unknown until the late fifteenth century and never caught on in Russia as in the West. When the book examines "folk traditions," however, time seems to stand still. By and large, popular practices are assumed to remain constant and unchanging, and scraps of evidence from across time and space are mixed together to form a static picture. A discussion of magical days, for instance, invokes a quotation from the beginning of the sixteenth century together with excerpts from early Soviet ethnographic accounts (pp. 47-49). Evidence from witchcraft trials serves to illustrate the ways in which folk practices incorporated literary motifs, but the interactions of various levels of culture are framed to convey a sense of timeless continuity rather than of change. Moreover, with evidence from Siberia interspersed with examples from Ukraine, Belorussia, Romania, and the Balkans, the book presents a vision of a vast, undifferentiated Slavic culture. On some occasions, the evidence is compelling enough to support a claim that folk practices endured from the early modern era into the early twentieth century and across the East Slavic world; elsewhere the suggestion of continuity and homogeneity seems overdrawn. It is unclear how one can reconcile the picture of a dynamic magical culture fed by contact with diverse literary and non-Russian traditions with that of static folk traditions incubated in an insular East Slavic world.

Nevertheless, Ryan deserves high praise for this extraordinary piece of work. The book far surpasses anything that has come before it in breadth, depth, and comprehensiveness. It will immediately assume its place as the fundamental reference work and compendium of Russian magical practices and beliefs. Its collection and codification of scores of examples, its impressive bibliography, its textual translations, its careful research on the names of herbs, stones, and

mystical signs, so difficult to identify—all make it a work of incomparable import. Ryan's clear, concise, and witty writing make it all the more of a treasure.

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LAURA ENGELSTEIN, *Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom: A Russian Folktale*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999. Pp. xviii, 283. \$29.95.

Laura Engelstein has produced a rather spectacular second book on sex in Russia. Her first book, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (1992) presented in extraordinary detail and with compelling precision the story of sexology in what had seemed to those working in Western and Central Europe a scientific backwater: pre-1905 imperial Russia. Outlining the complex inter-relationships between gender and class with politics and science, that book won the 1993 Wayne S. Vucinich Prize from the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and (jointly) the 1993 Heldt Prize from the Association of Women in Slavic Studies. Engelstein's new book on the topic of sex in Russia is much more complex and much more likely to be entered into the ranks of required books for all students of history. Her putative topic is the history of the Skoptsy, the self-mutilating, schismatic Orthodox sect. The most evident sign of the uniqueness of this group was the castration of the men and the mutilation of the breasts of the women (both undertaken in variant forms). This group is one that haunts nineteenth-century European sexology and anthropology. They are cited as the "modern" equivalents of the Amazons or the Egyptian eunuchs in the standard handbooks of the period. Their very existence "proved" to nineteenth-century science that "sexual mutilation" (of both sexes) was an inherent part of religious ritual and was proof of the inherent barbarism of all religious practices.

Engelstein's account of this group, however, is not a simple chronological history. It is an extraordinary account of the "archive" that she mines in order to tell their history. It is truly, as she subtitles the volume, "a Russian folktale." There has been an intensive new interest in the use of the archive (from the Stasi files to medieval religious documents). Engelstein corrects the basic errors of many enthusiasts of the "archive" by illustrating the ideology that formed it and the attitude of those collecting and contributing materials. She uses not only this complicated archive but also the very creation of the archive to illustrate how the Skoptsy came to understand themselves in the course of explaining themselves to official Soviet authority. For it was the Soviet state that began to collect materials from the Skoptsy for its State Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism. The Skoptsy became willing participants in an effort to explain themselves to a state that was willing to listen, even if for reasons that

worked radically against the self-interest of the members of the sect. As early as 1903, the Communist Party had seen such groups as targets for recruitment in its struggle against the tsar. Vladimir Bonch-Bruевич, a friend of V. I. Lenin, had begun to work his way into the confidence of the "secretive and distrustful" (p. 3) Skoptsy at that point. He continued well into the 1930s to get its members to write accounts of their lives, even as Joseph Stalin began to systemically suppress all religious activity in the Soviet Union.

In the accounts collected in Bonch-Bruевич's museum, the key marker of the sect, its physical mutilation, came over time to fuse in their accounts to the state with the suffering that they underwent in Siberian exile for their very beliefs. Engelstein has spun a compelling account of the Skoptsy and the collection of the materials that enabled her, after the fall of the Soviet Union, to construct the Soviet reconstruction of the Skoptsy's self-representation. This is illustrated in simple and direct way in this volume. It promises to become a classic example for the use of archives in the writing of history. Engelstein is able to tell the history of the Skoptsy as part of this historical reconstruction.

One final note: Engelstein incorporates a series of images in this volume and she makes us aware of their function as evidence for her argument. She also makes clear where these images were taken under duress and what their initial intent had been. This, too, is an exemplary use of the image in the new historiography. Cornell University Press is to be commended for designing this book so that the images and the text work elegantly together.

SANDER L. GILMAN  
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JONATHAN W. DALY, *Autocracy under Siege: Security Police and Opposition in Russia, 1866–1905*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998. Pp. xi, 260. \$38.00.

The more closely historians study the workings of the bureaucratic apparatus of late imperial Russia, the harder it is to generalize broadly about it and the more meticulously and discreetly its particular constituent parts must be evaluated. To a great extent, it is no longer easy to generalize even about individual ministries, as intraministerial agencies are seen to vary significantly and even the same office or department will vary over time under disparate leaderships. The challenge to the researcher then becomes how to uncover and remain true to the full range of these differences and variations without falling prey to paralysis when attempting to fit the pieces back into a coherent whole.

In this excellent monograph, Jonathan W. Daly succeeds admirably in balancing these goals. Telling the story of the Russian security police from the reign of Alexander II through 1905, Daly presents in nuanced fashion the many outlooks, assumptions, and practices that distinguished such institutions as (until

1880) the Third Section, the Corps of Gendarmes, the various divisions of the Interior Ministry's Department of Police, especially its *Osobyi Otdel* (Special Section), and the Moscow and St. Petersburg governor-generalships from one another, and how each of them changed in the course of time, under different leaders, facing different challenges. At the same time, Daly manages to encompass all these differences within a larger analytical framework: an assessment of the achievements and frustrations of an officialdom that wished both to hasten Russia's evolution toward a modern polity, based on a (relatively) independent yet supportive civil society, and to contain the dangerous demons unleashed by societal independence and rebelliousness. I say "achievements" because Daly points to the possibility of a wise, farsighted leadership—his primary exemplar is Sergei Zubatov—capable of balancing conflicting goals and interests, isolating a small revolutionary movement, and reconciling reform with autocracy. Upon finishing the book, however, and digesting the evidence so evenhandedly presented, I found it difficult to imagine a sanguine outcome, and I am quite sure that my skepticism is partly shared by Daly himself, who wisely distinguishes between the challenge of containing the activities of small numbers of dedicated revolutionaries and the challenge, increasingly forceful after the turn of the century, of coping with mass movements of peasants, workers, students, ethnic minorities, and an ever more defiant liberal intelligentsia.

Used alongside Frederic S. Zuckerman's equally impressive book, *The Tsarist Secret Police in Russian Society* (1996), Daly's study supersedes the work of Ronald Hingley and others who have addressed this topic. Daly deserves some criticism, however, for failing to situate his own work in relation to Zuckerman's, to which he makes only passing reference. In broad terms, despite some differences in detail, the pictures they paint of the trials and tribulations of the state security system are quite similar. To be sure, apart from its shorter chronological range (Zuckerman's study begins with the reign of Alexander II but takes the story to 1917), Daly's work may be distinguished from Zuckerman's by its tone of greater sympathy with the efforts of Zubatov and others as well as by its greater range of archival sources. Whereas Zuckerman's admirable archival research was confined to collections in the United States, especially those of the Hoover Archive (most notably the papers of the Paris section of the Okhrana), Daly has also combed the holdings of the State Archive of the Russian Federation in Moscow (GARF), leaving, so it seems, few stones unturned. Like Zuckerman, Daly also read widely in published sources, not to mention a vast array of secondary works in Russian, English, French, and German.

Thanks to Daly (and Zuckerman), we now enjoy a clearer understanding of the prodigious but frustrating efforts of Russia's political police to deal effectively with a revolutionary movement that many leading

police officials were unable to comprehend. If Zuckerman stresses that police officials were mired in a subculture of corruption, narrow-mindedness, and bureaucracy that was not adequate to the task of guiding a socially unstable country through the treacherous waters of modernization and the building of civil society, Daly broadens our understanding of the institutional constraints and jurisdictional conflicts that hampered their efforts and evinces greater sympathy for their predicament. Leaders of the police apparatus frequently confused liberals and moderates with radicals and revolutionaries, thereby losing opportunities to drive a wedge between them, but Daly also shows that some officials grasped the distinction and tried to act accordingly. Nevertheless, police practices inadvertently contributed at crucial junctures, especially in 1905, to the maintenance of the uneasy alliance between extreme radicals and liberals that, despite deep divisions among liberals produced by the October Manifesto, drove the government to the brink of desperation in the fall of that year. (Daly's intelligent treatment of 1905 is marred by his surprising neglect of relevant monographs on 1905 in Moscow [Laura Engelstein], St. Petersburg [Gerald Surh], and Odessa [Robert Weinberg], important venues of his 1905 narrative.) Yet by December the government, though battered, was able with the aid of the army to recover its nerve and regain the initiative over its enemies. Daly describes this process well, although not everyone will be persuaded that he has provided a complete explanation of the monarchy's reversal of fortune. He ends by hinting at a sequel on the post-1905 years. Given the high quality of this volume, such a sequel would be welcome. Meanwhile, Daly has produced a scholarly and readable monograph, remarkable for the strength of its research and analysis and replete with informative comparisons between Russia and West European countries.

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JAMIE H. COCKFIELD. *With Snow on Their Boots: The Tragic Odyssey of the Russian Expeditionary Force in France during World War I*. Paperback edition. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xi, 396. \$18.95.

By the end of the first year of World War I, Allied strategists and statesmen confronted unanticipated heavy manpower losses on the Western front and enervating materiel shortages on the Eastern Front. In the autumn of 1915, French politicians suggested a linked solution to these problems: sending more guns and munitions to Russia in exchange for the dispatch to France of Russian troops drawn from an imagined bottomless pool of human cannon fodder. This sordid trade and its ambiguous outcome, a poignant sidebar of the Great War, form the focus of this minutely detailed monograph by Jamie H. Cockfield.

Despite French hopes for 400,000 Russian soldiers,



tsarist authorities, also struggling with heavy casualties, reluctantly agreed in February 1916 to send a token force that ultimately totaled two brigades of approximately 20,000 men. These units, known as the Russian Expeditionary Force (REF) in France, fought quite effectively in the disastrous Nivelle offensive of spring 1917. After being withdrawn from the front and interpreting the March 1917 Revolution in Russia as liberation from their obligation to soldier for the tsar, a majority of the Russian troops mutinied in the summer of 1917. After several tense weeks, a combination of French pressure and direct action by other Russian units still committed to the war against Germany brought the defiant soldiers under control. Subsequently, a few thousand REF members volunteered to continue fighting on the Western Front. The French incarcerated or interned the most rebellious troops and placed the homesick, confused, and dispirited remainder in work battalions throughout France and in Algeria. After the 1918 Armistice, the majority of REF members were sporadically returned to Russia during 1919 and into 1920.

Clearly a lifetime labor of love, this volume draws heavily on extensive French, British, and emigré Russian primary sources (though not official Russian or Soviet archives) and provides the first full account in English of this intriguing episode in the history of World War I and the Russian Revolution. Cockfield shows conclusively that the REF uprising neither triggered nor reflected the concurrent mutinies in the French armies. But, despite the author's thorough digging, insufficient evidence was unearthed to answer several key questions. How did Russian authorities select the REF's troops and especially the officers, many of whom proved to be ineffectual or worse? Was the mutiny the result of revolutionary propaganda, battle fatigue, officer incompetence, or the baneful influence of newly formed soldiers' committees? In explaining the REF's disintegration, how much weight should be given to the social composition of the troops, the ideas and personal qualities of the mutineers' leaders, and the failures of official Russian representatives in France?

At times Cockfield narrows his focus unnecessarily. For example, drawing effectively on French diplomatic records, he painstakingly traces the difficult negotiations between the French foreign office and the maverick Soviet government over the repatriation of REF troops and other Russians in France. The French wanted to be rid of them but the Soviet authorities saw the chance to use their alleged detention in France as a propaganda weapon against the Western powers. The author fails, however, to set these negotiations in the larger contexts of early Franco-Soviet relations and of the concurrent Allied intervention in Russia.

Cockfield is sensitive to the human interest aspects of his story but uncovered little documentation about the mutiny leaders, the REF's commanders, or the mixed fate of the rank-and-file soldiers. A few joined the White armies on returning to their homeland.

Many melded into the new Soviet Russian society, but little is known about where they went or what they did. An exception was Rodion Malinovsky, an REF enlisted man who joined the Red Army, rose to the rank of marshal of the Soviet Union, and served as minister of defense under Nikita Khrushchev. Several thousand Russian soldiers refused to return, joining the Russian emigré community in France and Europe.

This volume raises a troubling aspect of much recent historical research and publication. Does the story of the REF, which even the author admits had negligible impact on the course of World War I or on the Russian Revolution and Civil War, warrant years of research and a 336-page monograph? Is not this sort of topic better suited for treatment in several articles or in the new medium of electronic publication? Shouldn't future print books be reserved for subjects of general historical significance?

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PETER GATRELL, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 317. \$35.00.

The twentieth century may well be termed the century of refugees or, in Michael Marrus's telling phrase, of "the unwanted." Wars, natural disasters, decolonization, economic boom and bust: all of these factors have compelled millions of individuals to leave their homes and set off into the unknown. Peter Gatrell's latest book takes on the ambitious task of chronicling the story of refugees within the Russian Empire during World War I. A number of ethnic groups were represented in this refugee flood, including Poles, Jews, Latvians, Armenians, and Belarussians. Gatrell not only recounts their story in a sophisticated and compelling manner but demonstrates the impact refugees had on Russian government and society. His book makes a significant contribution to Russian history in showing yet another area in which liberal society and imperial state came into conflict during the war, giving impetus to the further development of civil society. In short, this book adds much to our knowledge not only about refugees but about the internal politics of the Russian Empire in its final years.

By the autumn of 1915, German armies had advanced into Lithuania, entering Wilno/Vilna on Yom Kippur that year. By that time, nearly all of Russian Poland was under German occupation. As Gatrell shows, the general policy of the Russian general staff was to evacuate civilian populations to the Russian interior. Although Jews were especially harshly treated, Poles, Latvians, and others also found themselves forced out of their homes and pushed unwillingly toward the East. The Caucasian front also produced waves of mainly "voluntary" refugees: Armenians fleeing Ottoman Turkey. The Russian state was hardly equipped to deal with these thousands of

destitute individuals, and aid to refugees was often hindered by squabbles both within government bodies and between government and “public” organizations. Skillfully weaving together archival, periodical, and memoir literature, Gatrell presents us with a clear and often poignant portrait of the refugees, their new life in the Russian interior, and the attitudes of Russians—both “official” and “public”—toward these new neighbors. The rhetoric used to portray the sufferings of the refugees is particularly well documented here.

Almost by definition, refugees are seen as helpless and passive. Gatrell demonstrates that this stereotype is very far from the reality. True, impoverished and hungry refugees could appear listless and without initiative, in particular upon their first arrival to their new “home.” Soon, however, refugees made claims for assistance, work, and, most importantly, respect. Local authorities initially feared the “flood” of refugees, citing lack of proper housing and concern for public health. In most cases, however, the refugee settlements neither called forth protests from locals nor spread diseases. Fears of increased crime and family breakdown were similarly proved to be exaggerated.

Children, the elderly, and women made up the bulk of the refugee population. Gatrell devotes one chapter to the issue of gender among the refugees, pointing out the gendered narratives that showed the refugee woman as nurturing woman, often protected (or saved) by a valiant soldier. On the other hand, the refugee women were also frequently portrayed as especially vulnerable to the predatory advances of brothel keepers. Middle-class Russian women played an important role in aiding their refugee sisters; here, too, Gatrell demonstrates that the refugee issue helped develop Russian civil society. Similarly, non-Russian refugees found their sense of national identity reinforced by their stay in the Russian interior. Conversely, the presence of significant numbers of Latvians, Armenians, Poles, and Jews within the Russian interior brought both educated Russian society and the peasantry face to face with the issue of nationality as never before. Gatrell ends with a chapter on the refugees’ fate after the revolutions of 1917.

This book is a major contribution to our understanding of World War I and the changes within Russian society in those crucial years. The sophisticated interweaving of social history, politics, gender, and nationality is never heavy-handed; the narrative is full of apt and arresting anecdotes; the illustrations are well-chosen and poignant. In short, this book will appeal not only to specialists in Russian history and World War I but to anyone interested in refugees in the twentieth century, wartime societies, or nationality.

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AMY KNIGHT. *Who Killed Kirov? The Kremlin's Greatest Mystery*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1999. Pp. xiv, 331. \$26.00.

Who killed Kirov? Despite its promising title, this book by Amy Knight does not provide a conclusive answer to one of the most hotly contested events in Soviet history. The murder of Leningrad party leader Sergey Kirov in December 1934 has often been viewed as the spark that ignited the Great Terror. Did Joseph Stalin organize the murder as part of a grand plan to eliminate all potential and actual rivals, or did he simply use it as a justification for a crackdown on the “opposition”? If not Stalin, then who, and why? Was this the action of a lone assassin with personal grudges against Kirov, or was it perhaps an independent initiative by the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD)? Or did the inspiration for the assassination come from foreign powers, the Germans or Latvians perhaps? In the Soviet era, the paucity of hard evidence meant that Western historians’ speculations were often colored by their preconceptions about how the Stalinist system operated. Likewise, official pronouncements from within the Soviet Union were shaped by current political preoccupations. In recent years, less restricted archival access and a greater concern with historical objectivity has raised hopes that the mystery will be finally solved.

Knight’s book is the first major work in English to take stock of the latest Russian research by A. Kirilina *et al.* and also some of the newly available archives and memoirs, in particular Kirov’s personal archive. Crucially, however, Knight has not had access to the Committee of State Security (KGB) files on the murder investigation. The proportion of the book devoted to the murder itself is actually very small. Much of the work is biographical in approach. Knight dwells in excessive detail on Kirov’s childhood and youth, in a manner strangely reminiscent of Soviet revolutionary hagiographies (indeed she relies for much of her information on unashamedly partisan biographies with titles such as *Comrade Kirov*). She then considers his revolutionary career, his role in the Civil War and in the Caucasus, and finally his activity as Leningrad party leader. Only about two-thirds of the way into the book does she embark upon the story of the murder itself and its repercussions.

The justification for this approach seems to be that in order to elucidate possible motives for the murder, we need to assess how much of a threat Kirov represented to Stalin. Was Kirov a “moderate” or a “liberal,” as some have claimed? Knight makes much of Kirov’s cultural enthusiasms, his “humanity,” his work with the prerevolutionary bourgeois press, and his cooperation with the Mensheviks. Kirov, she argues, was a Bolshevik of a very different stripe from V. I. Lenin, Stalin, and others—far more flexible and tolerant. Although toughened by the experience of Civil War, he retained some of his moderation. It is perhaps surprising, then, that he was sent in as a “hard man” to deal with the Zinoviev opposition in Leningrad. Knight claims that Kirov did not relish the role. Who would? He nevertheless did a pretty effective job.

Knight presents some interesting evidence of Kirov’s

ambivalence to aspects of the Stalin revolution. However, this does not add much weight to the existing case for regarding Kirov as a potential threat to Stalin. Many Bolsheviks probably felt similar doubts on occasion; Kirov was not necessarily atypical in this respect. Ultimately, he always followed the Stalin line when it mattered and, as Knight admits, could exhibit "Stalinist ruthlessness." The book does not provide conclusive evidence on the Seventeenth Party Congress affair or on the whole nature of the Kirov-Stalin relationship in 1934. The fact that Kirov wrote postcards home from his vacation with Stalin in Sochi in the summer of 1934 in which he complained about the heat is hardly indicative of a souring of the relationship. As far as the actual circumstances of the murder itself are concerned, Knight has little new light to shed on the murky picture.

While Knight goes to great lengths to implicate Stalin, alternative scenarios are given a rather cursory treatment. The idea that Leonid Nikolaev may have had personal motives for the murder—for example, that his wife (a local party employee) could have been having an affair with Kirov, is dismissed on the unconvincing grounds that she was too plain. The possibility of a foreign plot is almost completely ignored.

We emerge from the book as much in the dark as when we began and with a feeling that while this may be an entertaining detective story for a non-expert readership, it has little to offer the specialist. It is not a proper political biography of Kirov (something that would indeed be valuable), nor does it add much to Robert Conquest's more concise speculations on the Kirov murder.

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SHEILA FITZPATRICK. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times; Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 288. \$27.50.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Sheila Fitzpatrick almost singlehandedly created the field of Soviet social history with an impressive series of pioneering, now classic studies: *The Cultural Revolution in Russia 1928–1931* (1978), *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1921–1934* (1979), and *The Russian Revolution* (1982). Book after book opened entirely new areas of research, explored old subjects from new perspectives, and forever altered the way experts perceived the USSR between 1917 and the outbreak of World War II. Her latest book once again casts new light on a hitherto neglected facet of Stalinism: the everyday life of ordinary citizens in the major urban and industrial centers of the USSR. Some important aspects of urban life, however, like work, education, political participation, and culture, both high and low, go unexplored. Instead, Fitzpatrick focuses her attention on domestic life and shows how ordinary people coped with the chronic privations and political terror of these often awful times. The book surveys the complex, improb-

able society of urban Russia in the 1930s, from the new Soviet elite proud of its relatively limited privileges to persecuted social outcasts, called "the disenfranchised," consisting in the main of now downtrodden prerevolutionary and New Economic Policy (NEP) elites. Due to Stalinism's inherent arbitrariness and caprice, however, all strata of urban society paradoxically could very well end up in the same places: the icy wastes of the gulag and the torture chambers of the OGPU/NKVD.

Unlike other studies of "everydayness" that neglect the role of the state, the state seems to be everywhere in this book, as it was in fact. In Stalin's times, the state was the sole employer and distributor of goods as well as the propagator of the Terror. Yet Fitzpatrick focuses not so much on the public but on the private lives of ordinary urbanites, examining consumption, family life, and marriage. She is especially interested in how the urban population coped with the manifold inconveniences and random disasters of daily life in the 1930s via friendship, family ties, connections (*blat*), patronage networks, faith in a "better future" promised in Stalinist propaganda, efforts at self-improvement and self-transformation, social mobility, and, paradoxically, the images of abundance propagated in the mass media and popular culture. The average citizen, as Fitzpatrick sees him/her, was "a string puller, freeloader, mouther of slogans" and, above all else, "a resourceful survivor," willing to take risks and anything but passive or cowed.

Like Fitzpatrick's other works, this book rests on years of research in a wide array of central and local Soviet archives, the daily press, U.S.-held portions of the Smolensk Archive, and the Harvard Interview Project, interviews of Soviet citizens displaced by World War II. It also draws heavily on the latest research by a new, post-Soviet generation of Soviet-era specialists like Sarah Davies, Lesli Rimmel, Jochen Hellbeck, Elena Osokina, and Fitzpatrick's many extraordinary, able graduate students at the University of Chicago, to whom this study is dedicated. Fitzpatrick taps "the voice of the people" through effective use of diaries, memoirs, letters of complaint or denunciation, and public discussions of new legislation (like the new Stalin Constitution, changes in family policies, and the ban on abortion), which were commonplace in the mid-1930s but petered out thereafter. However, the peoples' voices drift in and out of the text and are only rarely studied in context, while little or no source criticism is employed. Fitzpatrick unquestioningly accepts the conclusions of the Harvard Project that the average Soviet citizen was fatalistic, passive but at the same time often a reckless risk taker. Chuck O'Connor's excellent dissertation on the Harvard Project goes unmentioned, although this study shows that the interviewees were not typical run-of-the-mill Soviet citizens at all but rather refugees selected by a Vlasovite organization of Soviet citizens who fought for the Nazis in World War II.

Still, the virtues of this book for outweigh its defi-

ciencies. It is a "fun read" that offers many insights to specialists and students alike.

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#### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

ALAN K. BOWMAN and EUGENE ROGAN, editors. *Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times*. (Proceedings of the British Academy, number 96.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 427. \$72.00.

Alan K. Bowman and Eugene Rogan, editors of this collection of essays on the agricultural history of Egypt from Pharaonic to modern times, deserve congratulations for bridging the conventional historiographical divides. In their introduction, the editors make the telling observation that the history of Egypt has for too long been encapsulated into water-tight compartments, each historical period set off from the others by the linguistic skills and source materials required of scholars to deal with it. One has only to attend the annual meetings of the American Research Center of Egypt to realize the validity of this comment. At this scholarly gathering, Egyptologists rarely talk with Islamists who in turn do not converse with modernists. The irony is all the more apparent because so many scholars as well as lay observers believe in the unchanging character of the Egyptian people and their history, attributing the supposed uniformities in Egypt's historical experience to the dominating rhythms of the Nile river and the confining nature of the Nile river basin.

The authors of the eighteen essays collected in this volume take aim at such truisms, emphasizing change as a key ingredient in the history of agriculture in Egypt over the centuries. All of the essays are of a high caliber, and they provide the non-expert reader with insights into the present state of knowledge, the primary source materials, and the main bibliographical records of the different historical fields by which scholars tackle the long history of the country.

*Le description de l'Égypte: État moderne (1809–1822)* has always been the Bible for historians interested in Egyptian rural life at the dawn of the modern era. Many modern-day scholars, like the French savants who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte on his expedition of conquest to Egypt in 1798 and who wrote *Le description*, have assumed that the crops, hydraulic techniques, and village life of 1800 could be traced back to the very beginnings of settled agriculture in the Nile river basin. Not so, the contributors to the volume inform us. While the premise is not entirely erroneous (since several of the essays remark on how accurately the French descriptions apply to their own periods), the general thrust of these essays is to highlight changes in hydraulic technology, landholding arrangements, crops, village life, and the power of the central government over the countryside.

The first substantive essay, by Christopher J. Eyre, makes the important observation that during most of the Pharaonic period the main individual involved in regulating Nile flood waters was not a government official, as those who see Egypt as predominantly a hydraulic society assume, but a local notable whose task it was to ensure that his villagers received adequate water for a full harvest. It was only in the Ptolemaic age that Egypt moved beyond a regimen of growing a single crop per year to the cultivation of two or even three crops. This development awaited improvements in hydraulic technology, notably the introduction of the archimedean screw and the buffalo-drawn water wheel (*sakia*) for lifting low Nile waters from the canals.

The essays by Dorothy J. Thompson, Michael Sharp, and several others underline another theme of the collection: the dependence of researchers on a few, quite probably unrepresentative documents for much of the history of Egypt, at least until the appearance of archival records in the Mamluk period in the thirteenth century. A large number of documents for the Greek, Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, in fact, come from the Faiyūm depression, which each of the authors assures the readers is unlikely to be representative of conditions in the heart of the Nile river basin. The location of Faiyūm, away from the Nile and on the edge of the desert, favored document preservation. But Faiyūm was recently reclaimed land that the Greek and Roman conquerors doled out to their military supporters. Thus, the area had a larger royal and military presence than the rest of Egypt. Even so, its documents allow Egyptologists to trace the arrival of important new crops in Egypt, like hard or durum wheat for the traditional emmer wheat and olive and fruit trees, and to note the improvements in water-lifting methods.

A. L. Udovitch's use of the Geniza documents for the pre-Mamluk centuries offers further proof that much of what we know of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries comes down to us through the records of a highly specialized group of Cairo-based Jewish merchants. These merchants facilitated the cultivation of flax throughout Middle Egypt and profited from the development of a textile industry and long-distance trading in raw flax and textiles. But, inevitably, the information these records offer on the rest of Egypt is scanty. The final set of essays by Kenneth M. Cuno, Ghislaine Alleaume, Roger Owen, Nicholas S. Hopkins, and Reem Saad, when placed next to those that deal with Egypt before the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, makes clear the vast changes that Egypt witnessed over the last two centuries. The annual Nile flood is now contained behind a series of massive dams, allowing Egypt to support a total population that would have been unimaginable in earlier eras. It is altogether fitting that Saad's final essay examines the debates surrounding the reform of Gamal Abdel Nasser's famous land reform law of 1952, which in addition to redistributing land from



large estates to small holders also provided security of tenure to Egypt's tenant farmers. The new law intends to take back many of those guarantees, unsettling tenant security in the name of economic efficiency and the free market. Naturally, it has the endorsement of Egypt's new capitalist class.

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CARL F. PETRY, editor. *The Cambridge History of Egypt*. Volume 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. xix, 645. \$120.00.

This volume is one of two on the history of Egypt from the Islamic conquest to the present. Covering nearly a millennium (640–1517), the eighteen chapters contained therein provide a continuous narrative of Egypt's history from the Arab/Islamic conquest to that of the Ottomans. Because of Egypt's role in Islamic history and because of its strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean, this volume has the added benefit of providing a history of the region as a whole. The scope of this book, its content, and the information provided by the authors will make it an indispensable resource for students and teachers. And because of the inclusion of significant issues and controversies in the history of Egypt and its society and in providing a rich bibliography of primary sources and modern studies, this book will also become a valuable springboard for those who want to do research on Islamic Egypt.

The chapters on the political history of Egypt provide an implicit periodization: Egypt as a province and Egypt as an imperial center. Thus, the first three chapters provide a history of Egypt first as a Roman province, then as a Byzantine, and lastly as a newly acquired territory in the emerging caliphate. These chapters provide the background to the formation of Egyptian society in the Middle Ages, discussing the political, economic, and social structure as it evolved during Roman and Byzantine rule. Religious developments, especially during the later Byzantine period, are particularly relevant for understanding the significant transition of Egypt into an Islamic province.

Egypt, however, soon began to acquire enough assets to resume its role as an independent state. This process is outlined by Thierry Bianquis, who provides a theoretical and empirical discussion of the rise of Ibn Tulun, the governor who ushered in Egyptian autonomy. Bianquis's account is interesting since he tied this process to the larger developments in the Abbasid Caliphate.

Autonomous Egypt came under Fatimid control, whose newly founded capital, Cairo, developed into the dominant regional center for several centuries to come. Paul Walker and Paula Saunders provide two chapters explaining Fatimid history, one on the Isma'ili *Da'wa* (propaganda) and the other on the Fatimid state. They not only provide a comprehensive survey of the subject, but both are written in an

accessible fashion and in a manner to integrate the Fatimids into Islamic history as a whole.

But while the Fatimids provided Egypt with independence, it was the Ayyubids, says Michael Chamberlain, who provide the turning point in Egypt's modern history. Saladin and his successors regained Egypt's regional preeminence and introduced many institutions that remained in practice until the modern era. The Ayyubids' relationship with the Crusades figures prominently in the history of this short-lived dynasty, a relationship that continued to dominate the energy of their successors, the Mamluks. Linda Northrup traces the rise of the Mamluk sultanate and discusses their significance for Egypt and the culture of the region, especially with the added threat of the Mongols.

The Mamluk period is usually divided into two eras, and while Northrup dealt with the first, Jean-Claude Garcin dealt with the second. It may be argued that aside from the ascendancy of the Circassians (as opposed to the Qipchaks) there is little difference between the two Mamluk periods. Yet, Garcin provides the reader with an excellent account of the characteristics of the Circassian state and what distinguished it from its predecessors.

The last of the political studies are two chapters which cover the end of the Mamluks and the Ottoman conquest. Carl F. Petry provides interesting insight into the Mamluks' attempt to grapple with the changes that transformed Western Asia during the sixteenth century—most significantly the aggressive interactions of the Ottomans and the Europeans—that focuses on the paradox of creative adaptability by a conservative, static, military caste. Thus the reader is given, for example, an account of the Mamluks' experimentation in the manufacture and use of guns. That the Mamluks were unable to master the use of firearms is a factor that contributed to their swift defeat at the hands of the Ottomans in 1517. The circumstances of this encounter and the subsequent events leading to the occupation of Egypt are told by Michael Winter.

Once again Egypt became a province in a vast empire. Coincidentally, this volume begins, as Stephen Humphreys states, when the Arabs yanked Egypt from Constantinople's clutches and ends when the Ottomans put it back in. This point, and other developments, are highlighted by Humphrey when he discusses Egypt's place in the Eurasian and African "world system."

Readers of this volume are further treated to seven more chapters on Egyptian society and culture. The first of these has already been mentioned in connection with the Fatimids, whose era witnessed the solidification of trends which affected Egypt's society, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. The non-Muslim communities are dealt with in two articles. Terry Wilfong covers the Christian community and describes its transformation into a minority due to conversions to Islam, especially after the Bashmuric rebellion of 832 A.D. The Jews, who seem to have been transformed to a wholly urban population, were discussed

by Norman Stillman. Aspects of Egypt's economy can be gleaned from the chapter on the monetary history of Egypt, by Warren Schultz, while the larger social, religious, and economic trends are brought out by Jonathan Berkey.

The wealth of information and the incredible detail brought out in this volume are due, to a large extent, to the vast amount of sources written by chroniclers who lived in Egypt or its surroundings. Donald Little presents a survey of the historiography of the period. He shows that a new type of historiography emerged, *siyasa* oriented, a political one that is devoid of epistemological or theological concerns. The art and architecture of Egypt is discussed by Irene Bierman. What is refreshing about her account is that she frames the discussion within two periodizations. The first is a dynastic one not different from the standard accounts. The second, as she argues, is the introduction of the institution/practice of *waqf*, charitable endowments. Bierman says that such an institution provided a substantial leap in the patronage and the available financial backing of structures and other artifacts so as to constitute a whole new period in the history of art and architecture in Egypt.

The book as a whole could benefit from this dynamic approach to periodization, for indeed there have been many significant turning points in this long history to be the basis of periodization of even Islamic history. Aside from this last criticism (and it is really a failing of the discipline and not of the authors), this volume is an impressive achievement. Each of the chapters is expertly written. And with the chronology, the glossary, and the substantial bibliography, this book should have a lasting value.

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ALEXANDRE POPOVIC. *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century*. Foreword by HENRY LEWIS GATES, JR. Translated by LÉON KING. (Princeton Series on the Middle East.) New York: Markus Wiener. 1999. Pp. xiv, 207. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

In the original French edition (*Révolte des esclaves en Iraq au III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* [1976]), Alexandre Popovic declared his intention to present the "factual history" of the revolt of the Zanj (869–883). This was circumspect at the time because of exaggerated and unfounded claims in recent "scholarship" that had no basis in the Arabic sources. An apparently exhaustive review of the Arabic materials enabled Popovic to distinguish what can be known about the Zanj and their leader from what cannot. He presented the information and left it up to the reader to decide what it means.

Most of this book is a blow-by-blow account of the military history of the revolt. Popovic remains non-committal about many interpretive issues, such as the theory of Heinz Halm that the revolt was mainly Shī'ī and led by non-Arab Muslims (*mawālī*), who used the Zanj to carry it out. Popovic does argue against Faysal

al-Sāmīr's theory of class conflict but sees the revolt as a social uprising by blacks, peasants, and Arab bedouin without any real program. Popovic is also convinced that the Zanj leader, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, was of Arab descent (but not an 'Alid) and grew up in Iran; and that there is no evidence for an alliance between the Zanj and Qarāmiṭa or the Saffārīs, but that there is evidence of relations between the Zanj and Shī'īs. He shows that the famous desertion of black soldiers from the 'Abbāsī army to join the Zanj occurred at the beginning of the revolt, that there were not many examples, and that it should be seen against the reports that thousands of pardoned Zanj were integrated into the 'Abbāsī army in the last stages of the revolt. Finally, Popovic argues that the results of the Zanj revolt have been exaggerated. It may have helped the Tūlūnīs, Saffārīs, Byzantines, and Qarāmiṭa indirectly, but there were no great economic or social consequences. There was no radical change in the social structure or any great effect on irrigation and agriculture in lower Iraq. On the whole, Popovic is very cautious in his use of evidence.

This English translation has been simplified for a non-specialist audience, and the bibliography has been updated with publications since 1973 (beginning with no. 207a). But only the authors' names are given in the footnotes, without the titles of their works or dates of publication, while the bibliography is organized chronologically by date of publication. The bibliographic index keyed to the numbered entries of the bibliography in the French edition has been omitted in the English edition, which makes the bibliography almost impossible to use. This is not an edition for scholars. One must still refer to the French edition for the references. In too many places, sources are not cited for direct quotations at all, and in one place a direct quotation from al-Mas'ūdī in the French edition (p. 102) masquerades as two paragraphs of Popovic's text in the translation (pp. 63–64). French spellings of proper names are not always Anglicized ("Benou yachkor" [p. 63]), and the translation is not always reliable or accurate. Footnote 60 to "The Zanj went back to al-Abbās canal" (p. 67) reads "Disease was rampant in the swamps." The relevance of this comment must certainly escape the reader who has not read in the French edition (p. 106) "Les Zang̃ retournent avec beaucoup de difficulté," which has not been completely translated. The twelfth-century copyist of Ibn Hawqal in the French edition (p. 102) is anachronistically called "a copyist in the employ of Ibn Hawqal" (10th c.) in the translation (p. 84). Even non-specialists will need to use this translation with care.

This English edition is a sorry travesty of one of the best monographs on the Zanj revolt. Popovic deserves to have his work accessible to an English-reading audience, but he also deserved to be better served.

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KATE FLEET, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman Empire: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 204. \$59.95.

The economic history of the early Ottoman Empire (defined in the work under review as the period from the early 1300s to the conquest of Constantinople) is still filled with enormous gaps that pose great challenges to the historian. Most of early Ottoman history is known primarily through external sources, Islamic and European; the earliest rulers, for example, are remembered by the earliest Ottoman historians primarily in legendary fashion long after their demise. That fact makes European, and especially Italian and Byzantine, sources crucial for understanding the early Ottomans. After all, the Ottomans were only one of several Anatolian Muslim principalities during the early fourteenth century that vied for trade with Italian city-states in a constant counterpoint with their enemies, the Byzantines. And it was Italian merchants who passed on to other Europeans such terms now common in English as "Ottoman," "Grand Turk," and, somewhat later, "Sublime Porte." Kate Fleet has produced a dense and intriguing monograph on the subject of trade between the Ottomans and, primarily, the Genoese. It is not for the faint of heart, but there is much here to reward the interested reader. Fleet's erudition in Italian, Turkish, Byzantine, and Arabic sources of the period is impressive. This reviewer's general impulse is to marvel that there was any trade at all, given the many barriers—cultural and economic—to easy exchange: varying and variable currencies, differing systems of weights and measurements, the periodic wars, and conflicting systems of taxation and government regulation.

Fleet's work is divided into ten chapters and five appendixes. The latter, dealing with exchange rates, the price of slaves in Constantinople, alum prices, imported cloth prices, and documents, illustrate the complexity of the documentary record. The actual chapters contain very detailed accounts of the trade in commodities, slaves, grain, wine, alum, cloth, and metals. The reader is assisted by a fine glossary (containing primarily Italian and Turkish terms). The chapters that chart change between the early 1300s and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (chapters one and ten) are among the most difficult to follow, but that is due to the complexity of the subject matter: the intimate interconnections of Byzantine policy, Ottoman expansion, Balkan unrest, and Italian mercantile trading interests. A good set of maps would have been an enormous help to the non-specialized reader.

Fleet's main point is that the relations of Turks (the broadbrush term employed by Italians, which extended to their name for Anatolia, namely *Turchia*) and Ottomans was shaped by strong commercial interests, frequent diplomatic exchanges, and a strong desire for trading agreements. Fleet concludes that "Far from

being a history shrouded in darkness, pierced only by battles and the clouds of an army on the march, the early Ottoman state needs to be seen not as something distinctly eastern as opposed to western, or viewed in the light of a western Christendom-Muslim Turkish conflict, but to be understood as an integral part of the Mediterranean economy" (p. 141). Hooray! No clash of civilizations here, but there are outstanding questions; there always will be. This reviewer has a few to mention in this brief compass, and not in criticism of the author. First, the old chestnut about the "Ottoman economic mind," or, more accurately, economic policy. Fleet shows, by implication, that the Ottomans "apparently in contrast to the emirs of Menteshe and Aydin, controlled and manipulated the markets, actively seeking to use their economic muscle to improve their relations with western states" (p. 68). Second, Fleet does show that the "Ottomans do appear to have had a more dynamic economic policy than other Turkish rulers in the area" of Anatolia (p. 140). Of course they did. We know the outcome: they won, against both Muslim and Byzantine opponents. What comes across clearly in this monograph are the close interrelationships of Ottomans and Italians (primarily Genoese) in the early period of Ottoman history. How does that square, then, with the ghazi as holy warrior thesis of militant expansion? Or must we acknowledge that the Ottomans could do both?

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#### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

STEPHEN BELCHER, *Epic Traditions of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 276. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

In order to appreciate fully Stephen Belcher's valuable study, some preliminary words on the history of African epic studies seem appropriate. Despite the publication of some extended narratives on culture heroes, such as Djibril Tamsir Niane's *Soundjata* (1960), and Daniel P. Biebuyck and Kahombo Mateene's *Mwindo Epic from the Banyanga* (1969), until 1970 scholars tended to deny the existence of the epic genre in Africa. This opinion was the result of, on the one hand, the hegemonic position of Homer in academia, and, on the other hand, the absence of epic texts. In the late 1970s, Isidore Okpewho and John Johnson elaborated a sound theoretical basis for the African epic by demonstrating their literary richness and by criticizing Homer's hegemony in literature. They used complete transcriptions and translations of African epics that had recently been collected and published. As a result, the existence of African epic is now established beyond any doubt.

Yet, many authors on African epic still suffer from a kind of missionary zeal to prove that the African epic really exists. Belcher labels this group "the defensive generation." These authors may include too wide a

range of texts (such as trickster tales, legends, panegyric), and this approach often is more counterproductive than useful. Belcher demonstrates convincingly that African epic can and must be studied critically in its diversity and, at the same time, that many texts hitherto considered to be "epic" must be assigned to other literary genres.

Belcher's definition of epic is, therefore, more exclusive than his predecessors': "epic is an extended historical narrative, delivered in public performance, most often with musical accompaniment by a specialized performer" (p. xiv). Although he does not deny that a text is shaped for artistic purposes, Belcher emphasizes the relatively fixed character of an epic text. With this balanced and critical approach, the author will certainly set the framework for analyzing material that will be collected in the future.

One might argue that Belcher's task is easy and his argument self-evident, considering the large number of texts available these days. I would object to such a claim. The author does indeed make use of an immense collection of epic texts; for instance, for the Sunjata epic he uses twenty-seven versions. One should remember, however, that gathering this material is a major heuristic achievement that must have taken years of work in obscure libraries and offices, since most African epic texts have not been well distributed and several even have not been officially published.

Five groups of epics, most of them from West Africa, are compared in relation to each other (internally within a group and externally between groups): epics of Central Africa, traditions of the Soninke, Sunjata and the traditions of the Manden, Bamana epics, and traditions of the Fula. Moreover, two important genres are presented and discussed in relation to epic: hunters' traditions and epics (chapter two), and emergent traditions (chapter eight). Belcher carefully differentiates all kinds of idioms—for instance, on heroism—and illustrates these idioms with examples from carefully constructed summaries of each epic. Thus, he manages to escape from dogmatism or missionary zeal to prove that the African epic exists, and this is one of the merits of his book. It convincingly demonstrates that comparisons between epic traditions often obscure equally illuminating differences.

In general, historians will agree with Belcher's approach, but a note of warning is appropriate: Belcher does not treat the epics as sources with which to reconstruct the past. This has been often done by enthusiastic or badly instructed researchers, but Belcher rightly refrains from this (impossible) enterprise. Epics are often old—for instance, the Sunjata epic was mentioned by the fourteenth-century Arab traveler/researcher Ibn Battuta—but historians should always be aware that the epic texts have been collected relatively recently.

Belcher summarizes epics, and therefore the book does not contain linear translations of texts, but these can be found in the anthology the author published

with John William Johnson and Thomas A. Hale (*Oral Epics from Africa: Vibrant Voices from a Vast Continent* [1997]). It must be noted that these two books do not address the same problematic and are not aimed at the same audience. While *Oral Epics from Africa* is a fine reader for undergraduate courses on African literature or oral tradition, Belcher's new book is a piece of scholarship that will please specialists on African history and literature. Indiana University Press must be congratulated once again for having made a valuable contribution to the study of African oral literature.

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BERNTH LINDFORS, editor. *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 302. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$16.95.

Ethnological show business, as editor Bernth Lindfors notes in the introduction to this volume, has a long history in Europe and became increasingly common in the nineteenth century. Many ethnological displays featured Africans, and Lindfors has assembled ten compelling case studies of African shows. The book is loosely organized chronologically, covering shows beginning in 1810 through the 1930s, primarily in Britain, the United States, and South Africa. These shows and their African performers, impresarios, and audiences are all featured within this collection of essays.

Z. S. Strother's essay on Sara Baartman ("the Hottentot Venus"), Lindfors's essay on the London Zulu show of 1853, and Veit Erlmann's essay on the South African Choir in England in 1891–1893 demonstrate in nuanced analyses the ways that such shows' visual representations, narrative, and dramaturgy played into and shaped public interpretations of Africa and Africans throughout the nineteenth century. Strother addresses the representations and interpretations of the "Body Hottentot" from the eighteenth century to the present day. Beginning with early travelogue engravings of Khoikhoi peoples living at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, she demonstrates how this imagery influenced the promotional materials and the interpretation of Baartman's display in London in 1810. She analyzes the shifting terrain of this ethnological display that, on the one hand, promoted Baartman as unique and, on the other, presented her as a typical biological type. The essay concludes with an analysis of the present-day revival of Baartman's story in the scientific and anthropological literature and in contemporary art and theater, which sees her story as an example of the history of the medical construction of sexuality and interprets her ordeal as a poignant and iconic example of the Western exploitation of the female black body.

The Zulu show of 1853 was a resounding success in London, and, as Lindfors notes, it outstripped its competition at the gate. Lindfors analyzes how the



ethnographic narrative and the dramaturgy of this show contributed to its success and the ways in which these very elements were used by Charles Dickens in a scathing, ethnocentric, and racist essay aimed at debunking the myth of the "noble savage." Erlmann's essay on the 1891–1893 tour of the African Choir in England locates his analysis within the theoretical framework of consumerism and an emerging globalism. He demonstrates how the choir's dramatic sartorial display—first appearing in native dress and then concluding the program in Victorian costumes—created an ambiguous interpretive framework that served multiple and sometimes competing intellectual and political projects both within Europe and in South Africa.

Shane Peacock's and Jeffrey Green's essays concentrate on the careers of two late nineteenth-century impresarios of African shows, William Leonard Hunt and James Jonathan Harrison, respectively. Hunt produced Zulu and San Bushman shows in London and toured them in the United States. Hunt, who took the stage name Farini, began his career as a performer on the high wire and trapeze. After retiring from performing, he became a successful impresario, promoting exotic freak shows like the human cannonball and the mermaid. In 1879, he turned his attention to Africa, staging a series of dramatic Zulu shows in London and the United States. In 1885, he organized a show of six San from the Kalahari Desert area. Billed as "Farini's Earthmen," they played London and toured throughout the eastern United States in 1885. Later that year, he made a trip to the Kalahari Desert and wrote a popular travelogue in which he claimed to have found the remains of an ancient civilization. His legend of the "Lost City of the Kalahari" remains part of his African entertainment legacy. Harrison created a Congo pygmy show that played in London and toured throughout Britain.

Green analyzes Harrison's promotional strategies, the popular newspaper reviews, and the various encounters that Harrison staged for the troupe, including public shows, studio photography and recording sessions, meetings with anthropologists, weekends in the country homes of British nobility, and an audience with royalty.

Neil Parson's essay examines the performing career of Franz Taaibosch, and that by David Killingray and Willie Henderson presents the career of Joseph Howard Lee. Parson's biography of Taaibosch, or "Clicko" (his stage name), is set against the backdrop of a long history of stereotypic images of Bushman or Hottentots created in the West through the medium of popular entertainment. Taaibosch was born in South Africa and began his career in vaudeville in England and France in 1913. He died in New York in 1940, having ended his career performing in the Ringling Brothers sideshow.

Killingray and Henderson's essay on Lee is equally intriguing. Lee, who was born in Baltimore, created an African persona for himself, Bata Kindai Amgoza ibn

LoBagola. As LoBagola, he appeared on stage, wrote a fictional autobiography, *An African Savage's Own Story* (1929), and lectured widely in America, Europe, and Africa. The analysis of his life, career, and travails are set against the background of the black experience in the United States and United Kingdom at the turn of the century.

Robert Rydell's, Harvey Blume's, and Robert Gordon's essays analyze the trajectory and shifts in interpretation in African ethnological shows through the nineteenth century into the mid-twentieth century. Rydell concentrates on representations of Africans in American World Fairs from the nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries; Blume analyzes a phenomenon he calls Barnumism, a mixture of fact and fabrication, that shaped the exhibition of Ota Benga at the Bronx Zoo. Robert Gordon's essay on "Bain's Bushmen" at the Johannesburg Empire Exhibit in 1936 demonstrates how the tropes of earlier African shows in Europe were reinvented in the colonies, but with a twist. Narratives created around ideologically marginal groups, like the Bushmen, became important for the development of the mythology of apartheid.

This book is a welcome and valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on the history and politics of popular representations of Africa and Africans in the West. The essays are thoroughly researched, well-written, and nuanced, and the collection presents important new materials on a relatively little-known topic. Part of the book's appeal is that it is interdisciplinary. The authors bring different perspectives and emphasis to their analysis, including insights drawn from anthropology, art history, history and biography, and literary studies.

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DICKSON A. MUNGAZI. *The Last British Liberals in Africa: Michael Blundell and Garfield Todd*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1999. Pp. xvi, 285. \$69.50.

In this book, Dickson A. Mungazi highlights the contested nature of white politics in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Kenya during the last decades of colonial rule. He does so by examining the political lives of two "liberal" white politicians. The book has an interesting premise, and the author has collected a large body of evidence on the political lives of the two men. Although it makes a contribution to the study of decolonization in Africa and demonstrates the diversity of positions held by members of settler and colonial societies, it will probably be of interest only to specialists in the field.

Garfield Todd came to Rhodesia as a missionary in the 1920s and eventually served as prime minister in the late 1950s. He was removed in a political coup by his own cabinet who opposed his efforts to increase education for Africans. After Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front took power and declared independence from Great Britain, he became perhaps the most prominent

white critic of the racial oppression in Rhodesia and eventually spent time in jail for his views. After the Lancaster House Accords brought majority rule to Zimbabwe, he served as a senator in the new legislature.

Michael Blundell's liberalism was perhaps less overt than Todd's. Blundell came to Kenya as a very young man and eventually became a successful farmer with a large estate that employed numerous African workers. He became an elected member of the Legislative Council of Kenya (a body that had much less power than Rhodesia's parliament) after World War II, where he did support some level of accommodation to African nationalism. However, Blundell fully supported the repression of the Mau Mau movement of the mid-1950s in Kenya, and his support for the transition to majority rule comes across as more grudging than Todd's.

Mungazi sees these men as the African agents of a British liberalism he traces back to H. H. Asquith and Lloyd George. Unfortunately, he makes this argument mostly in personal terms, not in either intellectual or social ones. As such, the book does not make broader arguments about the contested nature of colonial domination in settler societies in British Africa. There is an interesting argument to be made, but it is not the one the author sets out.

The book is marred by repetitiveness in many places and a rambling style that often brings in unrelated material. Mungazi's use of the large existing literature on the liberation movements in both countries is extremely spotty. Although the prominent colonial official and eventual Kenyan governor Philip Mitchell plays a large role in the story, the author makes no reference to David Throup's biography of him. Indeed, Mungazi ignores many of the most important works on Mau Mau and the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. Such lacunae limit the impact of the work.

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HUGH MACMILLAN and FRANK SHAPIRO. *Zion in Africa: The Jews of Zambia*. London: I. B. Tauris; in association with the Council for Zambia Jewry. 1999. Pp. ix, 342. \$59.50.

This book by Hugh Macmillan and Frank Shapiro sets out to study the Jews who migrated to Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia, primarily in the twentieth century. Cecil J. Rhodes's venture into this part of Africa had opened it to colonial settlement in the 1890s. Most of the early Jewish immigrants came from the Baltic states of Lithuania and Latvia in the Russian Empire. There were seventy Jewish settlers in Zambia in 1911, and they increased to about 300 by the mid-1930s. In 1954, there were between 1,000 and 1,200 Jews. Emigration reduced this number to 300 in the late 1960s. In 1970, fewer than 100 Jews lived in Zambia.

The early Jewish settlers engaged in the Barotseland

cattle trade. Many expanded into meat-packing and other kinds of ventures. When Asian competition shut them out from African retail trade in some areas, Jewish shops gradually shifted to major towns, where they supplied goods to other white settlers and dominated some trades. Thus, for example, large-owned jewelry business in Lusaka was in Jewish hands. They were also prominent in light industries like milling, printing, furniture, manufacture, metal fabrication, foundries, and engineering.

A few individuals stand out for their entrepreneurship. The Susman brothers, Elie and Harry, started their business ventures in the 1920s with the cattle trade. Harry Wulfsohn (born Hozia Wulfsohns) came to Zambia in 1930 and eventually established a public company in association with the Susman brothers in 1941 under the name Susman Brothers and Wulfsohn Ltd. In another business venture, Elie Susman took over the second largest meat-packing company in the Copperbelt region and invited his son-in-law, Maurice Rabb, to come from Johannesburg to join his business. The Gersh brothers, Maurice and Harry, established themselves in secondary industry and services. By the time Zambia became independent in 1964, the Susman, Wulfsohn, and Gersh group of companies was the largest non-mining conglomeration of business interests in the country in meat packing, agriculture, urban trade, and secondary industry.

Just how did this small Jewish community maintain its identity? Affiliation to Jewish religious institutions was important in maintaining Jewishness. Most of the Zambian Jews were Ashkenazis, with small numbers from other traditions. Gradually the various Jewish communities built synagogues. The first was built in Livingstone in the early 1940s. The differences among the various traditions are hinted at in the book but not fully developed. In addition to religious worship, most Jews also identified with Zionism. The first Zionist organization was started in 1912 in Livingstone; and support for the Zionist cause grew, although local colonial officials rejected a proposal in the late 1930s to settle displaced Jews in Zambia.

Jews were active in Zambian public life and politics. Rabb was twice mayor of Livingstone in 1951 and 1952. In Zambia's national politics, three individuals with Lithuanian ancestry stand out. Roy Welensky became associated with white supremacy in his defense of the Federation. Simon Zukas, in contrast, identified strongly with Zambia's African nationalist cause. He was imprisoned and deported to London in 1952 but returned to a hero's welcome in 1964, after Zambia became independent, and went on to serve the government in a cabinet position. Aaron Milner's mother came from the Cele tribe. His identification with the nationalist cause won him a position in President Kenneth Kaunda's cabinet from 1964 to 1980.

Macmillan and Shapiro's loose definition of what constitutes Jewish ethnic identity allowed for the inclusion of every person of Jewish ancestry who might have had any connection in the past with Zambia. This

makes for anomalies, such as including scholars like Max Gluckman who was a Marxist rather than a Jew and Lewis H. Gann who was a Lutheran. Aaron Milner's mixed ancestry lessened his Jewishness. This is also the case of South African exiles like Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils, who were in Zambia only to conduct the liberation struggle from the African National Congress's base in Lusaka. In part, these anomalies arise because the authors combine the Jewish diaspora with the Zambian Jewish experience.

The book is the product of the Council of Jewry's endeavors to record the Jewish "contribution" to the development of Zambia. Three of the individuals who made up the History of the Jews in Zambia Project feature prominently in the book. The result is a kind of sanitized community history that in part sounds antiquarian. The author should have analyzed more closely Zambian Jewish relations with non-Jewish whites, Asians, and especially the indigenous Zambians. There is a need to place this Jewish history more firmly in the Zambian context.

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ROBERT ROSS. *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750–1850: A Tragedy of Manners*. (African Studies Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 203. \$54.95.

This book adds to Robert Ross's reputation as one of South Africa's premier historians as well as to what the book's dustjacket describes as "the new cultural history of South Africa" (a somewhat vague phrase, which is only partially clarified by the list of authors given in footnote 3 of chapter one). The broad concern of the book is to chart the process known throughout territories of the British Empire as "the establishment of a respectable society" (p. 5). A brief comparative statement illuminates the similarities that the Cape Colony shared with other colonies such as in America, the British Caribbean, Australia, and New Zealand (pp. 5–6). The bulk of the text explores the particular configuration of circumstances that governed how the Cape's inhabitants came to understand and construct the "codes of behavior" on which status and respectability rested.

The unstable mixture of cooperation and conflict that bound together the colony's various communities—English and Dutch-speaking whites; coloreds and blacks; Christians and Muslims—presented an unavoidable obstacle to the forging of a "civilized" and "respectable society." It fell to British ideas of respectability to mold together, although not always with success, the often discordant understandings of respectable behavior. Those "outside the inner core of society" sought to advance their social standing by "adopting the behavior and the outward signs of respectable [English] society" (p. 4). Cape (and, later, South African) liberalism therefore found itself defined by the formal denial of ethnic and racial politics

in a society in which these fissures clearly played important roles. In the process of imposing a degree of ideological cohesion onto a complex and divided society, British elites were well placed to shape the outlook and aspirations of the marginalized and excluded. Thus, when Dutch-speaking whites made their bid for inclusion, "they stressed a colonial-wide, not a specifically Dutch identity" and preferred the politics of incorporation to unseemly battles with their British rulers (p. 50). Unable to found their bid for inclusion in the Cape's dominant echelons on the basis of "individual respectability," blacks and coloreds in the first half of the 1800s responded by emphasizing their "race" precisely at a time when white ethnic exclusiveness was "hardening into racism" (p. 4).

Ross illustrates that the formation of black racial identities, far from being always pitted against white society, was a cultural asset in the demand for inclusion and that black identities became vehicles for asserting "respectability." The first mosque that Muslim ex-slaves built, for example, was deliberately modeled after a Dutch Reformed chapel (p. 143). And in the final pages of the book, Ross employs a rather weak example culled from the pen of Dr. Abdurahmin to demonstrate that even ardent antisegregationists could easily slip into the race-conscious language of the oppressor (p. 173). But black cultural identities were not always so accommodating of the evolving racial order. In a somewhat compressed chapter, Ross shows how an array of "outsiders" rebelled against the staid conventions of English respectability. If "respectability" meant sobriety and level-headedness, the genesis within and around Cape Town of a "canteen culture" (p. 129) expressed a more relaxed approach to "social evils" such as drinking, gambling, and prostitution. Analogously, the Cape's Muslim population generated their own public spectacles such as the *Khalifa* and private educational institutions (*madaris*) in order to disrupt British hegemony. Yet even the latter efforts betray the power of this hegemony: for just as leading Muslim clerics denounced the *Khalifa* for bringing disrepute to Islam, "the controlled, disciplined lifestyle [of the *madaris*] was in many ways similar to that advocated by Christian missionaries" (p. 142).

The penultimate chapter, on "acceptance and rejection," explores how the panic unleashed by the Kat River Rebellion led to the creation of the liberal, class-based, and nominally color-blind Cape constitution in 1853—in Ross's opinion, "one of the most democratic [constitutions] in the world at the time" (p. 4). Here, "respectability" took the form of a franchise qualification sufficiently low to promote the acceptance of poor whites and a handful of affluent blacks but sufficiently high to keep most blacks from the halls or power. The low franchise therefore achieved two goals simultaneously: it modernized white supremacy and rendered respectable the institutional means by which white supremacy could be maintained.

This book addresses important historical issues and makes a powerful case for Ross's "cultural" approach

to historiography. At the same time, the book breaks little conceptual ground. The major concerns of the volume hinge around Gramscian formulations about hegemony and the cultural reproduction of social power—familiar and perhaps exhausted concerns by now. Apart from this criticism, however, the book is an interesting read and does, in the end, shed welcome light on what Michel Foucault once called the “micro-foundations of power.” Ross demonstrates that matters as quotidian as the order of seating arrangements in church or as entertaining as cockfights in public spaces were all integrally linked to sensibilities about what constituted “respectable” behavior and that these sensibilities played crucial roles in the evolution of South Africa’s racial order.

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BILL NASSON. *The South African War 1899–1902*. (Modern Wars.) New York: Oxford University Press. Arnold, London. 1999. Pp. xvi, 304. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

For openers, what you call this war often reveals your political leanings. South African, Second War of Independence, Anglo-Boer, Boer, Anglo-South African: the terms are loaded ideologically. Bill Nasson’s very own title is regarded as threatening by conservative Afrikaners. In 1998, for example, the right-wing Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen sought assurance from the Minister of Arts and Culture that the “Anglo-Boer War” would not be renamed the “South African War.” It is precisely this emotive quality that makes the war such a controversial struggle, to this day. From the beginning, except for a few lightning strikes by Boer forces, strikes that never were exploited by their commanders, the outcome of the war was never in doubt. How could there be doubt, when the British were able to field an armed force of some 450,000 against two corrupt and disorganized agrarian states. The power of one of the world’s industrial giants with a vast empire behind it was arrayed against volunteer forces (and sometimes impressed fighters keen to return to their farms and families) numbering around 70,000. Yet the fighting dragged on for thirty-one months.

On the surface, the war completed the British imperial conquest of southern Africa. In reality, it did much more. Nasson’s book provides an account of how the political contest between Boer republics and republicanism and British imperialism and individual avarice led to warfare; how the sides conducted their operations, strategically and tactically; how the conflict affected the peoples and societies involved; how hostilities were ended; and how the war came to be remembered in South Africa.

In the end, Nasson agrees with A. J. P. Taylor, who wrote fifty years ago that in the long term “the eclipse

of Boer independence was of less importance than the deflation of British imperialism” (p. 276). In Taylor’s mind, “the victory has gone to the worst elements of both sides . . . the mining houses and the most narrow-minded Boers have joined hands to oppress and exploit native peoples” (p. 288).

Why do we have another book about this war? 1999 was the centenary of the war’s beginning. According to Nasson, no new general treatment in English has appeared since Thomas Pakenham’s *The Boer War* (1979). For pure description and careful documentation, it would be hard to beat Pakenham’s lively 659-page volume. The characters are riveting, the battles filled with stupidity and sometimes brilliance. But Pakenham takes the easy route and focuses on the military story. His narrative and his maps are superior. What does Nasson’s Map 3.1 add? Nasson’s battle maps are inadequately labeled as well. Where Nasson succeeds far beyond Pakenham is to provide a fairly compact account of the war combined with incisive and broad-gauged interpretation. His horizons are wider. He is able to take advantage of the subsequent work by Albert Grundlingh, Darrell Hall, Shula Marks, Stanley Trapido, Keith Surridge, and others, including Nasson’s own definitive work on the black experience. These scholarly contributions enable Nasson to add depth and texture to the tale of a gruesome war.

Nasson provides in this book an accessible narrative and interpretations filled with strong opinions and bright prose. He puts the war into larger social and international contexts. He often makes comparisons with the American Civil War but finds the South African War less consequential in the life of the nation. In a chapter on “Anglo-Boer Attitudes and Beliefs,” he discusses how the war was played out in various political arenas, and how it was used by various actors at the time and since. “The War a Century On” deals with how the war is perceived today, both in terms of historiography and in popular understanding. In apartheid South Africa, the war had a profound affect on historical consciousness and was a symbol used by Afrikaner nationalism in its struggle with English-speaking South Africans and the defense of apartheid. Control of the images and symbols of this struggle once seemed vital to the future of Afrikanerdom. Between the imperialists and Afrikaner nationalists, “these two millstones” as Willem van Heerden called them, “all other considerations [were] ground to paste” (“Africa and South African Politics,” in *South Africa in the African Continent* [1950]: p. 126). In that these are chiefly sectional judgments, Nasson’s task is not easy. Both sides ended feeling humiliated and frustrated. This history of the war, although it is forced to account for a lot of nationalistic baggage, is a splendid retelling, filled with suggestive insight and analysis.

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## Film Reviews

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SARA BAARTMAN: THE HOTTENTOT VENUS. Produced by Mail and Guardian Television (South Africa); written and directed by Zola Maseko. 1998; color; 52 minutes. Distributor: First Run/Icarus Films.

The story of the Khoi Khoi woman Sara Baartman (one of numerous spellings of her name) has haunted the Western imagination since her first appearance in an exhibition space in London in 1810. One of a dwindling number of Khoi Khoi (Bushmen or Hottentots in the language of the eighteenth century) in Cape Colony, she was contracted to come to England (and later the continent) literally to show her body to those willing to pay the entry fee. The Western fascination with the bodies of black women may not have had its origin with the exhibition of Baartman, but her appearance provided an image of black sexuality that dominated Western fantasy for the next two centuries. Indeed, with the scholarly work undertaken over the past two decades (by myself, among others), she continues to fascinate through her role as the scholarly focus of our shared Western attention to the black female body.

Zola Maseko's elegant and rather beautiful film recounts the life and times of Baartman in clear and acceptable terms, using both contemporary and contemporaneous sources. Not unpolemical in its presentation, it contrasts three "talking heads"—a liberal South African male biologist, a "colored" South African feminist activist, and a young, Francophone male historian—each of whom gets to tell her or his version of Baartman's tale. In the telling, the inner contradictions of her life and times begin to accumulate. For example, Baartman signed a contract with two entrepreneurs who offered to take her to Europe to exhibit herself. She evidently benefited financially from this arrangement. But the debate among the talking heads leads us to wonder: could she even imagine the notion of free choice in an age where she and her people had been all but destroyed by the Dutch colonists in South Africa? Did the contractual arrangement assume her autonomy, or was it a means of enslaving her? These questions are raised in the context of her times but cannot be answered except in our own, late twentieth-century terms.

The complex history of the Cape Colony, the life of Baartman, and the desire of Europeans to see her all have multiple functions in the interwoven narratives of the film. One moment of her life is captured most

clearly: Baartman's embarrassment and shame at being exposed, almost unclothed, in a cage on a London stage. According to the abolitionist newspapers of the day, she wept when she was forced onto the stage. The era's liberals made much of this as a sign of her exploitation. But it is also clear that she, while in England, was converted and baptized into the Anglican Church. This "fact" has a greater resonance. The Anglican Church's demand that converted "natives" behave and dress "like Europeans" may provide one of the grounds for her powerful emotional response to the staged display. She was suddenly being treated as a non-Christian.

The use that the abolitionists made of Baartman's case is also telling. They denied Baartman any agency at all, even though she seemed to be able to make choices. When the display was challenged in court, her testimony (in Dutch) laid claim to her ability to sign contracts and to address the nature of her treatment. Dutch, however, was the language of her exploiters, and of those who destroyed her people. Her baptism, on the other hand, we presume was conducted in English. And yet, with both the baptism and the court testimony, the question arises: what can be considered voluntary in such circumstances? The court and the church held that she was a free agent, but, as Jeremy Bentham might have asked: what is freedom in such a case?

Baartman's death in Paris and the final indignity, her autopsy and preservation by French anatomists who aimed to prove through her dead body the innate racial differences of Africans, is perhaps the best-known part of this tale. Here, too, the very presence of the full-body cast of her corpse on the screen adds a personal dimension to the tale. She is suddenly present, not merely as an object observed in the past but as an object that we, too, observe. And we are simultaneously fascinated by her image and repelled by the uses to which it has been (and still is) put.

This is a telling and quite powerful film. It would be very appropriate for any class in the history of racism or colonial history. And, just an hour long, it is perfect for a single classroom showing.

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THE CHAIR. Produced and directed by Nicholas O'Dwyer for Channel 4 International. 1998; color; 52 minutes. Distributor: First Run/Icarus Films.

The electric chair occupies a powerfully dark corner of the contemporary imagination, one whose contours are rarely contemplated or explored in any depth. British filmmaker Nicholas O'Dwyer's taut, atmospheric documentary *The Chair* offers an unforgettable glimpse into the obscure origins of the device, which, in a little over a century, has claimed more than 4,000 lives, the first being that of William Kemmler, a convicted wife-murderer who met his end in the bowels of Auburn Prison in upstate New York in 1890. As with other allegedly "humane" and "civilized" methods of capital punishment currently employed, the background to death by electrocution—a "profoundly American" innovation, as several of the film's commentators observe—involves a story with many troubling dimensions.

On the surface, *The Chair* is about an intensely personal entrepreneurial rivalry that developed between Thomas A. Edison, the iconic "alchemist"-inventor who brought the magical force of electricity into the everyday lives of the masses in the 1880s, and George Westinghouse, the railway-equipment magnate who sought to challenge Edison's initial dominance of a burgeoning and lucrative new market. Edison pioneered the use of generators that used direct current, we learn. But, by the end of the decade, he saw his product being eclipsed by the higher—and therefore potentially more lethal—voltage possible with the alternating current offered by Westinghouse.

At this point, the commercial and technological stories intersect with a legal one: the efforts by a New York State "Death Commission" to identify a means of capital punishment more befitting an enlightened, modern age, one at least more efficient, less freighted with frontier associations, and less prone to gruesome accidents than hanging, the method most in use at the time. Called before the commission to testify as an expert witness, and setting aside for the occasion his own often-expressed objections to the death penalty, Edison shrewdly employed his "godlike" credentials to promote the use of Westinghouse generators for executions. He intended in this way to discredit his competitor by linking Westinghouse's alternating current, in the most sensational way possible, with risks of danger and death in the public mind.

The commission accepted Edison's suggestions, and its written report to the governor endorsed blueprints for a prototype electric chair, which won out over other techniques considered, including firing squads, garrotes, and even the French guillotine. In part, the film argues, this was a reflection of a characteristic American effort to embrace "technological progress" as a core aspect of national self-definition. But footage of early experiments with animals—dogs, cats, rabbits, calves, and horses—performed in sordid nighttime secrecy in Edison laboratories reveal with graphic clarity that electrocution was hardly a quick and sure procedure, hardly the efficient, "humane," exacting scientific approach described by its advocates.

Nevertheless, the momentum for using the electric chair was now irresistible, and Kemmler, a wretch from an "infested district" of Buffalo, found himself sentenced to be its first human subject. The case drew international notoriety as Kemmler's lawyers (lavishly financed by Westinghouse in an effort to preserve his company's reputation) sought, unsuccessfully, to argue that this method of killing violated the prohibition against "cruel and unusual punishment" in the Eighth Amendment.

Kemmler is portrayed sympathetically in the film as a man who learned to read and write in prison, and who faced death with surprising, "manly" dignity. He became "a pawn in a commercial war-by-proxy" and calmly accepted official assurances of a painless exit. The slow, deliberate reenactment of the final steps, however, as they were witnessed early on the morning of August 6, 1890, by more than two dozen grim-faced representatives of the medical and scientific communities, takes the story to its deepest moral dimension, stripping away the polite euphemisms and bureaucratic catchphrases used to conceal what really goes on in a death chamber, then as now.

Watching the event leads one to recall what Albert Camus once wrote, that "it would become harder to execute men, one after another, if executions were translated into vivid images in the popular imagination. The man who enjoys his coffee while reading that justice has been done would spit it out at the least detail." We observe as the condemned man is strapped into the chair, the electrodes are attached to his head and spinal column, and, after the switch is thrown, the body jerks and contorts in grotesque, violent spasms, accompanied by howls of agony. A neurologist comes onto the screen to challenge common misconceptions about electrocution, then and now, by insisting that it is "an extremely humiliating way of killing people," involving the release of wastes and bodily fluids, the swelling and sometimes burning and charring of skin, bone, and other tissues, and, inevitably, a nightmarish stench.

In Kemmler's case, death did not come with the first volts, as anticipated; the generators had to be cranked back to speed to send an additional four minutes of juice into him, eventually causing his body to burst into flames. The sight sent the state attorney general into nauseous flight from the smoky room, and he fainted once he got outside of it. The horror of the first modern execution—"modern" in the sense of its routinized, impersonal, division-of-labor components—left all the eyewitnesses stunned and shaken, but this was lost in press reports that trumpeted a new era of high-tech "progress" in disposing of criminals.

The viewpoint of the filmmaker is effectively conveyed and impossible to ignore. It should certainly inform not only our historical understanding, but debates today about capital punishment.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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# Communications

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## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

Thomas W. Gallant deserves thanks and congratulations for his stimulating article, "Honor, Masculinity, and Ritual Knife Fighting in Nineteenth-Century Greece" (*AHR* 105 [April 2000]: 359–82). He raises important issues for any historian interested in the study of violence, and he has illuminating things to say on many of them.

Nevertheless, there are some serious problems with his essay. The first may not even be entirely Gallant's fault: his article has evidently gone through some exceptionally poor proofreading. Many of the anecdotes recounted barely make sense, as actors and actions are hopelessly confused. Take, for example, this incident (p. 365, names simplified): "A entered the taverna of B . . . and demanded that C stop calling him a cuckold. According to the police report, B believed that C was the source of the gossip about him, gossip that B's wife had told him. When confronted with the accusation, A simply laughed. Beside himself with fury at being mocked, C swore to make him eat his words. After a fight . . . A needed thirteen stitches." Who slandered whom? Who accused whom? And who fought whom? Only a reader who has access to Gallant's primary sources could hope to sort it all out.

A secondary difficulty emerging from this sloppiness in reproducing anecdotal material is that it casts doubt on Gallant's reportage of facts summarized rather than presented in full (for example, p. 377 n. 68; p. 379 table). If the reader doesn't trust the information s/he can check, how is s/he to trust data s/he cannot?

Likewise, recurring references to an "unpublished ms." of the author's own research (with no indication that it is about to be made more widely available; 376 n.67, 377 n.69, 378 n.70, 378 n.72) fail to instill confidence.

Incidentally, although Gallant's habit of referencing his own writings may not be wholly in good taste, it is not nearly as bad as his ungenerous citation of others' work. Pieter Spierenburg is foremost among historians who link "the duel among members of the elite classes" with "plebeian or peasant violence"—precisely the issue Gallant identifies as a research lacuna, which his own study is meant to fill (p. 360). Why, if this is the concern highlighted in the opening paragraphs, is reference to Spierenburg's important book tucked away far into the article (p. 373 n.50 and following)? This is not to detract from the originality of Gallant's contribution—the lacuna is large enough to accommodate more than one historian—but Spierenburg does deserve better billing.

More interesting still are the flaws in Gallant's methodology and interpretation. (I should note that I have no direct knowledge of the Greek materials he deals with and can only base my observations on the data Gallant himself provides.) The first is his apparent lack of concern with the texture of his sources, with the limitations they impose and the types of readings they enable. Gallant cites several nineteenth-century colonial officials' and travelers' memoirs as proof of volatile Greek tempers and an easy recourse to "the dark knife and bloody stiletto" (p. 361). Such quotations are colorful, but—falling well within the genre conventions of Orientalist ethnography—they hardly substantiate anything other than that the Greeks were perceived as just another bunch of savages (a perception Gallant hints at elsewhere, p. 377 n.69). Conversely, court records may provide less affective evidence, but they do not convey an unadulterated truth, either. (Almost precisely the same point emerges from Spierenburg's book review elsewhere in the same issue; p. 626.) That noblemen are under-represented in court records dealing with violence need not mean that "the Ionian aristocracy did not duel" (p. 377); it would only mean that if those aristocrats who did draw blades were as likely as their peasant counterparts to end up in front of a magistrate, a point Gallant neglects to



establish. Moreover, Gallant's inattention to source limitations hamstrings his main argument concerning diachronic development—that honor was dissociated from violence, allowing it to endure while the latter atrophied into mock-fighting. In present-day Greece, knives are drawn “[only] when it is certain that others are present to prevent their use . . . This was definitely not the case in the past,” Gallant asserts (p. 376). But how can he know? Past posturing would in all likelihood never have made it into the courts in the first place or (at least in the early nineteenth century, when even slashings tended to get lenient treatment) may have been summarily dismissed. It is therefore highly unlikely that bloodless violence, if it ever were the case in the past, would make an appearance in the records Gallant scrutinizes.

Finally, even in our broad-minded age when hardly any reading is outright wrong, interpretations ought to be believable—and Gallant's sometimes are not. How can he conclude that “Maridas's family accepted his fate as just and so felt no need to cleanse their honor in Kallihias's blood” (p. 368), when he has just reported that “some of [Maridas's] kinsmen ran to get their guns” immediately after Kallihias shot him (p. 367)? The consequent distinction Gallant tries to draw, between attitudes to fair and unfair slayings, disintegrates. Similarly, the reading of a butcher's clever puns at his antagonist's expense (p. 364) as an insult “sufficiently ambiguous as to leave the offended party with an out if he wished to avoid a fight” (p. 366 n.22) must be rejected. Humor is so often barbed, so seldom mollifying. The butcher's comparison of his rival to an animal ready for the slaughter and his suggestion to sell an ear he chops off during the fight are calculated to degrade his unfortunate opponent, not to comfort him.

Gallant offers many real insights, but he lets slip too many others. His observation that “[w]itnesses were central to the ritual” of knife fighting is spot on, but he goes wide of the mark when he adds that “their role was by and large a passive one” (p. 371). Here was his opportunity to make a real breakthrough in writing the history of violence, an opportunity to break away from the depressingly prevalent bipolar model that sees violence as occurring primarily between attacker and victim, and only incidentally involving third parties. Gallant convincingly argues that knife fighting is a discursive ritual and acknowledges that witnesses, “[e]ven more than the participants . . . framed the discourse for public assessment” (p. 370), yet he fails to recognize the primary, active role such witnesses played in the theater of violence. Inasmuch as it leaves something for the rest of us to do, this is nice. Otherwise, it's a real pity.

OREN FALK  
Centre for Medieval Studies  
Toronto

THOMAS W. GALLANT REPLIES:

I am pleased that Oren Falk found my article so stimulating that it prompted him to write such a lengthy letter. Unfortunately, I find little of substance in his missive that warrants a response. His criticisms either betray little understanding of historical methodology or they are based on a cavalier and superficial reading of the text. Moreover, the tone in which he couched his comments is remarkably unprofessional.

I shall use just one example, out of his many misguided criticisms, to show how flawed is Falk's comprehension of the article. In the last paragraph of his letter, Falk criticizes me for asserting (p. 371) that the witnesses to a duel were by and large passive observers to the combat. He then chides me for failing “to recognize the primary, active role such witnesses played in the theater of violence,” and he cites a passage (p. 370) to support this criticism. Regarding the first point, the passage he cites comes from a section in which I compared the practice of dueling in a wide variety of historical contexts. It is empirically correct that the witnesses to the single combat between two men *were* largely passive; if they were not, then the fight would have been a brawl and not a duel. As to his second relating to the active role of witnesses in the theater of violence, I make that argument explicitly. Throughout the article, I employed the metaphor of the duel as a play as the central element of my analysis. I wrote explicitly and unambiguously that the “third act to these dramas” (pp. 363, 370) of the knife fights took place in the courtroom, and that it was the observers to the fight who now appeared as witnesses at the trial who played the most important role. I argued further that “reputation, not truth, was on trial.” The witnesses became the crucial actors, and, in the third act, they took center stage. What could possibly be clearer?

In sum, while I am pleased that Falk found my article stimulating, he would have been better served by channeling his energies into a more careful reading of the article.

THOMAS W. GALLANT  
University of Florida

TO THE EDITOR:

In light of the evidence for the non-West's achievements noted in Roger Hart, Margaret C. Jacob, and Jack A. Goldstone's review essays of Alfred W. Crosby's book *The Measurement of Reality* [AHR 105 (April 2000)], the question should be asked, why didn't the non-Western world build on its achievements and come to dominate the rest of the world? In the case of the Chinese, they were engaged in extensive maritime activity from East Africa into the Pacific prior to 1492, only to retreat to the continent to turn their attention westward against the barbarians of Central Asia. Even in the West, the Italians, though mariners in the service of western Europeans, showed no inclination to

found colonies in America because they were content in their role as middlemen between western Europe and the Levant. The same seems true of Islamic states. Hence the will to dominate is also a factor. Lacking a motivation to dominate, it didn't happen for most nations.

Curiously, although Goldstone notes that southern Europe failed to develop the industry etc. that one might expect given Galileo's discoveries and the rediscovery of ancient science, he failed to ask why northern Europe did. One answer is the Reformation, which broke with the conventional authority that canonized Aristotle, Ptolemy, etc. as establishment science. More could be said, but clearly no one cause explains the rise of the West, not even quantification, as the three review articles note.

THURBER D. PROFFITT

*Biola University and San Diego Community College District*

JACK A. GOLDSTONE REPLIES:

Thurber Proffitt correctly notes that northwest Europe, despite lagging behind many other regions in seafaring and overseas conquests (early Ming Chinese, Italians, Portuguese, Spanish) was nonetheless the first, and only, region to industrialize. He points to the importance of the Reformation, and the consequent break with the canonized authority of Aristotle and Ptolemy, as crucial steps to modern science, and hence to industry.

I agree that overthrowing the authority of the established Aristotelian/Ptolemaic cosmology was crucial to industrialization. One key element of the steam engine, that pivotal innovation for industry, was working with pressure and vacuums; yet vacuums were ruled out of existence by Aristotle's physics.

But it is wrong to associate that shift in worldview mainly with the Reformation. Calvinist Holland harbored Descartes, yet only under the personal protection of the Stadtholder; when Frederick Hendrik died, Descartes had to flee. By the late seventeenth century, a reaction against Cartesian and mechanical thinking had set in, to the point where lecturing on Descartes was banned in Dutch universities. A few Newtonians continued to teach celestial mechanics into the early eighteenth century, but by 1720 a reactionary Calvinist establishment had shut off most scientific progress. Nor were Lutheran states home to scientific innovation for many centuries after the rise of Lutheranism. Protestantism opposed to the wisdom and miracles of the priesthood and Catholic Church the "eternal truths" embodied in Scriptures. Scientific progress that threatened the Scriptures could be just as staunchly opposed in Protestant as in Catholic states.

The exception was England, and this mainly due to the triumph of William III and the Anglican Church. Newton, far from offering a purely mechanical worldview (like that of Descartes, which was seen and

opposed as tending toward atheism), blended mechanics with the "magical" or occult worldview. Newton believed in (and spent more time than in physics exploring) alchemy, numerology, insights from Revelations, and of course in divine will. The mysterious force of "gravity," requiring action-at-a-distance, was seen by many as a magical and theological intervention in the mechanical universe. Indeed, Newton saw it this way as well, and was appalled at the atheistic tendencies of some mechanical philosophies.

This made the Newtonian worldview a theologically acceptable alternative to the Aristotelian/Ptolemaic view still defended by the established churches on the continent. In contrast, the established church in England pointed to the order of the Newtonian heavens as a manifestation of God's will and a model of the harmony that should prevail in earthly and spiritual affairs. Under the guise of discovering God's order of the universe, in England, "scientific enquiry not only became legitimate, but almost a religious duty to devout Protestants" (Jeremy Black, *A New History of England*, 2000, p. 155).

Margaret Jacob has been the leader in showing how the Anglican Church, and its sponsorship of Newtonian science, played a critical role in the origins of modern industry. It is this, more than the Reformation per se, that laid the foundation for modern industrialization.

Still, one-cause explanations will not suffice, and the rise of industrialization in Britain requires attention to religion, industrial expertise, political freedoms, entrepreneurial opportunity, and technical problems that set British industry off in certain directions (for example, developing coal-fired pumps to drain deep mines, rather than windmills to saw wood, grind grain, and drain polders). Indeed, I believe a crucial part of the story must be what particular combination of conditions made England different from Europe, much more than what made Europe as a whole different from other world regions. In most respects of material life, government administration, and attitudes to religious orthodoxy, the majority of Europeans were not greatly distinguished from inhabitants of other major trading civilizations in the eighteenth century. A fuller attempt to address the questions raised by Thurber Proffitt's comment is found in my essay "The Rise of the West—or Not?" *Sociological Theory* (2000). I suggest readers look there for a more multi-causal, conjunctural, argument regarding the origins of Western achievements.

JACK A. GOLDSTONE  
*University of California,  
Davis*

Roger Hart and Margaret C. Jacob do not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing to protest Albert S. Lindemann's latest defamatory attack on Robert S. Wistrich (*AHR* 105 [June 2000]: 1083–84). Wistrich's negative review of *Esau's Tears* appeared in *Commentary* over two years ago. Apparently, Lindemann cannot let it go. He must settle the score any way he can.

Thus Wistrich is "blind to nuance and moral complexity, shallow and monotonous in interpretation, and devoid of scruple in lashing out at those he defines as enemies." His writing "is characterized by neo-conservative polemic and a fervent nationalistic/ethnic partisanship." He is "a reckless partisan, immune to self-doubt, and incapable of recognizing . . . injustice on his side."

Now these are serious accusations. But they stand behind *Esau's Tears*. Lindemann criticizes Wistrich, he explains there, "to indicate a kind of approach" to the subject that is "seriously inadequate." In *Esau's Tears*, then, Lindemann must surely corroborate the serious accusations he has brought against Wistrich in the pages of the *AHR*.

No such thing. Here is the entire discussion. After abusing Daniel Jonah Goldhagen and Lucy S. Dawidowicz, Lindemann turns to Wistrich. His *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* "suffer[s] from defects similar to those in Dawidowicz's work, prominent among them a tendency to colorful and indignant narrative, accompanied by weak, sometimes tendentious analysis. In Wistrich's case part of the problem is ostensibly that *The Longest Hatred* was first conceived as the background narrative to a television series—almost always fatal to nuance and complexity. He has published a number of other works of distinctly higher scholarly and interpretive standards" (p. x).

Note the repetition of the phrase "nuance and complexity." In *Esau's Tears*, their lack is attributed not to "neo-conservative" and "nationalistic/ethnic partisanship" but to the fact that Wistrich's book was a tie-in to a Thames Television series. Where is the corroboration of Lindemann's other charges? Where is the proof that Lucy Dawidowicz also "suffers" from these faults? It is true that Lindemann labels her a neoconservative, too, but he immediately adds that "[t]he neoconservative label is a tattered and problematic one" (p. 542). He discusses her writing (without citation) in four brief sentences, caricaturing her views on a historian's loyalties for the sake of attacking them (p. 509). Wistrich he quotes not at all. He mentions him in passing only once more.

Lindemann's steadfast failure to corroborate his accusations against other scholars is deeply troubling. Nor is it an exaggeration to describe this failure as steadfast. Two years ago on the H-Antisemitism discussion list, he attacked me, in strikingly similar terms, for faulting his knowledge and interpretation of Juda-

ism. "Surely these accusations ought to be corroborated," I wrote in reply, "but I have begun to despair of Lindemann's ever trying to corroborate anything that he says" (January 18, 1998). (The entire debate between Lindemann and me can be read at my web page at [www.tamu.edu](http://www.tamu.edu).) Lindemann has had plenty of time to reconsider his argumentative practices. Instead, he displays a remarkable consistency. Rather than examining their work in any detail, he prefers to stigmatize his adversaries.

Which brings me to my last point. The targets of Lindemann's relentless attacks—Wistrich, Dawidowicz, Goldhagen, me—all have one thing in common. We are unashamed of our loyalty to the Jewish people. Dawidowicz speaks for us in saying that "as long as historians respect the integrity of their sources and adhere strictly to the principles of sound scholarship," their loyalties "do not distort, but instead they enrich, historical writing" (*What Is the Use of Jewish History?* 1992, 19). We believe there is a fundamental difference between integrity and neutrality. We know that no one can attack Jews for being "nationalistic/ethnic partisans" from a neutral standpoint. To mount such an attack, he must take up his position somewhere. Unless the word is code, it is not only Jews who are "ethnic"; everyone is. There is no not having ethnicity. We are a bit suspicious, then, of the uncritical hurry to equate ethnicity with nationalism. This suggests to us someone who treats his own ethnicity as normative and therefore transparent. It is not, finally, that Lindemann, too, is unashamed of his loyalty to his own people but that he is not even aware of expressing this loyalty in everything he writes, especially in his attacks on Jews. He accuses others but has never accused himself. As his style of argument clearly shows, Lindemann, too—white, male, Christian—is a "nationalistic/ethnic partisan," but on behalf of what? He never says, although his attacks imply much.

D. G. MYERS

Texas A&M University

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN REPLIES:

Talk about not being able to let go.

For the past several years, D. G. Myers has attacked me, often in venomous if erratic terms, in just about any forum that will listen to him—a diminishing number, since many have learned that he writes in what Peter Novick has termed "Myersese": words mean not what one thought but what Myers decides, subject to change whenever he feels like it; facts, too, may be changed according to rules he makes up. So, too, for logic, consistency, and decorum. In short, one can't rely on a thing Myers says—a loose cannon if ever there was one.

I decided some time ago simply to ignore him. That, however, is not always easy. To provide one example among many, last March, on H-Holocaust, he described me and Novick as "Holocaust revisionists," a

vile slander that slipped by Moderator Jim Mott, who immediately apologized to us and to the list, observing that H-Holocaust has a strict policy “against distributing false allegations” (Monday, March 20, 2000). After some off-list exchanges with Mott, Myers departed from the list. This was in fact his second departure, since he had angrily left a year or so previously after another flare-up. Some time before that, another altercation had occurred on H-Antisemitism, culminating again with his angry departure after exchanging extremely bitter words with the list’s moderators and executive board.

When admonished this time by Mott, Myers, in a familiar pattern, suddenly turned contrite: “I am sorry for disrupting H-Holocaust . . . I regret that this has caused offense to you and others.” He added, “Although I may not always like their [Novick’s and Lindemann’s] work, I have always found it to be respectable. And as I have said many times, criticism is an act of respect. What is beneath respect deserves silence.” Alas, as noted, logical consistency is not a trait of Myersese: he also wrote Mott that “my own silence is the only atonement that I can offer Novick and Lindemann.”

Over the past several years, Myers has charged me, on H-Antisemitism, with being an “enemy of Israel” and an “anti-Semitic polemicist.” He wrote to amazon.com about my book *Esau’s Tears* as follows: “This is a bad book—bad intellectually, bad morally . . . breathtakingly ignorant . . . dishonest and one-sided . . . sickening.” In a letter to *Commentary* magazine, he insinuated that I should be prevented from teaching at the University of California.

All “acts of respect,” of course.

My criticisms of Wistrich have mostly to do with his *Commentary* review of my book and things he wrote thereafter in letters to the editor in *Commentary* and the *AHR*. I think any reasonable observer, in looking over those materials, will recognize that I am hardly making things up. For Myers to put himself in a list consisting of Wistrich, Dawidowicz, and Goldhagen is yet again typical of his bizarre posturing. I have not attacked his historical work, since he has produced none and is not a historian. I had never heard of him before he started attacking me.

As a brief but typical example of how Myers twists and misuses texts, let me quote from a separate post he

sent H-Holocaust, again attacking me: “The Feast of Purim begins this evening. And so it may be time to consider the claim by some revisionists that the holiday, and the commandment to blot out the memory of Amalek . . . which is [sic] partly fulfills, [here he quotes me] ‘offer justification . . . for a policy of racial extermination’” (Monday, March 20, 2000).

Those last words are indeed from my book, but they do not mean what he tries to twist them to mean. Here is the quotation in context: “The Book of Deuteronomy has been described as providing a religious source for modern racism, and its various exhortations concerning the extermination of the indigenous peoples of Canaan (e.g., Deut. 19, 20) offer justification, for those who seek it, for policies of racial extermination” (*Esau’s Tears*, 72).

My references to Deuteronomy cite James Parkes, which Myers does not recognize; far more unconscionable, Myers has deleted the crucial qualifier, “for those who seek it.” Moreover, Parkes clearly did not have Purim in mind, nor did I in citing him; we were referring to the use that modern, non-Jewish bigots have made of Deuteronomy to justify racism and genocide.

It is, finally, rather sad that this fiercely combative yet befuddled individual imagines himself a valiant defender of the Jews. With defenders like him, who needs enemies? His love of the Jewish people is a little like his respect for me. I would happily do without it, as I think most Jews would prefer not to be the object of his kind of love.

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

## ERRATA

Joel Kraemer’s name was misspelled Kramer in the article by Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, October 2000. The author caught the error, but the article had already gone to press.

William R. Hutchison’s name was misspelled Hutcheson in his review of a book by Mark Hulsther (October 2000), p. 1341, as well as in the Table of Contents and Index. The editors regret the error.

THE EDITORS



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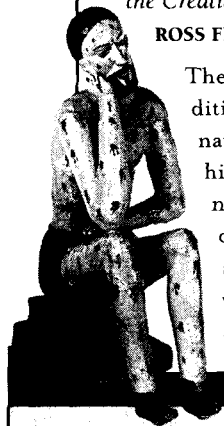
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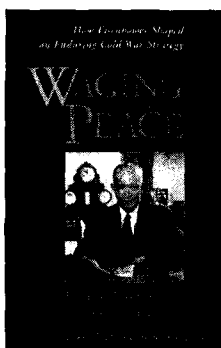
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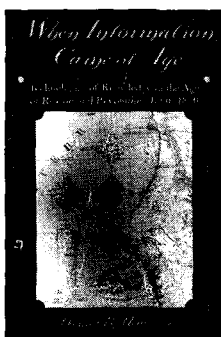
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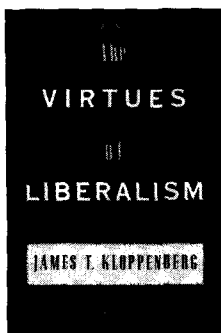
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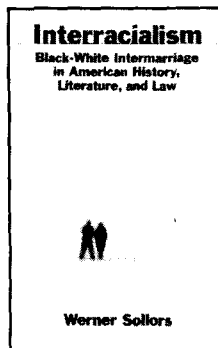
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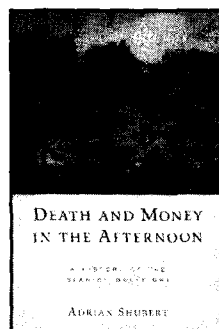
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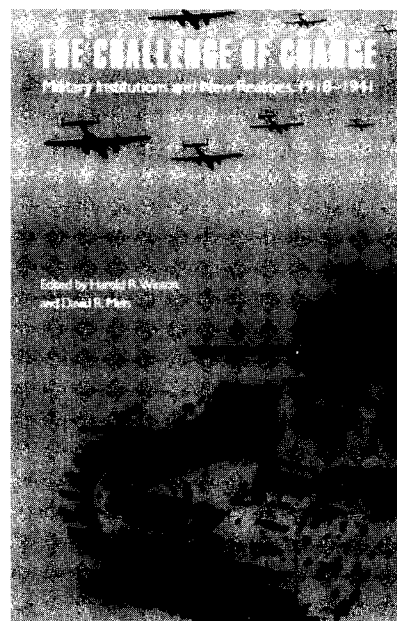
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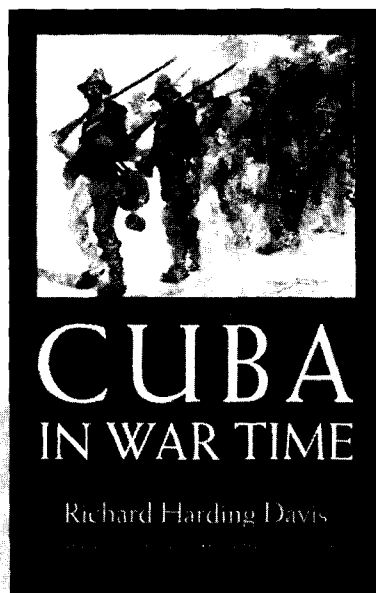
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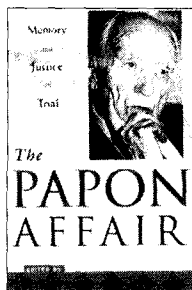
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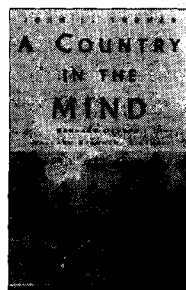
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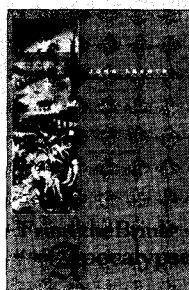
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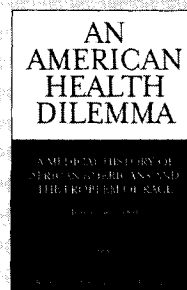
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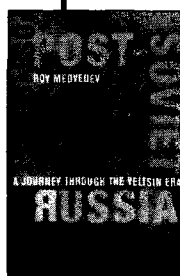
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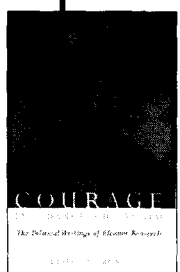
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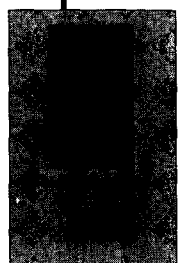
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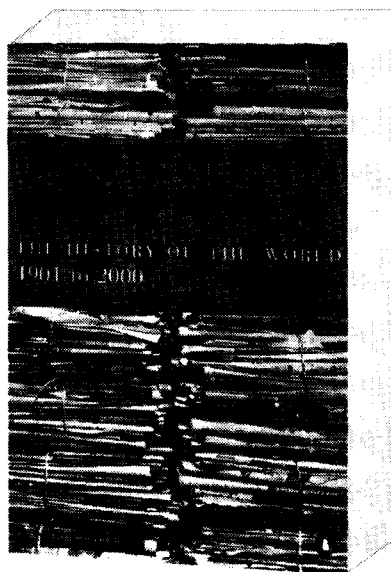
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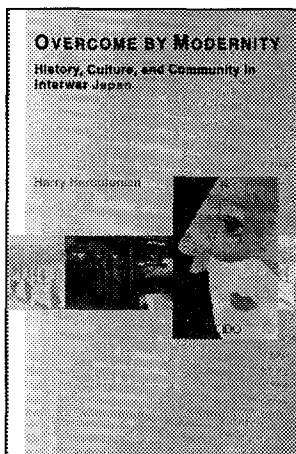
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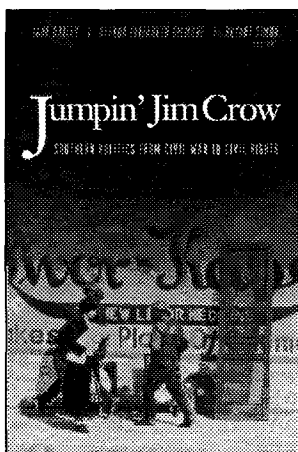
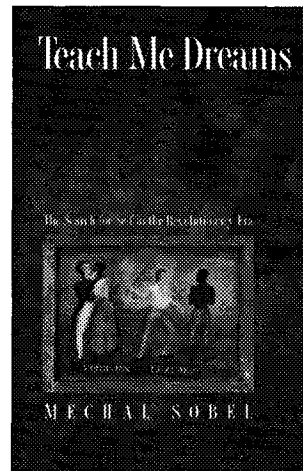
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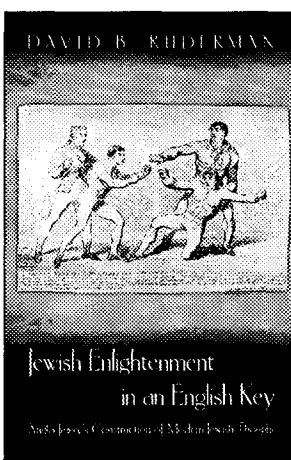
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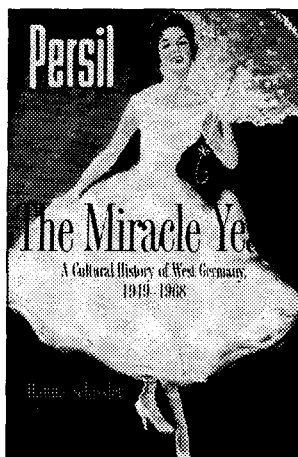
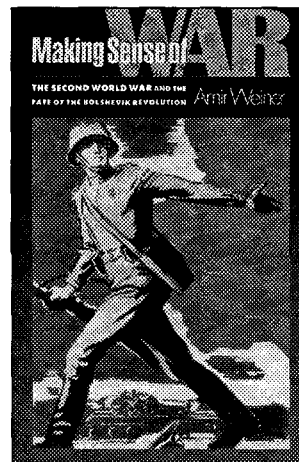
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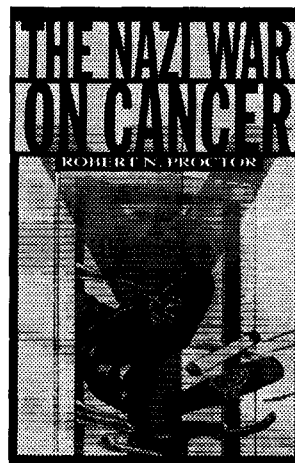
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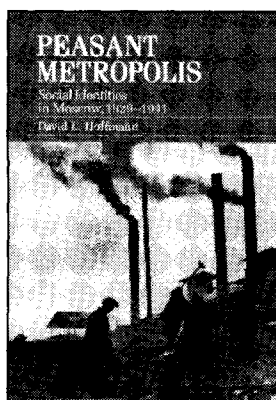
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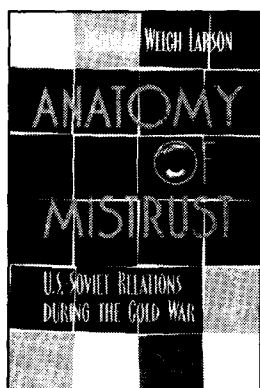
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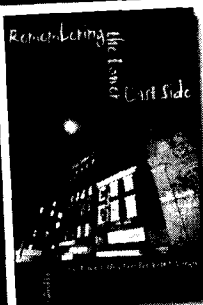
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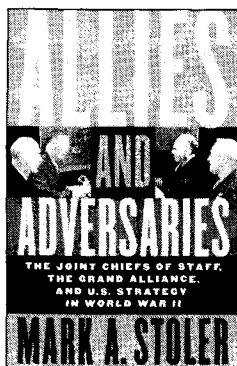
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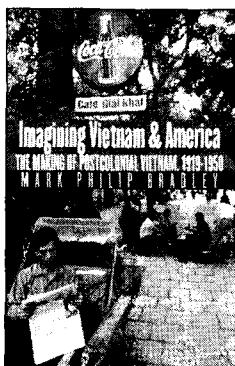
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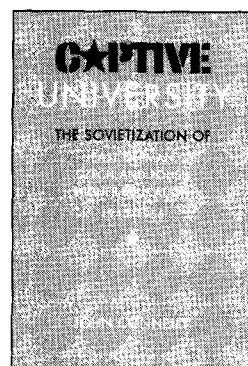
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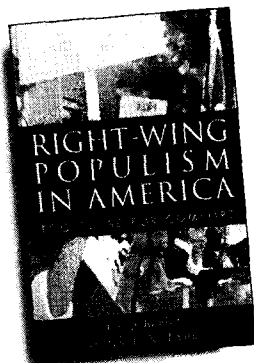
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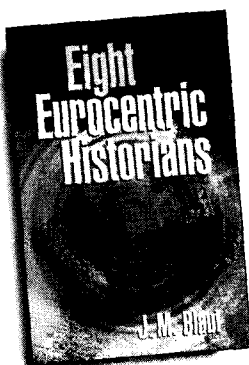
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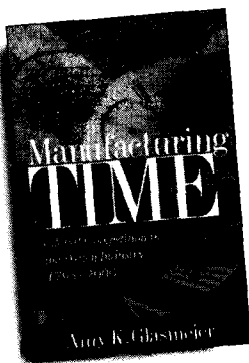
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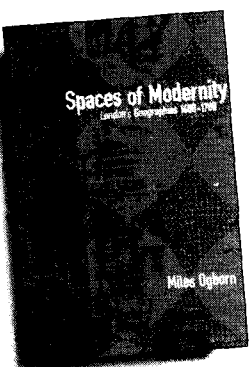
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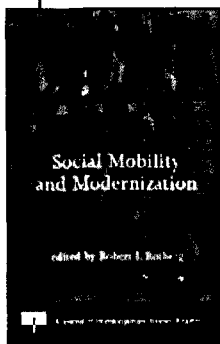
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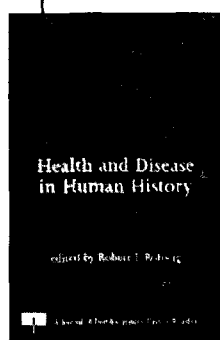


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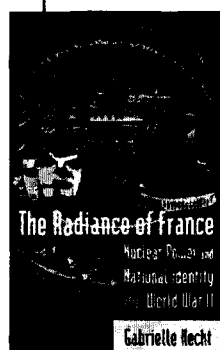
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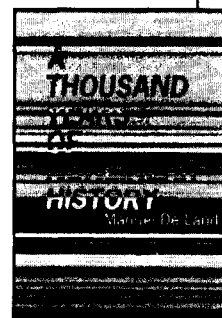
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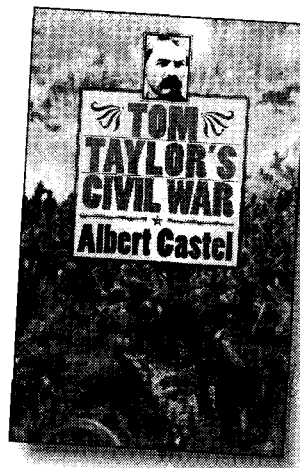
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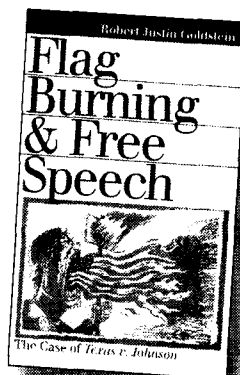
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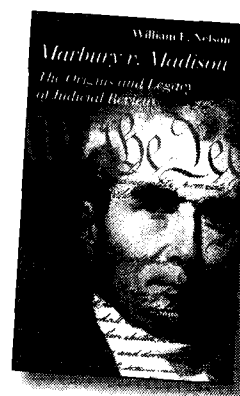
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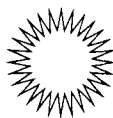
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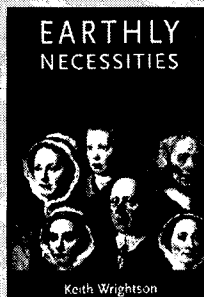
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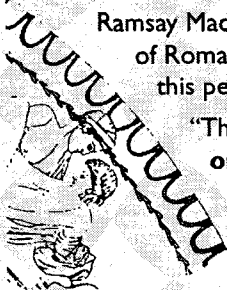
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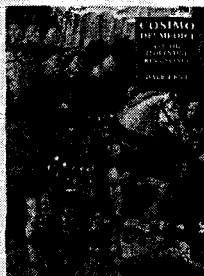
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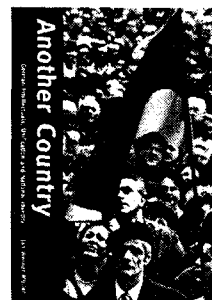
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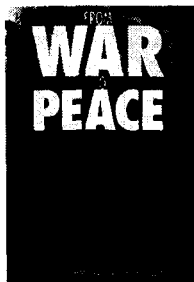
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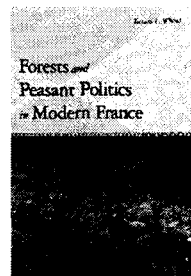
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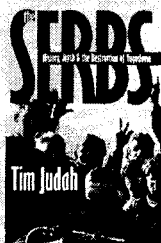
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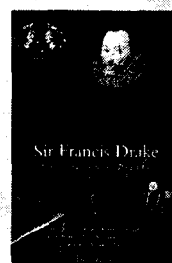


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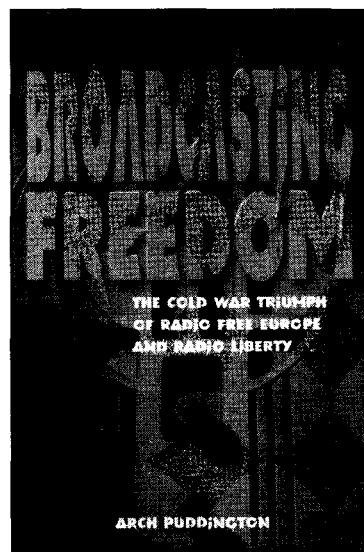
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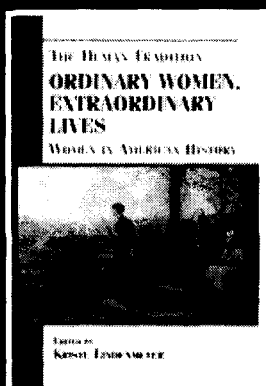
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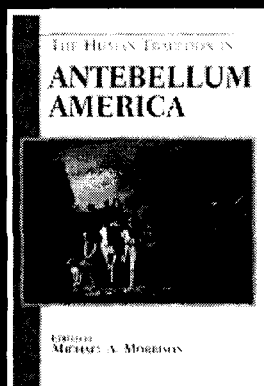


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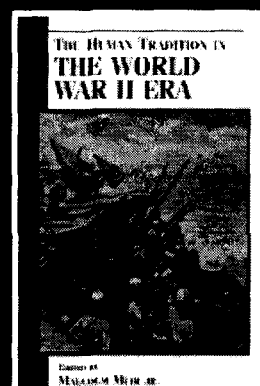


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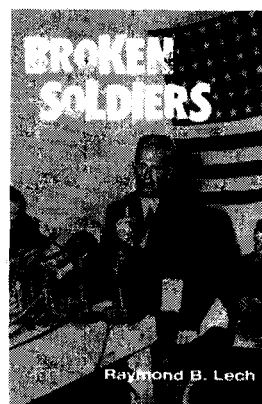
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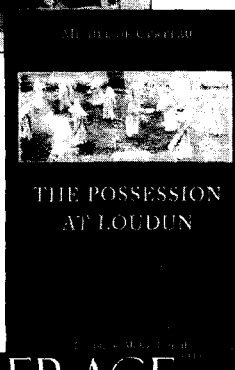
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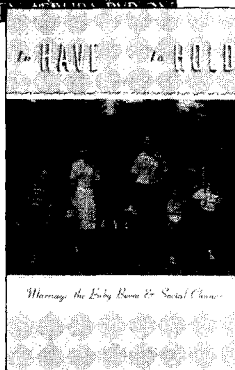
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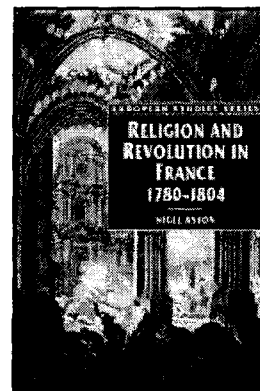
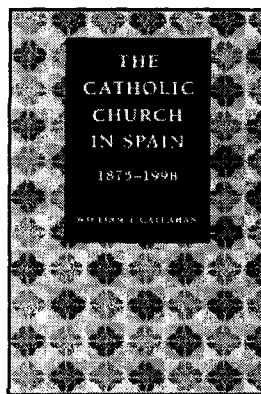


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(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

## 1. Title of Publication:

*American Historical Review*

## 2. Publication No.: ISSN 0002-8762

## 3. Date of Filing: October 1, 2000

## 4. Frequency of Issue: Five times per year—February, April, June, October, December

## 5. Number of Issues Published Annually: Five

## 6. Annual Subscription Price: Class I U.S. \$120.00 Class II U.S. \$140.00

## 7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889 (202) 544-2422 Contact Person: Randy B. Norell

## 8. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889

## 9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:

Publisher: American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889

Editor: Michael Grossberg, American Historical Review, 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405

Managing Editor: N/A

## 10. Owner: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereafter the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.)

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## 11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities: None.

## 12. Tax Status (For Completion by Nonprofit Organizations Authorized to Mail at Nonprofit Rates): The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes has not changed during the preceding 12 months.

## 13. Publication Name:

*American Historical Review*

## 14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: 06/00

## 15. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue Published during Preceding 12 Months	No. Copies of Single Issue Published nearest to Filing Date
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## 16. Publication of Statement of Ownership. Will be printed in the December issue of this publication.

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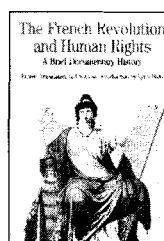
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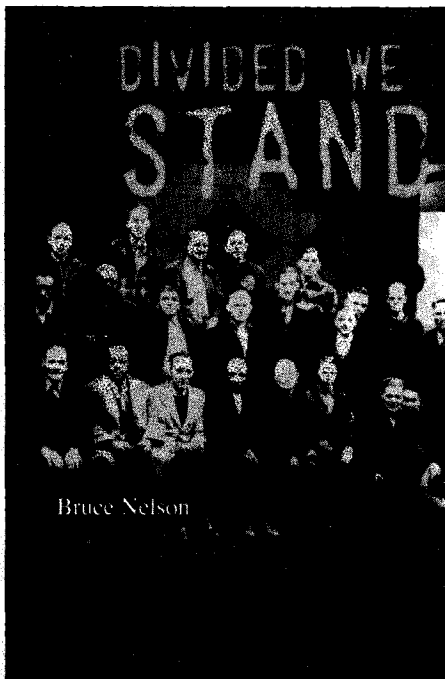
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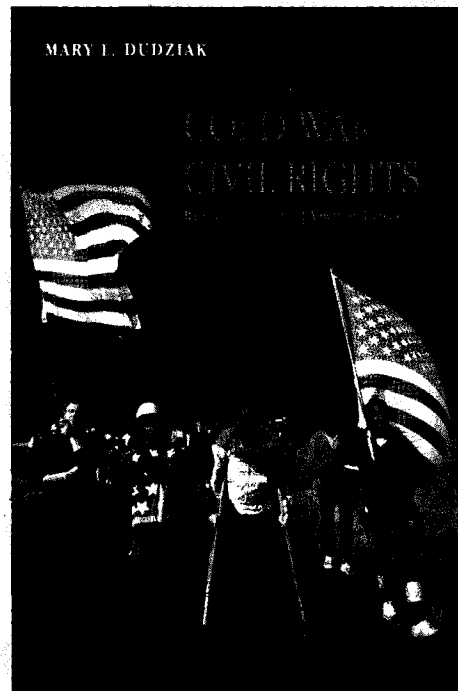
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